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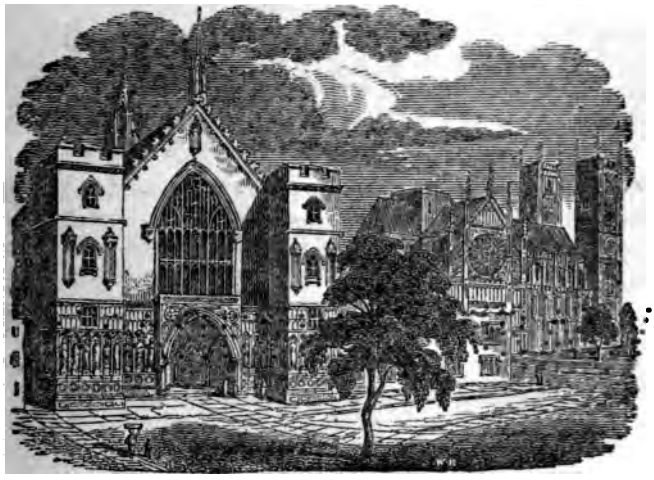

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THE

WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1830.

ART. I.—*The Poetical Works of S. T. Coleridge, Esq.* 3 vols. 8vo. 1829.

THERE is a set of dunces in the world who having, as they think, compassed the comprehension of one idea, cannot by any means expand their minds to its combination with a second idea, and who therefore sturdily deny that any body else can. These are the people who, having had woeful experience that Utilitarians are somewhat logical, hold as downright heresy, or flat blasphemy, the notion that possibly the gods have made them poetical also. And truly their own poetry is as destitute of logic, as their logic is of poetry. But that is no rule for the world; nature having made many minds by a much ampler measure. Nay, so far from there being any natural incongruity between the reasoning and imaginative faculties, as dunces have always been delighted to believe, it may rather be affirmed that they have a mutual affinity, and rarely attain their full development but when they exist in union.—Produce who can the name of any first-rate poet who was not a sound reasoner. Not Milton; for his defence of the people of England, the worthy oration of a nation's advocate pleading for his country at the world's bar, and for the verdict of posterity, his 'Areopagitica,' and his 'Treatises on Divorce,' would have made his name great, though he had never dreamed that delicious dream of Paradise, nor set off its placid loveliness by the double contrast of Celestial splendors and Tartarean horrors. Not Shakespeare; for he would, in half an hour, have created half a dozen senators, lawyers, or cardinals, and given them life and logic enough of themselves to silence all the oracles of all the schools that then were flourishing in their Aristotelian pride.

Not Jeremy Taylor; for he was a poet too,—no mean one either; a poet whose name indeed may be transplanted among the logicians, and it will take root and flourish there, like one of his own metaphors so rich and redolent of beauty, and twining gracefully about the intellect which could cut so finely in casuistry as to be a qualified *Ductor Dubitantium*, and lay down principles so broad as those which yet sustain unshaken the liberty of prophesying. Not Wordsworth; for he makes syllogisms of odes and odes of syllogisms, and his "song is but the eloquence of truth"—the truth of our inmost souls—the truth of humanity's essence, brought up from those abysses which exist in every bosom, and just moulded into metre without being concealed or disfigured by the workmanship. No, it is not among great poets that we are to look for men who cannot handle the foils of logical fence, well enough to disarm in a trice the dullest dog that ever tumbled over the dry bones of Aristotle. They are all of them at home in the business. They have keen swords beneath their myrtle garlands. They can despatch an opponent and then chant his dirge. They can win a fight and then sing the song of victory. Pity that they are not always on the right side. But that misfortune befalls the philosophers as well as the poets. And that reminds us, that we have to summon from among them, too, witnesses to the position, that the higher degrees of the ratiocinative and imaginative powers are usually found together. And here it is fit to begin with the first and highest name upon the roll, even with the founder of the reformed philosophy, Lord Bacon. Let any man read his Essays, and say if they be not abundant in the materials of the richest and purest poetry. How beautifully he often bodies forth a principle in an image; and what an eye he had for nature's paintings,—what an ear for nature's melodies. There is nothing in Thomson's Seasons half so good as Bacon's Essay *of Gardens*. How true his perception that "the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air than in the hand," because there "it comes and goes like the warbling of music;" and what a "royal ordering" does he make of "gardens for all the months of the year," "that you may have *ver perpetuum*, as the place affords." Hobbes's great work, tough as it is, is but the amplification of a poetical conception. The Leviathan is only a personification filling a folio. He could versify too; and that seldom without vigour—sometimes with a good deal of beauty. The eloquence both of South [illegible] Barrow often rises into poetry. The one strikes off a [illegible]utiful thought at a heat; the other elaborates it into per[illegible]ion, by the faithful and complete accumulation of particulars. [illegible] enough to name Burke, the most splendid example of an

intellect alike surpassing by the facility with which it generalized the most multifarious political details into principles, and by the vivacity, variety, and power of its pictorial delineations. And pursuing the topic into which the Edinburgh Review provoked us, in our twentieth Number, it would be easy to shew that the most acute and vigorous mind of the present age—that mind which has perhaps never been rivalled in any age for its powers of logical deduction and comprehensive analysis; we speak of Mr. Bentham—is far more free from failure, when directed to the purpose of conveying the truth he would teach by means of material illustration, than the most fanciful of the carping critics, who look up alike despondingly and enviously to his intellectual elevation. A philosopher must always have something of poetry in him, and a poet of philosophy, for in the nature of things, which is the source of both, they are inextricably intertwined; there is no dissociating the true and the beautiful; and however exclusively the mind may be devoted to the pursuit of the one, its perceptions must be quickened to the apprehension of the other, by finding it in constant contact therewith.

Thus Mr. Coleridge is a Benthamite in his poetry; a Utilitarian; a "greatest happiness" man; for, as a poet, he writes under the controlling and dictating power of truth and nature, under the inspiration of his own profound convictions and emotions. It is different, indeed, in his prose. There he is not his own man. There he has something else in view besides telling out what he thinks and feels in the melodious words which it spontaneously assumes. But with that, thank heaven, we have not now to do. Our present business is solely with his poetical character, which is brought under our notice by this edition of his works, in which he may be considered as packing up his pretensions to the laurel for posterity. There is little doubt that the consignment will reach its destination, and the award be decidedly favourable. And the anticipation is grounded not only on the appreciation of the truth, reason, sound philosophy, which are to be found enshrined in his verses, but also in the application of those tests with which we are furnished by the very principle whose adoption is often stupidly represented as inconsistent with even the capacity for perceiving poetry and feeling its influences. So far from its being proscribed by Utilitarian notions, they demand its existence, as amongst the most effective agencies of human enjoyment; they suggest the laws to which, for that end, it must be subjected, and by which, therefore, criticism must make trial of its worth; and as they inspire a high idea of the art itself, so have they also impelled

us to assign to Mr. Coleridge a distinguished place among its professors.

That verse is not poetry we have abundant evidence daily; and that poetry of a very high order may be written in prose is a proposition which it is scarcely needful to back by the authority of Wordsworth, or the example of Jeremy Taylor. The metrical arrangement of words, however, is so pleasurable in itself, and has so close an affinity with the other elements of poetical enjoyment, that it may fairly be required of the professed poet; and we place it first because it is the most mechanical, and stands at the bottom of an ascending scale of qualities. Whether in prose or verse, a sentence should be grammatically constructed and convey a distinct meaning to the understanding, but when it is also rendered harmonious to the ear, when it gratifies the musical sense, there is a clear gain of so much pleasure. The man who makes a flowing verse benefits the world by the aggregate of all the enjoyment which the organs of speech and hearing receive in repeating it, and in listening to its repetition. The poet must not stop here. He is but at the very threshold of the temple. The eye is a far nobler inlet of pleasure than the ear. He must be a painter as well as a musician. He must give us pictures. The actual sight of lovely forms and colouring is beyond his art; but he must stimulate us to their mental reproduction, and that in new and becoming combinations. His words should be such as are associated with the most common and most vivid recollections of those external objects whose presence most gratifies the senses. This end is not best gained by laboured and minute description. It rather requires a felicitous selection of expressions; such as we shall presently have occasion to exemplify. There is a yet higher source of pleasure in sympathy, emotion, passion. The poet's melody, like the musician's, should express, recall, or excite a sentiment. The poet's sketch, as well as the painter's, should touch the heart; penetrating thither through the imagination as that does through the sight. A great master of the art can play upon the nervous system, and produce and control its vibrations as easily as the well-practised performer can try the compass and power of a musical instrument, and with a produce of enjoyment, which seems a combination of animal and intellectual, not easily calculated. Then a poem, however short, should be a narrative, or a drama, and have something of that sort of interest, and consequently of pleasure, which we experience in being conducted through a train of events to a catastrophe, in which, whether joyous or mournful, the mind rests as in the close of that portion of Nature's

annals. By dramatic we do not mean that the poet should have recourse to personæ and dialogue; but he should at least employ those defined and contrasted feelings which will, in very narrow space, shadow forth the strivings of the external and literal drama; and his narrative will be not the less efficient for not being the current of outward circumstances, but that of the phantoms which are ever passing in long procession through the brain. And over the whole, to crown the work, there should be the charm of "divine philosophy;" truth should be there in the wildest fictions, and wisdom in the gayest sportings: the whole should be based upon a profound knowledge of human nature, its constitution and history, its strength and weaknesses, its capabilities and its destiny; and where there is this science of man in the poet's mind, its existence will be ever felt; it will breathe a pervading spirit of power into his compositions; of power which is yielded to with a sort of solemn gladness; which almost identifies poetical with religious inspiration, raises the pleasure of fanciful reveries into the delight of holy musings, and makes us worshippers in that "metropolitan temple" which God hath built and sanctified to himself "in the hearts of mighty poets."

Our standard of excellence in poetry is, then, a very high one, and we have a corresponding estimate of its worth as a means of enjoyment. It is an essence distilled from the fine arts and liberal sciences; nectar for the gods. It tasks the senses, the fancy, the feelings, and the intellect, and employs the best powers of all in one rich ministry of pleasure. It must be by a rare felicity, that the requisite qualities for its production are found in a man; and when they are, we should make much of him—he is a treasure to the world. He does that immediately which other benefactors of mankind only expect to accomplish in the remote consequences of their exertions. The legislator proposes to increase men's happiness, by his enactments, in the course of years. The philosopher will advance it by his speculations in the lapse of generations. The divine promises it in the world to come. But the poet seizes upon the soul at once and "laps it in Elysium."

High as our standard is, Mr. Coleridge comes up to it; and we rejoice in the facilities afforded for substantiating his claims, by the collection of his compositions now before us. Such a collection was needful to make the full extent of his powers felt, and render us aware of the amount of enjoyment for which we are his debtors. How could he be rightly judged of, by the public generally, when they had only now and then a stray scrap, one forgotten before another came, "like angel visits, few and

far between," too short and too distant to leave any distinct and permanent impression of the splendid visitant? But now it is incumbent on us to do him justice. We shall proceed to indicate in his works, following the order of their arrangement in these volumes, the several qualities of genuine and excellent poetry which have been just enumerated, as they may present themselves to notice.

The first division consists of poems, which are only distinguished from the rest as *Juvenile*. The term very accurately characterizes them. They are the effusions of a mind yet unformed and immature; and shew that the author's powers were of slow development. Most of them might as well have been suppressed. At least we perceive but one good reason for their retention. The number of fragments in the collection, gives an impression of the author's indolence, which is greatly counteracted by a comparison of these poems with his subsequent productions. The mind which made such advances as that comparison indicates, could not be an indolent mind, to whatever infirmity of purpose it might sometimes be liable. The happier choice and greater command of words; the superior sweetness and richness of the melody of the versification; reflections more profound, and illustrations more vivid; combinations more striking and original; and a more continuous flow of true, and affecting, and picturesque, and powerful thought, are conclusive evidence that the mental faculties had been actively, and laboriously, and successfully exercised. Of whatever other purposes they might have failed, the important one of their own improvement had been achieved. This improvement is particularly apparent in the pictorial faculty. The imagery in the Juvenile poems is comparatively common-place. With some beautiful exceptions, of which we know not exactly how many, some we are aware, are the additions of a later period, it chiefly consists of those cold personifications of qualities which never live in the mind, nor become any more objects of interest, admiration, or affection, than so many wax-work figures. Thus;

> 'Toil shall call the charmer Health his bride,
> And Laughter tickle Plenty's ribless side;'

And he shews "Remorse" with "the poisoned arrow in his side," and "bids Vanity her filmy network spread," and the like. This automaton manufactory was fashionable when Mr. Coleridge was a reading boy, and these lay figures were thought bold creations by the generation of versifiers who preceded him. Happily he soon ascended into a purer region of fancy; and that not without leaving the print of his steps in the clay from which

he sprung. The personifications in his Sonnet on the expatriation of Dr. Priestley, are as good as such things can be. The concluding reference to Priestley's philosophical discoveries, might suggest a noble group for the sculptor.

'Though rous'd by that dark Vizir RIOT rude
Have driven our PRIESTLEY o'er the ocean swell;
Though SUPERSTITION and her wolfish brood
Bay his mild radiance, impotent and fell;
Calm in his halls of brightness he shall dwell!
For lo! RELIGION, at his strong behest,
Starts with mild anger from the papal spell,
And flings to earth her tinsel-glittering vest,
Her mitred state and cumbrous pomp unholy;
And JUSTICE wakes to bid the oppressor wail
Insulting aye the wrongs of patient Folly:
And from her dark retreat by Wisdom won
Meek NATURE slowly lifts her matron veil
To smile with fondness on her gazing son!'—i. p. 56.

There are other instances in these Juvenile Poems, of the felicity with which our author could employ a kind of imagery which he had soon the sound judgment to discard:

'And the stern FATE transpierc'd with viewless dart
The last pale Hope that shiver'd at my heart!'

Before dismissing the Juvenile Poems, it should be observed, that they contain both the principle and the practice of that truer poetical faith which is the great charm of the maturer productions. The old personifiers were quite mistaken in supposing they could make a living soul, by merely misusing a pronoun. When the poet would incorporate his thoughts so as to render them visible and tangible to the mind, he must make them assume and animate the forms of natural objects. Genius must breathe its breath of life into some one of the innumerable shapes of loveliness which are scattered around us in the material universe. It can give a soul better than it can mould a body. It can animate the human frame with fire from heaven, like Prometheus; but if, with Frankenstein, it pretends to create, it only produces a monster. It must identify itself with nature; and then it will behold there its own thoughts and emotions already embodied:

'For all that meets the bodily sense, I deem
Symbolical, one mighty alphabet
For infant minds———'

And he who uses that alphabet in a poetical spirit, need no more be afraid of the imputation of common-place in the employment

of the simplest objects, than in that of the letters by which every blockhead expresses his truisms or his blunders. How beautiful is the everlasting simile of the flower in the well-known Epitaph on an Infant, "Ere sin could blight or sorrow fade;" and yet more the as common streamlet in the last line of the religious musings;

> 'Till then
> I discipline my young noviciate thought
> In ministeries of heart-stirring song,
> And aye on Meditation's heaven-ward wing
> Soaring aloft I breathe the empyreal air
> Of Love, omnific, omnipresent Love,
> Whose day-spring rises glorious in my soul
> As the great sun, when he his influence
> Sheds on the frost-bound waters—The glad stream
> Flows to the ray and warbles as it flows.'—i. p. 102.

The Sibylline leaves constitute the next portion of this publication, consisting of political, amatory, and meditative poems.

Of the "Poems occasioned by political events or feelings connected with them," there are two which particularly deserve notice, the "Fears in Solitude," written in April 1798, and the celebrated "War Eclogue."

The first of these is the most perfect specimen of Mr. Coleridge's manner and powers, at which we have yet arrived. It is a narrative of thought and emotion, as complete in its construction as ever epic was; the chain of association is unbroken, and every link is bright; the ideas follow in that natural succession in which they would present themselves to the mind of a man of genius, in a solitude at once profound and beautiful, with the love of his country and his kind strong at his heart, and intensely interested in the important movements of the busy world, yet who seeks not to guide the current of his feelings, but gives himself up to the influence of the scene around, and the spontaneous workings of the principle within. Accordingly it begins with mere description.

> A green and silent spot, amid the hills,
> A small and silent dell! O'er stiller place
> No singing sky-lark ever poised himself.

A few touches, few but graphic, conjure up before us the complete localities of this "quiet spirit-healing nook;" and we are then introduced to one

> 'Who, in his youthful years
> Knew just so much of folly as had made
> early manhood more securely wise,'

and who here "might lie on fern or withered heath," resigning his mind to his senses, and his senses to the "sweet influences" around and above, till they lull him into a waking dream of better worlds, which it is sad to think must be alloyed and dashed by the thought of what storms of strife are stirring in the earth, and perchance even now "in his native isle;" for the alarm of an invasion was then abroad in the country. The poet has thus brought us to the very heart of his subject. National dangers obviously suggest national offences, which he proceeds to arraign in a strain of solemn, indignant, and yet mournful vituperation, which rolls along most majestically, till the vividness of the delineations of guilt brings home so powerfully the prospect of retributory infliction, that he bursts forth in supplication to Providence, to "spare us yet awhile," and from supplication rises into an animated call upon all true hearts to stand forth and repel the foe.

'And oh! may we return
Not with a drunken triumph, but with fear:
Repenting of the wrongs with which we stung
So fierce a foe to frenzy!'

This again suggests the "bitter truths" which he has told, "but without bitterness," although aware that this may not secure him from being vilified by the idolaters of power as an enemy of his country:

'Such have I been deemed—
But O, dear Britain! O, my mother isle!
Needs must thou prove a name most dear and holy
To me, a son, a brother, and a friend,
A husband and a father! who revere
All bonds of natural love, and find them all
Within the limits of thy rocky shores.
O, native Britain! O, my mother isle!
How shouldst thou prove aught else but dear and holy
To me, who from thy lakes and mountain-hills,
Thy clouds, thy quiet dales, thy rocks and seas,
Have drunk in all my intellectual life,
All sweet sensations, all ennobling thoughts,
All adoration of the God in nature,
All lovely and all honourable things,
Whatever makes this mortal spirit feel
The joy and greatness of its future being.
There lives nor form nor feeling in my soul
Unborrowed from my country. O divine
And beauteous island! thou hast been my sole
And most magnificent temple, in the which
I walk with awe, and sing my stately songs,
Loving the God that made me!'—i. p. 151.

The violence of his emotions has now exhausted itself. Passion has subsided into calmness. The train of thoughts which external objects had originally suggested, and which grew so absorbing and powerful, that those external objects were altogether unheeded, gradually becomes less vivid, and as it wanes, they resume their ascendancy, make their presence and their influence again felt, and the poem concludes, as it began, with description. This transition is beautifully managed:—

> 'May my fears,
> My filial fears, be vain! and may the vaunts
> And menace of the vengeful enemy
> Pass like the gust, that roared and died away
> In the distant tree: which heard, and only heard
> In this low dell, bowed not the delicate grass.'

But the final description has more of variety, extent, and associated feeling, than that at the commencement. Evening has come on; the changed appearances of things rapidly recall him from his bodings; he pursues his path from the dell "up the heathy hill," and is startled at the burst of prospect, "the shadowy main," and the "rich and elmy fields," which seem like society

> 'Conversing with the mind, and giving it
> A livelier impulse———'

And the village church, and his friend's house, and the trees which hide his own lowly cottage, draw him on with "quickened footsteps," grateful, as he says,

> 'That by Nature's quietness
> And solitary musings, all my heart
> Is softened, and made worthy to indulge
> Love, and the thoughts that yearn for human kind.'

It is difficult to imagine stronger contrasts or more varied emotions than are presented or excited by different parts of this poem. The scene shifts from a most "soft and silent spot" shut in by hills, to "college and wharf, council and justice-court;" thence to the field of battle; and thence again to a wide and peaceful but not unanimated prospect, closing in the social seclusion of a cottage home. The feeling varies from passive, dreamy reverie, to painful sympathy, burning indignation, trembling apprehension, solemn supplication, animated appeal, tempered triumph, calm expostulation, devout confidence, till it ends in the contemplative enjoyment of benevolent affection. And yet we are never startled by any abrupt transition; all is unforced, natural, and continuous; and we are carried on without any consciousness of the extent of the circle through

which the mind is borne until the revolution is completed, and the same external objects present themselves as at the outset; but present themselves as does the scenery of his native land to the traveller who has voyaged round the globe, and who brings to its contemplation the change, the extension, the elevation of thought produced by an intermediate acquaintance with the most remote and dissimilar regions. This history of the feelings of a solitary hour is as diversified, and as interesting, as the narrative of an eventful life. It is a tale alike powerful in its progress and satisfactory in its conclusion. What is the value of a succession of events but the corresponding succession of emotions? To produce these in the mind of the reader or spectator, is the triumph of the novelist's, or the dramatist's, art. The poet has here accomplished the same result by the simpler means of throwing open to us the train of his own thoughts and feelings. Here is the essence of all narrative, adventure, plot, and catastrophe. It has been said, that all the beings and events in the world are but the thoughts of the Deity: in this instance, the thoughts of the poet are beings and events; they affect us in the same way; we are complacent in their quiet; agitated in their crimes and conflicts; exultant in their triumph; and close the poem in glad and satisfied sympathy as they subside into calm and enlightened enjoyment.

The War Eclogue is a splendid composition; the scene a desolated tract in La Vendée (it was written in 1796); the speakers, Fire, Famine, and Slaughter; the dialogue consisting of an exulting recapitulation of the horrors they had perpetrated since they were let loose by one whose name they will not utter, because 'twould "make an holiday in Hell," but whom they describe enigmatically, and consult how to "yield him honour due." Famine proposes to excite the starving multitude against him; Slaughter promises that "they shall tear him limb from limb;" Fire rebukes them:

> 'O thankless beldames and untrue!
> And is this all that you can do
> For him who did so much for you?
> Ninety months he, by my troth!
> Hath richly cater'd for you both;
> And in an hour would you repay
> An eight years' work?—Away! away!
> I alone am faithful! *I*
> *Cling to him everlastingly.*

Mr. Coleridge has deemed an "Apologetic Preface" to this poem needful; in which he assures us that he meant no harm towards Mr. Pitt. It is a pitiful compound of cant and

sophistry. That he would not, had he been standing by the door of the infernal regions when Pitt arrived there, have pushed him in and turned upon him the key of that lock, whose bolt would not be shot back to all eternity, we very readily believe; and we suppose nobody ever doubted. But that he wrote in right earnest; that he regarded that atrocious minister as the scourge of his country and the human race; that he felt towards him as became a man, whose brethren had been insulted, plundered, oppressed, demoralized, starved, slaughtered by wholesale; that in his conscience he pronounced him guilty of immolating the prospects of France, the liberties of Britain, and the peace of Europe, at the shrine of aristocratical prejudice or interest; that he held him worthy of whatever penalty might be the appropriate result of such foul misdeeds; that, though he might have deprecated the multitudes acting as Famine and Slaughter prompted them, yet he would have deemed their doing so only another instance, in addition to many which history records and palliates, of the vengeance which outraged humanity takes; and that, though he would not have been accessary to the eternal burning of William Pitt, or of any one else, yet that he saw no better prospect for the Premier's soul, according to the common version of the religion whose prelates chose him as their altar's champion: this we do believe, and of this we hold the poem itself, even without the corroboration afforded by other indications of the author's opinions and feelings at that period, to be conclusive evidence. We will apply to it the very tests, by the use of which Mr. Coleridge would conduct us to an opposite conclusion. We will prove him an honest man, or at least an honest poet, in spite of himself. He says, and very justly, that "prospects of pain and evil to others, and in general, all deep feelings of revenge, are commonly expressed in a few words, ironically tame and mild." Exactly so; can there be an apter instance than the conclusion of our last quotation? Is not Fire quite affectionate? Not loquaciously, nor boisterously so; not with the agitated and agitating fervours of a passionate lady-love, but with the calm confidence of a betrothed, who feels herself already a wedded wife, and talks composedly of a long and lasting intercourse of every-day endearment? If the Eclogue were got up as a theatrical interlude, and Mr. Kean played the "hot wench in flame-coloured taffeta," what an effect he would produce by that last line. The low, equable voice, almost a whisper, with an affectation of tenderness in the tone; the arms slowly and softly folding on the breast, so as to suggest the pressure of a gentle but long embrace; the smile, the beautiful smile, with

the curl of the lip, scarcely perceptible at first, becoming more distinct, with every slowly-enunciated word, till the character of the expression was transformed into the grin and the sneer of ferocity; the eye alone, all the time, with its fixed and intense glare, indicating the real feeling within; these would be the actor's commentary on the poet's language; its true and genuine exposition. Mr. Coleridge has, with singular infelicity, introduced for the purpose of contrast, what serves for an excellent parallel, namely "Shylock's tranquil '*I stand here for law.*'" Nobody but himself, we may venture to predict, will ever recognize in this the moral antipodes of the conclusion of the War Eclogue, or find any resemblance to it in the "infinite deal of nothing," poured forth by that "skipping spirit," the "good-natured Gratiano."

Again, it is truly observed, in the Apologetic preface, that "the images that a vindictive man places before his imagination will most often be taken from the realities of life; they will be images of pain and suffering which he has himself seen inflicted on other men, and which he can fancy himself as inflicting on the object of his hatred." But the poet does not come forward personally in the War Eclogue, as the agent of retribution. He assigns that work to the creatures of his imagination. And Famine, Slaughter, and Fire, in their amiable propositions, follow the very course here marked out. They simply contemplate the exaction of payment in kind from the great debtor of the human race. Like the worthy Stephen Steinenherz von Blutsacker, they would ennoble themselves by doing their office upon their employer. And although Fire may possess the singular advantage of prolonging her operations into another world, yet that world, so far as its torments are particularized, is of necessity only an accumulation of the evils which we behold inflicted here. The case comes therefore within the author's own rule, and is established by both the tests which he has set up to explain it away.

It is with strong emotions of disgust that we arrive at the climax of this apology in which the author gravely makes the following affirmations:—

'Were I now to have read by myself for the first time the Poem in question, my conclusion, I fully believe, would be, that the writer must have been some man of warm feelings and active fancy; that he had painted to himself the circumstances that accompany war in so many vivid and yet fantastic forms, as proved that neither the images nor the feelings were the result of observation, or in any way derived from realities. I should judge, that they were the product of his own seething imagination, and therefore impregnated with that pleasurable

exultation which is experienced in all energetic exertion of intellectual power; that in the same mood he had generalized the causes of the war, and then personified the abstract, and christened it by the name which he had been accustomed to hear most often associated with its management and measures. I should guess that the minister was in the author's mind at the moment of composition, as completely ἀναθὴς, ἀκαιμόσαρκος as Anacreon's grasshopper, and that he had as little notion of a real person of flesh and blood,

"Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,"

as Milton had in the grim and terrible phantoms (half person, half allegory) which he has placed at the gates of Hell.'—Vol. i. p. 342.

"Give me breath," as Timon says. "Heaven and earth, but this is wondrous strange." Perhaps then there actually never was such an event as the French Revolution, nor such a man as William Pitt; they were both inventions of Mr. Coleridge in his "energetic exertion of intellectual power." What is there in the War Eclogue that he can dare to particularize as not being "in any way derived from realities?" Was there no "desolated tract in La Vendée?" Did Slaughter *not* drink the blood of "thrice three hundred thousand men?" Were there really no mothers and infants perishing with starvation? Was there never a cottage burned, nor a "naked rebel shot" in Ireland? We thought something of the sort had been matter of history. We thought moreover that Mr. Coleridge had left tolerably strong proofs on record of his having been, at that period, if an erring, yet an acute, observant, zealous, and deeply interested politician; of his knowing something of Mr. Pitt in some other character than that of a "personified abstract;" and of rather more clear, correct, and philosophical views of his connexion with the anti-revolutionary war than those exhibited in the old story of Tenterden Steeple and Goodwin Sands. It seems we were mistaken. But our mistake was nothing in comparison with that which Mr. Coleridge makes if he thinks that this Apologetic Preface can do him any credit with anybody, or give a particle of pleasure to any being in existence—except the Devil.

The next division of the Sibylline Leaves consists of the Love Poems.

This title is a complete misnomer. Two or three of the pieces classed under it are Poems *on* Love; two or three others are pretty expressions of infantile affection; and the rest are still less "germane to the matter." Mr. Coleridge evidently knows nothing of the passion of love, but by observation and reflection; so far as these enable him, he philosophizes upon it excellently well, and there his excellence ends. We look

in vain for the peculiar and genuine language of that mightiest of the passions. In the search, however, we find many very beautiful passages. There is, in the Circassian love-chant, a most exquisitely-touched sketch of cloud-scenery, heightened by the gentle tint of sentiment spread over it.

'I saw a cloud of palest hue,
Onward to the moon it pass'd:
Still brighter and more bright it grew,
With floating colours not a few,
Till it reach'd the moon at last;
Then the cloud was wholly bright,
With a rich and amber light!
And so with many a hope I seek,
And with such joy I find my Lewti;
And even so my pale wan cheek
Drinks in as deep a flush of beauty!
Nay, treacherous image! leave my mind
If Lewti never will be kind.
The little cloud—it floats away,
Away it goes; away so soon?
Alas! it has no power to stay:
Its hues are dim, its hues are grey—
Away it passes from the moon!
How mournfully it seems to fly,
Ever fading more and more,
To joyless regions of the sky—
And now 'tis whiter than before!
As white as my poor cheek will be,
When, Lewti! on my couch I lie,
A dying man for love of thee.'—i. p. 168.

The poem entitled "Love," the tale of Genevieve, which was originally published with Wordsworth's Lyrical Ballads, is an example of that analysis or exposition of this passion which our author succeeds so well in. It is one of his finest compositions. It is a minstrel's tale of how he won his bride; and the time, the scene, all the accompanying circumstances, and the "old and moving story" in which he pleaded for her heart, are so harmonized in their influences that many a father might exclaim—

'I think this tale would win my daughter too.'

It would not be easy to find another such combination as is here produced, of metaphysical analysis with pictorial delineation; and of both with the sweetest melody of verse. The author has generalised Dryden's assertion (Dryden was no contemptible metaphysician), that "Pity melts the soul to love." He maintains that—

'All thoughts, all passions, all delights,
Whatever stirs this mortal frame,
All are but ministers of Love,
And feed his sacred flame.'

This is the prelude of his song, giving us the theme, tone, sentiment, before he paints the scene, tells the tale, and describes the result, which is to furnish the illustration. Almost every stanza bears upon the subject with logical accuracy and force. The enumeration, arrangement, and combination, of the "impulses of soul and sense" by which the minstrel "won his Genevieve," are as correct and complete as if made in a chapter of Hartley or Brown. Yet the scenery and narrative, by which these objects are accomplished, are such that painters imaginations may catch inspiration from the one, and young eyes glisten and overflow at the pathos of the other. How graphic, how true and luxuriant, not only to the eye but to the very principle of sensation, is the description of that "rich and balmy eve."

'Oft in my waking dreams do I
Live o'er again that happy hour,
When midway on the mount I lay,
Beside the ruin'd tower.

The moonshine, stealing o'er the scene,
Had blended with the lights of eve;
And she was there, my hope, my joy,
My own dear Genevieve!

She lean'd against the armed man,
The statue of the armed knight:
She stood and listen'd to my lay,
Amid the lingering light.

Few sorrows hath she of her own,
My hope! my joy! my Genevieve!
She loves me best, whene'er I sing
The songs that make her grieve.

I play'd a soft and doleful air,
I sang an old and moving story—
An old rude song, that suited well
That ruin wild and hoary.

She listen'd with a flitting blush,
With downcast eyes and modest grace;
For well she knew, I could not chuse
But gaze upon her face.'—i. p. 162, 163.

Time would fail to enter upon the story, or to discuss the limitations to the author's position that all excitement, physical and mental, has an amatory tendency; a position to which, though generally true, there are large exceptions.

The "Meditative Poems in Blank Verse," which follow, afford a good opportunity to speak of our author's philosophy; his poetical philosophy, which he has preserved pure, unchanged, and unstained, from first to last, notwithstanding all his political tergiversation. His jacobinism, and his antijacobinism, his nonconformity, and his church-of-Englandism, his declamations in favour of pantisocracy and of legitimacy, have happily scarcely touched his poetry (with the exception of two or three minor pieces on the one side, and the trumpery drama of Zapolya on the other); and of the Muse, in his mind, more truly than was said, and beautifully said, by the Edinburgh Review of a certain patriot in the cabinet, may it be affirmed that she has "sojourned undefiled in the tabernacles of corruption." The *poet* Coleridge is a metaphysical and ethical teacher after our own hearts. He understands humanity; he loves humanity; he would improve, dignify, and bless humanity, in the persons of all its possessors. In his theology the Deity is no tyrant of the universe, whose glory blazes in the conflagration of worlds, and kindles up a quenchless bonfire of immortal beings. With him, God is Benevolence personified, and invested with omnipotence and omniscience. His piety is not that of bodily gesticulation, or verbal repetition, or spiritual cajolery, or importunity, but a communion of spirit and will with Infinite Goodness. His morality is neither lax nor ascetic, nor selfish, but consists in the attainment of one's own happiness by the promotion of other's happiness, and ministering to the pleasurable sensation of every thing that lives and feels. He reverences man and nature. By intense reflection on the faculties, passions, and tendencies, of our constitution, he has traced the influences to which they are subject, and those which they exercise. In his poetry, love, that is to say, benevolence, the disposition to create and multiply enjoyment, the adoption in heart and soul of the Greatest Happiness Principle, is the dictate of Nature and of God, the summary of virtue, the agency of reformation and improvement, the condition of well-being, the germ of perfect felicity. He is a prophet in the religion of which Mr. Bentham is the high-priest: he sings what we say. Proof of almost all these assertions might be adduced from the subdivision of his poems more immediately before us. Its conclusiveness will be increased by taking a wider range, and the complete consistency

of his (poetical) philosophy thereby shewn. The materials are uniform and abundant throughout these volumes, from those compositions which bear the earliest to those of latest date.

It is the more needful to adduce this proof, as Mr. Coleridge would be very likely vehemently to disclaim any affinity between his own system and that of the great master-spirit of moral and political science. The secret of the discrepancies between Mr. Coleridge's poetry and his prose has been already hinted at. On that there is no occasion to enlarge. His poetry is what has been described, because it *is* poetry, and because he is a poet. Happy would it have been for himself and mankind if he had never been any thing else. But all else will be forgotten. Future generations will know him only in that character, and the fame which he will then enjoy is a sufficiently glorious destiny.

> 'O framed for calmer times and nobler hearts!
> O studious poet, eloquent for truth!
> Philosopher! contemning wealth and death,
> Yet docile, child-like, full of life and love.'—i. p. 238.

If there has ever been a pure and true theology upon earth—a theology which can abide the strictest application of the rules of ratiocination to its evidences, and of the principle of utility to its influences, it is that inculcated in the "Religious Musings:"—

> 'There is one Mind, one omnipresent Mind,
> Omnific. His most holy name is Love.
> Truth of sublimine import! with the which
> Who feels and saturates his constant soul,
> He from his small particular orbit flies
> With blessed outstarting! From HIMSELF he flies,
> Stands in the sun, and with no partial gaze
> Views all creation; and he loves it all,
> And blesses it and calls it very good!
> This is indeed to dwell with the Most High!
> Cherubs and rapture-trembling Seraphim
> Can press no nearer to the Almighty's throne.'—i. p. 88, 89.

The same truth, but in a different style, and with a different bearing, appears in the moral of the "Ancient Mariner:"—

> 'O sweeter than the marriage feast,
> 'Tis sweeter far to me,
> To walk together to the kirk
> With a goodly company!—

'To walk together to the kirk,
And all together pray,
While each to his great Father bends,
Old men, and babes, and loving friends,
And youths and maidens gay.

'Farewell, farewell! but this I tell
To thee, thou wedding-guest!
He prayeth well, who loveth well,
Both man and bird and beast.

'He prayeth best, who loveth best
All things both great and small;
For the dear God who loveth us,
He made and loveth all.'—ii. 37, 38

The character of the ritual usually corresponds with that of the Deity. Our notions of worship must be coloured in conformity with our picture of its object. No ceremonial would be an appropriate pendant to the theology of these poems:—

'Ere on my bed my limbs I lay,
It hath not been my use to pray
With moving lips or bended knees;
But silently, by slow degrees,
My spirit I to love compose,
In humble trust mine eyelids close,
With reverential resignation
No wish conceived, no thought express'd!
Only a sense of supplication,
A sense o'er all my soul imprest
That I am weak, yet not unblest,
Since in me, round me, every where
Eternal strength and wisdom are.'—i. p. 334.

Was there ever a better commentary on that passage in the Bible which enjoins us to "worship the Father in spirit and in truth?"

The principle of our author's morality, the pursuit of happiness by its diffusion, the expansion of the idea of self by the agency of sympathy, the realizing of the sufferings or enjoyments of our fellow beings in the imagination until they come to constitute our own, assume the regulation of our feelings, give the prevailing impulse to our actions, and form the end and aim of our being, is also clearly stated in the "Religious Musings:"—

'A sordid, solitary thing
Mid countless brethren with a lonely heart
Through courts and cities the smooth savage roams
Feeling himself, his own low self the whole;

When he by sacred sympathy might make
The whole ONE SELF! SELF, that no alien knows!
SELF, far diffused as Fancy's wing can travel!
SELF, spreading still! oblivious of its own,
Yet all of all possessing! This is FAITH!
This the MESSIAH's destined victory.—i. p. 90, 91.

A mind imbued with this principle looks abroad on universal Nature with affectionate complacency. It will pour forth such moral music as we have in the lines on an Eolian Harp. We give it with the delicious prelude which precedes:—

'Such a soft floating witchery of sound
As twilight elfins make when they at eve
Voyage on gentle gales from Fairy-land,
Where melodies round honey-dropping flowers
Footless and wild, like birds of Paradise,
Nor pause, nor perch, hovering on untam'd wing!
O the one life within us and abroad,
Which meets all motion and becomes its soul,
A light in sound, a sound-like power in light,
Rhythm in all thought, and joyance every where—
Methinks it should have been impossible
Not to love all things in a world so fill'd;
Where the breeze warbles, and the mute still air
Is music slumbering on her instrument.'—i. p. 224.

The most interesting poetical development of a moral system consists in pourtraying the various states of mind, the different modifications of thought and feeling which flow from it, as observation is directed to different characters. Amongst very much of this sort of illustration we may refer particularly to the self-reproaches of one who has lived, but not enough lived, for his species; the admiration of those who, by making "audible" some "lay of truth profound," have placed themselves "in the choir of ever-enduring men," the "sacred roll" of the world's benefactors; the pity and love, the respect and gratitude, which repel harsh censures on the frailty of those who have yet been good and great; the self-administered spirit-stirring exhortation to useful activity; its enforcement upon others who neglect the exercise of their power of beneficence; and the devotedness of soul to the welfare of humanity, which in age, and amid desertion and depression, remains unchanged and unshaken. These are displayed, the two first-mentioned in the lines occasioned by "the Recitation of a poem on the Growth of an Individual Mind;" and the rest, respectively, in those on "the Last words of Berengarius;" "on having left a place of retirement;" to a "young man of fortune who abandoned himself to an indolent and causeless melancholy;" and

"Duty surviving self-love the only sure friend of declining life." And there is a touching expression of the mood which some of these pieces were designed to rebuke in the deep and rich melody of those mournful lines entitled "Work without Hope." There would be pleasure in quoting all these, but that may not be. There is another passage which belongs to them; a contrast between the dealings of man and those of nature with criminality. It is the speech of Alvar at the commencement of the fifth act of "Remorse." The scene, a dungeon:

> 'And this place my forefathers made for man!
> This is the process of our love and wisdom
> To each poor brother who offends against us;'

and then, for room cannot be afforded for the whole, after describing the hardening process by which, in what is commonly deemed the administration of criminal justice, and criminal justice it is, the wretch is

> 'Circled with evil till his very soul
> Unmoulds its essence, hopelessly deform'd
> By sights of evermore deformity;

He presents the other picture:

> 'With other ministrations thou, O Nature!
> Healest thy wandering and distemper'd child:
> Thou pourest on him thy soft influences,
> Thy sunny hues, fair forms, and breathing sweets;
> Thy melodies of woods, and winds, and waters!
> Till he relent, and can no more endure
> To be a jarring and a dissonant thing
> Amid thy general dance and minstrelsy;
> But, bursting into tears, wins back his way,
> His angry spirit heal'd and harmoniz'd
> By the benignant touch of love and beauty.'—ii. p. 215.

These verses contain the true moral of the tragedy of "Remorse," which is a representation of the superiority of the benignant over the vindictive principle in their influences upon the guilty. Ordonio is twice a murderer in intention, though only once in act. Alvar, his supposed victim in the one case; and Alhadra, the widow of his real victim in the other, are alike bent upon making him feel the consequences of his crime; but the one would waken remorse within him only as the agency for recovering his heart to the pure and generous sentiments of humanity, and thus enabling him to enjoy and bestow happiness; while the other desires it merely as an aggravation of his payment of "the rigid retribution, blood for blood." Both

are, to a certain extent, successful; but how different their triumph. Alhadra sheds his blood, and Alvar saves his soul.

Principles such as these consecrate the poetry in which they are worthily enshrined. Nor is it to be lamented that they are not taught systematically, or more elaborately illustrated. That is the business of the philosopher and the moralist. It is enough for the poet if he inculcate them, as the Bible, so much of which consists in the compositions of the bards of Judea, inculcates our duty "Here a little and there a little," as *his* inspiration may move him to take up his parable. We have no right to expect more. Nor perhaps would an ethical system, in the guise of poetry, be more. Only portions of it would be poetry; and it is better to have them by themselves. Give us the Sibylline leaves. They may be only fragments, but they are fragments of

> "An Orphic song indeed,
> A song divine of high and passionate thoughts,
> To their own music chaunted!"

Mr. Coleridge's addictedness to metaphysical theories, which are said to succeed one another in his mind like travellers at an inn, each making itself quite at home there during its temporary abode, has no more spoiled his poetry than has his political partizanship. The metaphysics of these volumes are of the most useful and least disputable description. There is the delineation and solution of some interesting mental phenomenon to be constantly met with. The solution is usually as satisfactory as the delineation is beautiful, and both, by an execution of art pre-eminently happy and admirable, are made productive of emotion in the reader. This is indeed the most extraordinary quality, the most absolute peculiarity of his poetry. It combines to an unparalleled extent the investigation or exposition of the workings of the human mind with the expression or execution of whatever affects the heart or delights the imagination. It proposes abstract truth in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." His selection of terms is often such as that we become at once conscious of their peculiar appropriateness and their resistless power. They convey the truth purely and completely, and they convey it with all those melancholy tender, or serene associations which it is the poet's peculiar business to collect. They are like sunbeams; and their light and heat are inseparable. It is as if he announced a philosophical one in hieroglyphics; but they are perfectly distinct and intelligible hieroglyphics, and their forms are lovely to the eye, and they combine harmoniously into a picturesque group, and their grouping tells a story, a story

which makes the nerves thrill and the bosom throb, and leaves us morally better for its agitating interest.

Many of these compositions, including some which belong to the purest, the highest, and the most powerful kind of poetry, are, in their construction and object, as instanced in the beautiful ballad of Genevieve, specimens of metaphysical analysis. Such is also the Ode to the Duchess of Devonshire, Constancy to an Ideal Object, the Blossoming of the Solitary Date Tree, the Sonnet on his Child being first presented to him, and the verses which he calls, we know not why, the conclusion to the second part of Christabel. All these are portions of the most splendid work on the philosophy of the human mind that was ever conceived. They are glimpses of that clear profundity of truth, of which we trace emanations in almost every one of his compositions, "The blue sky bends over all." Passages are continually occurring which shew the deep reflection of the author, his intense self-inspection, a knowledge of our nature acquired in the best school, the study of himself. There is one of these in the Hymn before Sun-rise, in the Vale of Chamouny.

> 'O dread and silent Mount! I gaz'd upon thee,
> Till thou, still present to the bodily sense,
> Didst vanish from my thought: entranc'd in prayer
> I worshipp'd the Invisible alone.
>
> Yet like some sweet beguiling melody,
> So sweet, we know not we are listening to it,
> Thou, the meanwhile, was't blending with my Thought,
> Yea, with my Life, and Life's own secret Joy:
> Till the dilating soul, enrapt, transfus'd,
> Into the mighty vision passing—there,
> As in her natural form, swell'd vast to Heaven!'

Equally true is the following sketch, in the Night Scene, of the ministry of one passion to another, but mightier, which seems its opposite:

> 'The inquietudes of fear, like lesser streams,
> Still flowing, still were lost in those of love:
> So love grew mightier from the fear, and Nature,
> Fleeing from Pain, sheltered herself in Joy.'

And what a picture is that in Christabel, of the strange fascination by which we are impelled, involuntarily, to the corporeal imitation of an object or action on which the mind is dwelling with abhorrence and dread: the innocent girl assumes the look of her serpent-eyed tormentor:

> 'The maid, alas! her thoughts are gone,
> She nothing sees—no sight but one!

The maid, devoid of guile and sin,
I know not how, in fearful wise
So deeply had she drunken in
That look, those shrunken serpent eyes,
That all her features were resign'd
To this sole image in her mind:
And passively did imitate
That look of dull and treacherous hate,
And thus she stood, in dizzy trance,
Still picturing that look askance,
With forc'd unconscious sympathy
Full before her father's view—
As far as such a look could be,
In eyes so innocent and blue.'—ii. p. 70.

Mr. Coleridge writes more, and more felicitously, from the unforced, and seemingly unguided association of ideas in his own mind, than any man we know of. We do not refer now to such mere reverie pieces, most delicious in their way, as Fancy in Nubibus, the Day Dream, and Kubla Khan, proofs as they are how truly he says

'My eyes make pictures when they are shut—
I see a Fountain, large and fair,
A Willow and a ruin'd Hut,' &c.

but to the Meditative Poems, and others which resemble them in this particular, that there seems to have been no previously designed aim or plan in their composition, except simply to delineate the flow of thoughts originated by some scene or occurrence. They are exhibitions of the writer's mind under certain circumstances or influences. They shew what at least appear to be its involuntary trains of thought and feeling. Few minds could be so exposed with any very pleasurable results to writer or reader. The process is a test of the strength or weakness, the wealth or poverty of the intellect, and of its poetical and moral qualities. It is a sort of Algebraic equation (this article is an attempt to work it), in which the circumstances and the result, are known or given quantities, and the author's intellectual rank, the unknown quantity, to be discovered by their means. The solution scarcely leaves Mr. Coleridge an equal amongst the philosophical poets of our country. It is, moreover, by *extracting*, that we, as well as the algebraist, have arrived at the demonstration of the problem. And we are sorely tempted to extract yet more largely, to illustrate the justice of our estimate. We must content ourselves with a reference, which may be made to every poem in this department, with the exception of two or three, which do not come properly under the description just given—such as the Hymn

which stands first, the Tombless Epitaph, and the Inscription for a Fountain on a Heath, which commences with those two well-known lines, of such matchless beauty and richness,

> This Sycamore, oft musical with bees,—
> Such Tents the Patriarchs loved!

Of the "Odes and Miscellaneous Poems," which conclude the Sibylline Leaves, it is only needful for us to notice the "Psychological Curiosity," Kubla Khan. The author informs us that this is such a portion as he could recollect of a much longer poem, which was composed during "a profound sleep, at least of the external senses," "if that, indeed, can be called composition, in which all the images rose up before him as *things*, with a parallel production of the correspondent expressions, without any sensation or consciousness of effort." The tale is extraordinary, but Kubla Khan is much more valuable on another account, which is, that of its melodious versification. It is perfect music. The effect could scarcely have been more satisfactory to the ear had every syllable been selected merely for the sake of its sound. And yet there is throughout a close correspondence between the metre, the march of the verse, and the imagery which the words describe. How appropriate are the full tone and slow movement of the commencing lines:

> 'In Xanadu did KUBLA KHAN,
> A stately pleasure-dome decree:
> Where ALPH, the sacred river, ran
> Through caverns measureless to man,
> Down to a sunless sea.'

The "sunny greenery," the "romantic chasm," and the "mighty fountain," are equally *well set*, and beautifully varied; and he who has ever heard read, by a voice of any tolerable degree of sweetness, guided by any tolerable degree of sense, the "damsel with a dulcimer," &c. without exquisite enjoyment at the time, and a haunting recollection at intervals ever after, certainly hath no music in his soul, and deserves never again to have any in his ears. And what, except the river itself, can equal the gentle liquidity of the following lines, heightened as the effect is by the startling contrast at their conclusion:

> 'Five miles meandering with a mazy motion,
> Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
> Then reach'd the caverns measureless to man,
> And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean:
> And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
> Ancestral voices prophesying war.'

The elements of this melody are only the common and well-known ones of English versification; our author is always felicitous in their management, but no where has he blended them in so perfect a combination as in this instance.

It might well be imagined that what Mr. Coleridge has mentioned as a peculiarity of this composition had almost always happened to him in the production of his poems, viz., that "the images rose up before him as *things*, with a parallel production of the correspondent expressions." We cannot but believe that usually his "visions flit very palpably before him," from the effect of his descriptions or allusions on the reader. His expressions have peculiar power in calling up the correspondent images. They often do this merely by suggestion. There is a song in "Remorse," of the last two verses of which every line is a picture, and the whole gradually, but most distinctly, rises upon the mind as perfect a scene as ever was painted.

'And at evening evermore,
In a chapel, on the shore,
Shall the chaunters, sad and saintly,
Yellow tapers burning faintly,
Doleful masses chaunt for thee,
Miserere Domine!

'Hark! the cadence dies away,
On the yellow, moonlit sea:
The Boatmen rest their oars and say,
Miserere Domine!'—ii. p. 175.

The second volume contains, besides some short miscellaneous pieces, several of which have been already noticed, the Ancient Mariner, Christabel, and the Dramas of Remorse and Zapolya. The last of these belongs, both in spirit and execution, to his prose works. We therefore pass that over. Nor will Remorse, although the conception is good, and there are many passages which few men living could have written, do any thing for his fame. His talent is not dramatic. Cleverness is worth much more than genius in the production of a good acting play. Morton and O'Keefe are better men for the boards than Scott and Byron. And Mr. Coleridge has not much cleverness. He wants also the versatility which is essential to a good reading play. He does not throw his own mind into those of his characters, but absorbs theirs into his. They are, each and all, only Coleridge slightly modified. Nor can we linger now on Christabel, although we should not despair of making good its claim to the well-known panegyric of Byron. The third volume consists wholly of the translations of the

Piccolomini and the Death of Wallenstein. A word or two on the "Ancient Mariner," and we have done.

The hope of a poet's immortality might be safely built, and would securely rest, on "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" alone. The hero is a most poetical personage, with his tall gaunt form, his embrowned visage, his skinny hand, long white beard, and glittering eye, passing "like night, from land to land," and doing penance for the wanton cruelty of shooting a harmless sea-bird, by the agony which ever and anon constraineth him to tell his story, "and to teach, by his own example, love and reverence to all things that God made and loveth." The voyage on which this adventure happened, involves a succession of scenes which are described with a rapidity demanded by the interest of the story, but with that graphic power which shews every thing by a few bold strokes. The storm and the calm are two specimens out of many:

'And now the STORM-BLAST came, and he
Was tyrannous and strong:
He struck with his o'ertaking wings,
And chas'd us south along.

'With sloping masts and dipping prow,
As who pursued with yell and blow,
Still treads the shadow of his foe,
And forward bends his head;
The ship drove fast, loud roar'd the blast,
The southward aye we fled.'—ii. p. 5.

* * * *

'Down dropt the breeze, the sails dropt down,
'Twas sad as sad could be;
And we did speak only to break
The silence of the sea!

'All in a hot and copper sky,
The bloody sun, at noon,
Right up above the mast did stand,
No bigger than the moon.

'Day after day, day after day,
We stuck, nor breath nor motion,
As idle as a painted ship
Upon a painted ocean.'—ii. 9.

The supernatural Agents are finely-imagined and delineated. The first introduced is the author of all the mischief which befel the Ancient Mariner and his shipmates, out of revenge for the death of the Albatross, probably almost the only living thing in

the dreary region about the south pole, which this spirit inhabited, and therefore proportionably dear to him.

> 'The Spirit who bideth by himself
> In the land of mist and snow,
> He lov'd the bird that lov'd the man
> Who shot him with his bow.'

While this vindictive spirit is pursuing his plans of retribution, "the Ancient Mariner beholdeth a sign in the element afar off," prefiguring the destiny of himself and his comrades. It is a spectre ship, in which Death and Life-in-death dice for the crew, and she (we must introduce her) wins the Ancient Mariner.

> 'Her lips were red, her looks were free,
> Her locks were yellow as gold:
> Her skin was white as leprosy,
> The night-mare LIFE-IN-DEATH was she,
> Who thicks man's blood with cold.'

Milton's Death, with all his regality, might have been proud to woo and win such a mate as this.

After the death of the crew, their bodies are animated by "a troop of spirits blest," who leave them every morning, not visibly, but in music.

> 'For when it dawn'd—they dropp'd their arms,
> And cluster'd round the mast;
> Sweet sounds rose slowly through their mouths,
> And from their bodies pass'd.
>
> 'Around, around, flew each sweet sound,
> Then darted to the sun;
> Slowly the sounds came back again,
> Now mix'd, now one by one.
>
> 'Sometimes a dropping from the sky,
> I heard the sky-lark sing,
> Sometimes all little birds that are,
> How they seem'd to fill the sea and air
> With their sweet jargoning!
>
> 'And now 'twas like all instruments,
> Now like a lonely flute;
> And now it is an angel's song,
> That makes the heavens be mute.
>
> 'It ceas'd; yet still the sails made on
> A pleasant noise till noon;
> A noise, like of a hidden brook
> In the leafy month of June,
> That to the sleeping woods all night,
> Singeth a quiet tune!'—ii. p. 24, 25.

These angels, sent down by the Virgin Mary, to whom the Mariner had prayed in his penitence, preserve him from the vengeance of the angry spirit, and bring him back to his own country, where the curse is finally expiated. Then they appear for a moment, each one "a man of light, a seraph man," casting his "crimson shadow" on the calm waters of the bay in the pale moonlight. But the great power of the poem is in the truth of the emotions which it ascribes to the Ancient Mariner, who is himself the narrator. There is an indescribable charm in this preservation of what is natural amid the supernatural; nay, in making the supernatural only serve to unfold and illustrate what is natural, and the wildest and boldest creations of imagination develop the essential principles of humanity. This it is which distinguishes the masters of the magic art from the mere miracle-monger; and makes us believe in Shakspeare's witches, while we only laugh at Monk Lewis's goblins. Our author excels here; or rather his excellence is made more apparent by the extraordinary character of the supposed events; it exists as really, and is as admirable, where the events are such as actually occur. For instance, in the conclusion of the first part, the old man shrinks from that avowal of his offence which he yet knows he must make. He lingers and lingers on his description of the Albatross, and of its growing familiarity with the sailors, and goes on adding circumstance to circumstance, each of which is an aggravation of the deed, but which serves to postpone his acknowledgement of it, till at last it is elicited by a demand of the cause of his obvious agony, and then it bursts from him in the fewest words that could express the fact:

> 'God save thee, Ancient Mariner!
> From the fiends that plague thee thus!—
> Why look'st thou so?—With my cross-bow
> I shot the ALBATROSS!'

And when his ship-mates perish, it is his conscience, and not the external organ of sense, which hears the sound of their departing souls—

> 'One after one, by the star-dogg'd moon,
> Too quick for groan or sigh,
> Each turned his face with a ghastly pang,
> And curs'd me with his eye.
>
> Four times fifty living men,
> (And I heard nor sigh nor groan)
> With heavy thump, a lifeless lump,
> They dropp'd down one by one.

The souls did from their bodies fly,—
They fled to bliss or woe!
And every soul it pass'd me by,
Like the whizz of my Cross-bow!'—ii. p. 15, 16.

The description of his solitude, after his desolation, commencing with—

'Alone, alone, all, all alone,
Alone on a wide, wide sea,'

And of his sensations in its endurance, is a study both for the painter and the philosopher. And then how touchingly is his penitence told; how beautifully produced by the contemplation of the gay creatures of the element which sported around the vessel. The Albatross, it should be mentioned, had been fastened round his neck, in token of his crime.

'Beyond the shadow of the ship,
I watch'd the water-snakes:
They mov'd in tracks of shining white,
And when they rear'd, the elfish light,
Fell off in hoary flakes.

Within the shadow of the ship
I watch'd their rich attire;
Blue, glossy green, and velvet black,
They coiled and swam; and every track
Was a flash of golden fire.

O happy living things! no tongue
Their beauty might declare:
A spring of love gush'd from my heart,
And I bless'd them unaware!
Saw my kind saint took pity on me,
And I bless'd them unaware.

The self-same moment I could pray;
And from my neck so free
The Albatross fell off, and sank
Like lead into the sea.'—ii. p. 19, 20.

Much more remains, which it would be pleasant to tell, both on this particular, and as to the general merit of Mr. Coleridge's poems. But enough has surely been adduced, both of pleading and of evidence, to make out our case, and justify our admiration. Here then we stop, and resign our pages to what many may deem more appropriate and more important topics. Thus much the occasion called for; and we have gladly availed ourselves of it to discharge a debt of justice and of gratitude—of individual gratitude even; for the writer of this article would

apply to Mr. Coleridge's poems what he says, in the conclusion of his Preface, of poetry itself. The study of his "poetry has been to me its own 'exceeding great reward:' it has soothed my afflictions; it has multiplied and refined my enjoyments; it has endeared solitude; and it has given me (or at least strengthened in me) the habit of wishing to discover the good and the beautiful in all that meets and surrounds me."

ART. II.—*A Letter to the Lord Mayor of London, &c. &c., respecting the West London Gas Company,* by William Matthews, &c. &c., *to which are added a Postcript on the Inquiry concerning the Water Companies, and also the Report of the City Surveyor on the Petition of the British Gas Light Company.* London. 1828.

2. *The Water Question. Memoir addressed to the Commissions, approved by His Majesty in pursuance of the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, to inquire into the state of the Supply of Water to the Metropolis.* By J. Wright. January 1828.

PUGILISTS as well as Politicians remark, that an attack on the bread-basket is very apt to discompose a man's nervous system; and, truly, John Bull has always been noted as particularly willing to wince at any suspicion of an assault on his especial stomach. To be sure he is no very violent water-drinker, and is always ready enough to poison himself with gin and compounds on one side, and with a certain Stygian drink, called Port wine, on the other; to note nothing of quassia and drugs in the disguise of beer, or of Cape, Opera Champaigne, Beaufoy wine, and physic, from Solomon down to Anderson, of which, in the shape of guinea bottles and stamped boxes, he swallows more than all Europe; nay, than all Europe, Asia, and Africa, put together. But he is a free man—liberty for ever! and does not choose to be poisoned nolens volens, unless it should be with water that he never tasted, and never means to taste as long as he lives.

Besides, he is a man mortally given to fright-taking, and more especially when he does not know why, and most of all where his health is supposed to be implicated, or any body has been murdered, or some cur has run mad in Orkney, or the doctors have discovered a new disease, called by some fine and unintelligible name. On all which we congratulate him, because it is a sure sign that he is a very comfortable and happy fellow, to whom death, in any shape but that of a gallipot or a pill-box, is really a grim visitor, and an ugly customer. In short, he has a natural love of being *frit* (to use a Kentish inflexion of that pleasant verb), and thus do the

wise take advantage of his affections, to frighten the little sense he may have out of his head, and as much money as they can contrive, out of his pocket.

Many years have passed since Dr. Lambe laboured duly and devoutly to frighten all his Majesty's lieges out of the use of that poisonous fluid called water. The prophet prophesied in vain: his pallid and disconsolate ghost walks the purlieus of Kentish-town and Tottenham-court-road, lamenting; but a fragment at least of the mantle descended last year on a certain Mr. John Wright, and that fright which the doctor could not produce, was effected by the minor prophet. Out of the mouth of the Dolphin proceeded and was to proceed—nothing less than the eighth vial. Do we live to write it? we that have eaten, drank, washed, and slept upon Dolphin-water, ever since Mr. J. Wright, of St. Saviour's, Norwich, first prophesied, and long before humanity tempted the good Samaritan of St. Saviour's, to come all the way to London for the benevolent purpose of saving the lives of some hundred thousand Christians, whom he had never seen and of whom he had never heard.

There was something here so chivalrous, so humane, so ultra Samaritan, that had we been then given to motive-mongering, we might have thought of looking for the said motive. Mr. Matthews is more willing to seek and keener sighted to discover it: though he insinuates rather than says, that the object of all this benevolence was, to run monopoly against monopoly, or that some greater whale was to be fattened by swallowing up the Dolphin, just as one serpent only grows to a dragon by devouring another.

The commercial part of the question may be easily settled. Is the water too dear? Let the company produce their books. Do they break their contract made under the protection of an act of Parliament? Dissolve them. Was the act incautiously made and passed? Why was it not contested better in its progress? Why do not committees take more care? If the losers have suffered by their own *laches*, let them petition, and see if they will be allowed a remedy? But if this, or any company, do not gain more than the fair profits of speculation, or of stock so advanced, of fixed and perishable capital, and if their management is neither fraudful nor wasteful, there is no cause of complaint on the score of cost.

We take no part in the squabble between the different Water Companies; that is the best which gives the best commodity on the cheapest terms; but writers ought at least to make out a commercial case, before they tamper in this manner with property, and a moral one before they attack re-

putation, without proof. And, also, they ought to make out a physical case, a chemical case, before they write ferocious and abusive pamphlets, and make fools of John Bull and the Houses of Parliament. There is nothing in all the histories of mad-dog-ism that occasionally assail us, at all to be compared to the hydrophobia which occurred last year. It was an absolute insanity within the circulating system of the Grand Junction; and, if all the seven thousand families were as mad as the few that formed our private circle, we must congratulate ourselves that this circle was so small. That such men as those who formed the committee at Willis's Rooms should behave like beings out of their senses, is wonderful enough; but that they should have exposed their utter ignorance of physics, water, chemistry, science, is not at all wonderful, because this class has nothing else to expose in such matters, and because it is one of the invariable laws of nature, that a fool is much more anxious to display his folly, than a wise man his wisdom.

That their heroic leader, also, should know nothing whatever about the matter, is perfectly natural and proper, or how should he have been a fit man to undertake it? Had he understood it, or proved himself to have understood it, he never would have led his pack in that fifty-fold leash; for when did ever ignorance and blockheadism submit to the government of wisdom and sense? The oxen walk before the drover, because he is, of all the two-legged race, the nearest to themselves; and all they require is a cry, as nearly like to their own natural music as possible. This is the way to govern multitudes. Justification, taxation, emancipation, the nation, or Dolphin and poisonation, it is all one: the halloo is given, and the dogs follow. Things will mend by-and-bye—they are mending already.

But why are the doctors as ignorant as the quack? doctors are taught chemistry: so they say; and the world (not in its wisdom) believes it. And because they understand chemistry and water, Dr. Lambe finds, that water contains lead, arsenic, and what not? Dr. Abernethy discovers that common sense is common sense; a noted chemical fact: Dr. Mead (for living or dead it is all one) ascertains that water is a vehicle of nutriment, and that "when it happens to be bad, it is no wonder if in its passage through the body it does not make suitable impressions there." No wonder, indeed. A late author, and Dr. Lind, find bad water to be the cause of the scurvy; Drs. Harrison and Vitruvius have discovered it to be the cause of the rot in sheep: Mons. Cabanis finds that it disposes to "cold and slow diseases:" Sir John Sinclair comes in with his pre-

dictions among the other ancient women; and to sum, not the whole, but the whole of whom it is needful to speak, Dr. Frederick Hoffman, who, by the bye, is one of the greatest of the great Apollos in the luminous science of physic, perorateth thus:—"If there is in nature a medicine that deserves the name of universal, it is water. It guards against every disease, protects and defends the body from all kind of corruption that may prove fatal to life, and answers all possible intentions of cure, so that without it no disorder, whether chronic or acute, can be happily and successfully removed," and so forth. So thought Mons. Lavement, in Roderic Random: to say nought of Sangrado: and doubtless the pump is an important auxiliary, in a three and six-penny draught every four hours.

Of such stuff is what is called physic, and the philosophy of physic, and physical writing; and of such is Doctor Frederick Hoffman, and the rest of the doctors. Peace be with them, and their evidence too. Let those who want to learn more of this learning have recourse to Mr. J. Wright, of St. Saviour's, Norwich; but will any body answer how it was, and is, and will be, that all the physicians which were mustered in London on this question, could not give an opinion about it, except a foolish, or an ignorant, or a neutral one, or—none at all? And when water, too, is the universal medicine, and the universal cause of disease moreover. Oh, ye doctors, ye shall not doctor us when we are sick. But enough of ye all.

The Grand Junction Company were very silly, or very bad politicians, to place their pipe where they did, even though the water entering it had been proved to be as pure as that which comes from the clouds on St. Swithin's day. If a man had eaten a slice of venison, and it had been afterwards shewn clearly to him that it was of a man, or a fox, it would certainly have spoiled his digestion. Let them shift it without delay, if they have not. But this is a moral question. The present is the chemical one, and thus it ought to have been tried at first. Was the water pure or not, when all this outrageous outcry was made about it? The question might have been answered in five minutes, without an appeal to Almack's, sir F. Burdett, or the House of Commons; and if it had, the doctors might have still been suspected of understanding something about chemistry. However, thus good comes out of evil; the public is disabused; or it might be, but is not, and will not.

The water was, and is, just as good and as pure as any other water taken out of the Thames in any other place. It contains absolutely nothing, but a most magnificent, and also variable

quantity of mere earth, which is, vulgarly speaking, sand and clay. At times it does not contain even that, it is purer than London rain-water. This is the fact; and we may now inquire a little further into the philosophy of the matter, for even the Report of the Commissioners has not done this, as it ought to have done, for the satisfaction of the people. There is a vast fuss about a trumpery examination, called an analysis, which any chemical student could have made, and there is no general reason assigned for the future satisfaction of the people, should some new dispute arise with some new company, a new Dolphin, or some future accuser start up when the present is forgotten.

The Thames water is good, and always will be good, as good as it is, though sewers or manufactories should be doubled, or quadrupled upon it. This is the important question, even in a political and commercial view. No man in his senses would assuredly lay a water-pipe at the mouth of a sewer; but in any place that common sense would choose, the river water will be good, even did it receive, what it now appears it does not, the refuse of the gas works.

In the water, as in the atmosphere, there is a regulation of nature (we cannot call it a law till we know what the law is) for decompounding or precipitating putrid, or decomposing animal and vegetable substances. On this subject Dr. Lambe in particular writes egregrious nonsense. It is not easy to discover chemically, or truly, what the exact process, or processes are, by which this is effected; but some of the general causes are apparent, from negative reasoning, and one very active positive one we have ascertained. More than one, indeed; but perhaps only one made use of by nature in this particular case.

Let us note the common apparent causes; and first of these is proportion or bulk. The great disproportion of the pure water to the foul is the most obvious cause of purification. We might expect that this should only act by mere dilution, but it appears to do more, though it is not apparent how it does act chemically. And the next is motion, respecting the powers of which there is no doubt, and on the probable action of which it is more easy to speculate. If a pool of fresh, or salt water, even a definite and not a large quantity, be at rest, and containing offensive matter, vegetable or animal, in solution, it is sufficient to put it into motion to dissipate, decompose, or precipitate this, in a short time. We use three words, because what the chemical process is perhaps remains to be ascertained, but the offensive matter disappears. And if quantity and motion be united, the effect is most rapid, as may be seen at

sea after a calm at any time, and as must be familiar to all seamen; particularly in the tropical latitudes. And both quantity and motion are operating in the Thames. It is thus purified every hour, every minute.

The action of the atmosphere is concerned; it is the exposure, in succession, of all the parts of the water to the air. The volatile matter, which is odoriferous, and a gas, becomes dissipated in the air, or decomposed by it, as in other and commoner cases; but there is yet somewhat more done, and some portions of the dissolved substance are thus rendered insoluble and precipitated.

Now it is the matter in solution that is the really injurious substance; and injurious enough it is, as is well known from ample experience. If Mr. Wright, or the committee, had ever drank of such water, they would not have forgotten it as long as they had lived; but, at the same time, they would have known what the water in dispute was not. It might be a punishment of poetical justice to treat them with a day's drinking, to teach them what bad water really is. But as to *fragments* of vegetable matter, they amount to nothing, even if they existed in the Thames water, which they do not. And fragments of animal matter are obviously out of the question; they must be decomposed and in solution to do harm, and no pipe injects a piece of a dead dog.

There is however a directly purifying cause which has not been noticed, never noticed, while, singularly enough, it is one of the great grievances complained of. This is the mud of the river itself. We use the vulgar and prejudiced term: speaking chemically, we mean the clay, a mixture, properly, of finely divided silica and alumina chiefly. This is a precipitant to the matters in solution; it combines with them, especially with that obscure mucilaginous or extractive matter, which corrupts or injures that water which is notorious for badness, and carries it to the bottom, where its decomposition is afterwards completed; sometimes, however, not very quickly. So it is, that there may be pure water lying upon offensive mud. Thus the very clay of the Thames, which renders it so disagreeable to the eye, is one of the causes of its purification and its purity. Muddy water is doubtless an evil, but it is at least innocent; and it is seldom very difficult to purify. And if it is the visible evil of the Thames water, let us at least console ourselves with reflecting that it produces a balance of good, and is a curable disease.

Our limits compel us to be very brief; but we cannot pass over those formidable shrimps which have been the source of so much absurd alarm and bad language. It may sur-

prise an ignorant man, to be told that they are also purifiers of water, yet such is the fact. We need not eat them, raw or boiled; but even if we did, they are as good eating as any other shrimps. Their office in water is good and useful; and, as in so much more of Nature's doings, they were probably intended to be useful to us, or others, as well as to themselves. When water, stagnating water of course, is corrupt, through animal, and often also through vegetable, matter, these animals are small or invisible, and their abundance is often such as to render it absolutely thick; a sort of soup. These swarms are the prey and food of larger ones, and of this very terrific shrimp among the rest; and it is quite sufficient to introduce a few of these into such water, to purify it in a few days. They devour the evil; and the harm which they may do in return is not discoverable. Nay, there is not a boor peasant in England who does not know, that if he wants to keep a covered spring or well pure for use, he must put a frog into it if he does not find one there. The blockhead who should set forth to kill his frogs, would soon find his spring-water worthy of a real committee of doctors at Almack's; and very probably the doctors and the committee would pass a vote of censure and anathema on the tadpoles. Such are the advantages of learning, in Chemistry and Natural History.

Is there yet more?—more there is. The Thames water is to contain vitriol, copperas, indigo, gas, lime, oil, apothecaries' draughts, and—what more? Ask Dr. Lambe and Mr. J. Wright; a general and "strong distillation" of—of London in short. Are any, is any one of these nameless heterogeneities to be found in it? Not one was ever found, and not one ever will be, unless the analyzing doctor chooses to sink his bucket at the waste-pipe of some one of these manufactories. The question was easy at first; why was it not asked? why was the river not tried before it was abused and condemned?

It is not so, and it cannot be so; and we will not repeat the reasons, for it would be little more than to repeat ourselves: dilution and precipitation—reasons enough. A boy tumbles into the West-India Dock, and is drowned; therefore he is poisoned by a solution of the copper bottoms; as if people were never drowned in water. There is no copper even in the water, beneath the copper bottoms. And thus do the ghosts which have been conjured up disappear before the touch of the wand of—we had almost said common sense; for really to boast much of the very little philosophy which we have applied to all this, would be to rank with captain Bobadil.

But there is an evil which must not be passed over in silence,

There is a source of mischief which does not belong to the companies, but to the companies' customers. And if, instead of running about seeking and spreading ignorant prejudices, some of those who clamour most, would look "at home" and see what time and dirt and neglect have been piling up and gathering round their *cisterns*—the water of the Thames would not so easily lose its reputation. "Peep into your cisterns," should the Dolphin people say, for here lies the better, or worse, part of the evil; here is the fault,—here is the neglect,—and here must a great portion at least of the remedy be supplied.

These cisterns deposit the clay which the water must bring them, and that mud becomes, in time, in certain places, animalized, if such a term may be coined. Animal matter comes down with and in the London rain-water; but we believe that such water ought not to enter cisterns. Does it or not? Flying seeds enter them, and thus produce vegetables; animalcules come after, and the rest follows. This may not be frequent, but it does happen; and, for the interest of the water merchants at least, it should not be so. They may send the water as pure as they please, but it cannot remain so long on these terms. We know not if they can prevent this; but it is clearly for their reputation that they should if they can; because the blame will always be thrown on them, let the cause be where it may. The whole cistern-system is bad; essentially bad, or badly conducted. Here come the dirt and the stagnation, and the de-aeration of the water, and all that renders the Thames water really but an unwholesome fluid for drinking, good as it is in itself. *Caveant Emptores,* they perhaps will say; and perhaps this is as unavoidable as it is abstract justice: and if the consumers will not look after their own affairs and interests, they do not deserve much pity, and least of all are they entitled to make a vast outcry, run mad, write bad books, call meetings, and abuse the Grand Junction, or the Little Junction, or any Junction Company dealing in Thames water.

There is one prejudice more respecting Thames water, which we gladly take the present opportunity of examining, as the subject of water is very little likely to cross our career again. Its importance, as it concerns our shipping, will form an apology; if apology be necessary, for attempting to substitute sense for nonsense, in the minds of a whole nation; very particularly when that nonsense is as pernicious as it is rooted, and when the sense would prove no small saving of health, comfort, and convenience, and occasionally of money also.

Thames water is the best water in the world to carry to sea,

but it is necessary that it should first corrupt and stink; by which means it *does* become the best water in the world. This is somewhat akin to another dogma, in morals, however, namely, that a man is unlikely to be good for any thing unless he has been a profligate, and full often a scoundrel in his youth; this said operation being technically termed sowing wild oats (let those who invented the metaphor prove the parallel), and bearing an analogy to the stinking of Thames water. These sapient dogmas are about equally sound. The moralists, who have discovered the blessings of vice and rascality, may be left to enjoy their hypothesis, but the physical and chemical one is the present affair.

It is best to explain the fundamental blunders first. The corruption of water, and the putrefaction of gold, stand on pretty much the same chemical bottom. Because Mr. Burgess the Picklemonger keeps his Harvey sauce in bottles, the said sauce continues to be competent for fried sole or boiled whiting, but if he chose to put it into copper canisters, it would soon be fit only to poison rats and epicures. Bristol water is imported from Bristol in bottles, that it may be carried to sea pure, and be preserved pure, and so forth; because Bristol water is—in short Bristol water, and incorruptible; and when it comes to be drunk, it is drunk under the scarcity and the price of the water of Zemzem, which is equally incorruptible, and for the same reason, because it is the water of Zemzem.

It is very surprising; not this marvellous property of Bristol or Zemzem water, but that marvellous property of men's brains, which can only take in one idea at a time, should two be present, or half an idea, should there chance to be only one. If any of these worthy Captains of the Sea would take the trouble to introduce a quart of clear Thames water into a quart bottle, it would be a great deal cheaper than Bristol water; and then moreover they will see what they will see. But to the understanding of the matter.

The putrefaction of Thames water, or of any water, is the putrefaction of the wood of the cask. Nobody is obliged to take up Thames water thick with mud; and there are establishments on the river to clear it for shipping by subsidence, particularly at the East-India Dock. And whatever water be put into casks, barring some very unimportant differences in water containing much gypsum, it will putrify just as well, and as much as Thames water, it will be just as bad, as unwholesome, and as vexatious, for just the same time, and when the arrangements are finished, it will be just as good as Thames water.

The wood is decomposed on the surface; the wood gives out the inflammable air; the wood produces the stink, and the offence, and the poison, part of it is held in solution for a time, and after a time that portion is separated into gas, which escapes at the bunghole, and into insoluble matter, which falls to the bottom, forms the dirt, but is not injurious.

Now the evil is great for a time, as all mariners know, and it is but a poor consolation, that it will be cured hereafter; while it is obvious that the corruption is as little useful as the "sowing of wild oats;" and that, when the water becomes finally pure, it is not better than it was at first, and might as well have been kept in a state of purity all along. The advantage is just as if a man were to go to live a month or two up to the neck in a common sewer, that he might have the pleasure of remarking how wonderfully clean he was, after being dragged through the river at the end of his purification. And that evil is not seldom somewhat greater than what arises from the mere drinking of dirty and stinking water. The gas which is produced is essentially poisonous, and may even be deadly. It is bilge water in its worst state, or rather the gas of bilge water, and it is *Miasma*, and the cause of the same diseases, though not often in sufficient quantity at any one time to produce fever. Yet it does produce this frequently: nor is it an extremely rare occurrence for immediate palsy to follow the opening of a cask of water in this state. That palsy is the same palsy as is produced by miasma, and if the quantity of the poison were less, the produce would be fever, as it has been; and this species of palsy is generally incurable.

Where, therefore, the evils are such, and the true cause so plain, it becomes a mere matter of common sense, and of no great exertions, to remove the cause, and prevent the effect. It is one of the curious facts in ignorance, not in knowledge, that it has been very widely cured by means that were not intended to cure it, and by persons who, in intending to do one thing, did another, and a better thing, which they did not intend. It is now thirty years since it was proposed to keep water in iron vessels, for this very reason, and arguing on these very grounds. And he who proposed it was not listened to, because the Admiralty board and the Navy board, very seldom listen to any thing. If they did, that would be to admit that they do not know every thing already. "*Quod est absurdum.*" Yet some fifteen years afterwards, it became very convenient to sell more iron; and persons who could not find the means of working iron plate and rivets into boilers, made boilers to

hold cold water, and they obtained a contract on a patent one, or both, and water tanks of iron were substituted for water casks, and the stowage was made more convenient, and the old accidents from moving water-casks were prevented, and a vast benefit altogether accrued to ships, and the Boards consented, and so forth. But then there also came to pass what nobody before had prophesied, and the Thames water became like the bottled water of Zemzem or Bristol, and so it was; and so it is.

The mystery thus solved in another way, it might have been at last hoped that it would be understood. But it is not; and what we here desire is, that it should; and that seamen may have good water to drink; and that corruption shall not be the necessary preliminary of incorruption. The principles are explained, let us suggest their application.

A new cask is worse than an old one, as a water cask; and the reason ought to be plain: the new wood presents the very object and substance for the water to act on. And if an old cask is safer, it is again spoiled by coopering, and shaving, or cleaning. It ought to be washed free of loose mud simply. But if casks *must* be used, the inside ought to be thoroughly charred—charred all over; and this operation is perfectly simple. Such a cask is as safe as wood can be; and in such a cask there will be little putrefaction and purification of water. But "there is nothing like iron," though we are not Iron-masters or Boiler-makers; and when the durability is so far greater, the stowage far more close, and the security for pure water so perfect, why is this contrivance not far more generally substituted for casks, at least in all large ships. The South-Sea whalers have adopted it long ago, and with the greatest advantage. It is also much easier to retrim the vessel when her water has been expended or reduced, by pumping in sea water.

One more caution, however. It is extreme folly to take in muddy Thames water, and the reasons will appear from what we said before. The water itself may be pure, and the mud *may be* clay only. In that case it is but so much harmless dirt. But it is not always harmless; for, as we showed, it precipitates and unites with the offensive animal and vegetable matter. In this case, the mud would be injurious, or the water itself, in the common acceptation, would putrify, even in an iron tank, because those matters would undergo their own decomposition, and produce gas—gas and stink. The entire remedy is, therefore, plain and palpable. Let the Thames water subside, as it does in the East India Dock reservoir, put it into

iron tanks, or if not so good, into well-charred casks; and, in the former of these, at least, it will go round the world without purifying itself, return pure, and be drunk through all the voyage as pure as if it had been bottled at Bristol, or imported via Mecca and Mocha, from the sacred well of Zemzem.

ART. III.—*The History and Doctrine of Buddhism, popularly illustrated; with notices of the Kappooism, or Demon Worship, and of the Bali, or Planetary Incantations of Ceylon.* By Edward Upham, M. R. A. S. London. 1829. Ackermann.

IT is the custom of most writers, when entering upon the subject of religion, to set out with the assumption that the Eternal Being presided in bodily presence at the birth of the human race, and that his voice was heard, not in the inarticulate music of the wind, but in distinct and intelligible language among the trees of the infant world. Mankind, say they, gathered the secret of their mysterious existence from the original Source of Intelligence; they were taught the principles of a simple and sublime religion by its divine Object and Founder; and the frail bark of humanity was launched upon the ocean of time amidst the hymning of angels and the welcoming of the very elements of Nature. They fell from this state of innocence and bliss; and misery, which has dogged the heels of guilt from the beginning, became their portion. Their eyes darkened to the heavenly light which once streamed upon their lost Eden, and for many ages, their only guide was the light of Nature; their ears were incapable of hearing, and their souls of understanding the voice of God, and the slumbering echo of their hearts was only faintly and indirectly stirred by the whispering trees or the moaning wind. They forgot the solemn secret of their destiny, and in their strugglings to recall it grasped a shadow, more or less resembling the original, and more or less modified by the circumstances of their moral capabilities and physical situation. The general resemblance which may be traced among the various creeds of the separated families of mankind, is the proof and consequence of their original unity of source; and in each may be detected with more or less distinctness, an analogy with that original law, delivered by the Creator, at the birth of Nature and of Man.

Taking these dogmas as they appear in themselves before us, they involve not a little of the strange and irreconcileable. They are contrary to all analogy, and therefore at first sight repugnant to human reason. The history of man in the present day

invariably exhibits an advance from barbarism to refinement; his faculties improve, his mind is enlarged, and his soul becomes enlightened. He is taught, as it were by a process of education, to comprehend the Deity, and a knowledge of true religion is infused into his soul with the arts and sciences of civilized life.

But however strange these contradictions may appear to the mere logical reasoner, a light is seen dimly gleaming in the "dark backward and abysm" of history, which if properly employed may assist us to reconcile them. The Egyptians, as we gather from Herodotus, were the first idolaters, and their early temples, according to another authority, ἀξόανοι ἦσαν, had no statue in them.* Previous to this time, and long after, they appear to have worshipped the one God; a being without name, without figure, incorporeal, immutable, infinite, the origin and source of all things, and who was to be adored in silence.† The ancient Persians worshipped fire as the symbol of the Deity [Hyde, *de Veterum Persarum*] and their sacrifices were made, not in temples, or to images, but on the tops of lofty mountains.‡ In the temple of the Chaldeans at Babylon, there was no statue even so late as the days of Herodotus; and for a hundred and seventy years after the foundation of Rome there was not a statue in any temple at Rome.§ In the early books of the Bible, we find that the religion of Abraham was no new or astounding doctrine in that remote age. Melchizedek, king of Salem (in Canaan) was a "priest of the most high God;" ‖ and Abimelech, king of Gerar, in Palestine, recognized the Almighty in a dream, and with reference to his own subjects, exclaimed, "Lord, wilt thou also slay a righteous nation?"¶ The Arab Job, Jethro the Midianite, and Balaam the Syrian, were all acquainted with the true God.**

But, with limits like ours, it is impossible to indulge in any

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* Lucian.

† Porphyry, Cyrillus, Lactantius, and other ancient writers bear testimony to the fact. See Jamblichus de Myst. Egypt. viii. 3. and Guigniaud's Creuzer, p. 822.

‡ Herodotus; Brissonius, de Reg. Persarum Princip. p. 357, &c.

§ M. Varro. The first statue cast at Rome was much later: "Romæ simulacrum ne ære factum Cereri primum reperis, ex peculiis Sp. Cassi, quem regnum affectantem pater ipsius interemerat." Pliny.

‖ Gen. xiv. 18. ¶ Ib. xx. 4.

** "Antiquity," says a disciple of Lao-tseu, "was illumined by a clear light, of which scarcely a ray has come down to us. We think the ancients were in darkness, only because we see them through the thick clouds from which we have ourselves emerged. Man is a child born at midnight: when he sees the sun rise he thinks that yesterday never existed." Remusat, Melange's Asiatiques, t. i. p. 99.

speculations on that dark period which precedes the first faint dawning of history. The Jewish doctors, indeed, are kind enough to point out the very individual by whose means idolatry was introduced into the world, and a firm faith in their dictum would save much trouble. According to the rabbi Moses Ben Maimon, Enos, discoursing on the splendor of the heavenly bodies, insisted, that, since God had thus exalted them above the other parts of creation, it was but reasonable that we should praise, extol, and honour them. The consequence of this exhortation, says the rabbi, was the building of temples to the stars, and the establishment of idolatry throughout the world. By the Arabian divines however, the imputation is laid upon the patriarch Abraham; who, they say, on coming out from the dark cave in which he had been brought up, was so astonished at the sight of the stars, that he worshipped Hesperus, the Moon, and the Sun successively as they rose.* These two stories are very good illustrations of the origin of *myths,* by means of which, even the most natural sentiment is traced to its cause in the circumstances of fabulous history. But the Arab Job, without thinking it necessary to inquire into the sources of his feelings, explains the philosophy of early idolatry, in a few simple and beautiful words. "If," says he, "I gazed upon Orus (the sun) when he was shining, or upon Iärêcha (the moon) when rising in her glory; and my heart went secretly after them, and my hand kissed my mouth, I should have denied the God that is above."

The pious Arab here points to what the easterns tell us is the most ancient religion in the world. This, the historian Abul Faragi says, consisted in the belief of the eternity of the world, governed by a co-eternal mind, whose symbol was fire. The apparent, or material source of fire, was the sun, to which, as well as to the moon and stars, as partakers of the same celestial nature, a proportioned reverence was due.† The chief seat of this religion was in Haran, on the Chaldean border, where the grand temple of the Sabeans was on the top of a hill. The words Haranite and Sabean came thus to be used as equivalent terms.‡

We have now almost lost sight of the original tradition; and the revelations of the Deity are made to mankind through the stars "walking in brightness" and the various phenomena and

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* Ab. Ecchellens. Arab. Hist. vi. † Historia Dynast. Dynast. ix.

‡ Gentile nomen حراني *Harani* Haranita, sæpe usurpari solet pro صابي *Sabi* Sabita, qui est cultor stellarum, Golii Not. ad Alfragan.

influences of nature. The worship of the mysterious element of fire soon gives place to that of its material fountain the Sun; the whole host of heaven gradually become immortal powers; the entire world is a reflex of God, and God is adored in that world which thus reveals him to man. Thus primitive religion becomes a pantheism.* At first, the style of religious instruction would be plain, concise, even abrupt, to suit the simplicity of the dogmas; but afterwards, as Pausanias relates of early Greece, the priests would begin to envelope their ideas in enigmatical forms.† The same diversity of intellect, which at the present day causes the component parts of even civilized society to resemble different races of men, must have existed from the beginning; some magnificent minds, towering above the common boundaries of knowledge, would lift up the veil of nature; while the vulgar, grasping as it were only the outside of their thoughts, would materialize their most refined ideas, and multiply the number of gods till the pantheism arrived at the axiom of the Greeks, "Every thing is the image of the Deity." Hence the esoteric and exoteric doctrines; the priest would speak a different language to the wise and to the ignorant; his meaning would be addressed to the initiated, and its enigmatical form of communication to the multitude. The time was past when God talked face to face with man, but the same need of such intercommunication remained; and in the flight of birds, the entrails of beasts, and the thousand other omens so dear to ignorant credulity, the will of heaven would be manifested to mankind.

Symbols, or the images of ideas, must thus have been of very early invention; and the obscurity of the symbolical mode of teaching, is the consequence of the difficulty of reducing idea to form.‡ The myth speedily followed, and was at first, perhaps, intended to explain or illustrate the symbols; subsequently, it was used in the biography of personages who were supposed to partake of the sanctity of the symbol; and finally,

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* Goerres, Mythengeschichte der Asiatischen Welt, i. p. 16.

† VIII. Arcad. 8; Plutarch; Clemens Alex.; Jamblichus.

‡ The word symbol, according to Creuzer, meant originally "a thing composed of two." Thus the halves of a tablet broken between two persons who entered, according to the custom of antiquity, into a contract of hospitality, were called symbols, σύμβολα, συμβόλαια, tesseræ hospitales. By degrees it came to signify every kind of contract, and then every kind of pledge—the ring, for instance, which was deposited at a public banquet as a security that each person's reckoning should be paid. The nuptial ring, the seal ring, and, at last, rings in general, were all called symbols. The idea of *symbol* thus came to be confounded with that of *sign* in the most general sense.

was understood to mean ancient tradition as contradistinguished from history.

The heroes of the myths * were probably at first imaginary beings—personifications of the powers of nature; and as man can only reason from what he knows, their constitution and attributes must have been borrowed from his own. The earth, that fertile womb, from which he saw new or renewed creations springing every day, became a female, the Mighty Mother, the Eternal Spouse; and the heavens, whose powers were concentrated in the Sun, were the original male—the principle of life and fecundity. The grand distinction of sex was preserved throughout the whole system. When Nature came to be personified, not as a whole, but in her attributes, every god had either a wife or a mistress; and in the heat, the thunder, the storm, and the volcano, the mythologist found materials for the discords, rapes, and adulteries of the immortals, but too closely analogous with the crimes and sufferings of mankind. In fine, these distinctions were concentrated, as it were, in two emblems, called the Lingam and the Yoni by the Hindoos, and the Phallus and Cteis by the Greeks, and observable in a greater or less degree in every system of mythology.

But the mere fact of conferring a name upon an abstract idea, and attaching an almost human history to it, was not sufficient. The vulgar, with something like the scepticism of St. Thomas, required to see and feel; and visible and tangible images were therefore presented to their brute senses. These, at first, were rude stones or columns, for religion had precedence in point of time of the arts; but as mythological story took hold of the imaginations of men, they were seized with the desire of fashioning their blocks in imitation of their gods: and hence, we presume, the beginning of sculpture. Unchiselled stones, according to Pausanias, were the first images of the gods of the Greeks; and the Phœnicians, the Megareans, the ancient Arabs, and the Jews, were once plunged in the same rude idolatry.† The Lacedæmonians may be said to have arrived at some improvement when they constructed their famous Decanes, or simulacra of Castor and Pollux, of two wooden

* Μῦθος is used by Homer and his imitators simply as a discourse without distinction of truth or falsehood; and Plato applies the verb μυθολογεῖν in the ancient sense. A distinction, however, was early made between λόγος and μῦθος; the former meaning a true recital, and the latter a fictitious or poetical one. Thus we have λόγος ἐν μύθῳ "truth under the veil of fable."—See Creuzer, p. 536.

† It is not a statue, but ΣΤΗΛΗ, a pillar, or stone set on end, which the Jews are prohibited to erect.

posts, connected at the top by a cross-beam; and Dædalus went vastly further when he made his wooden Venus move, and thus compelled the people to chain the images to the temple lest their gods should run away.

"Mythology," says Guigniaud, "is an immense tree, whose trunk is unique, but whose branches cross and entwine in every direction." We would add, that the circumstances of climate and situation have the same effect upon the mythological as upon the natural tree. National character developes itself as visibly in the formation of a statue as in the construction of a system of religion. Creuzer says, that the sitting or reclining posture of the Hindoo idols was chosen for its character of *sanctity;* but the remark would have been more obvious, that the indolent orientals, as expressed in their common proverb, like better "to sit than to stand." This, besides, is the position in which their kings receive homage. The rich clothing, crowns, and jewels of the idols are also in conformity with the tastes and habits of the people. The same author suggests, that the poverty of the Greeks was the original cause of the nakedness of their statues; but the Greeks wore clothes like other people, and in sculpture cloth of gold and cloth of wool are alike. The Greeks, besides, were taught the art in Egypt, notwithstanding the story of Debutadis, whose daughter traced the image of her lover by his shadow on the wall; and they might there have learnt the secret of cutting drapery out of stone. The origin of the art among the Egyptians we know nothing about; the earliest statues we have heard of, being the colossal monuments of Mæris and his queen;* but the first Greek statuaries were *potters*—workers in clay, a substance by means of which we may make correct models of the living body, but not of the dress.† In the time of Phidias, the public exercises of running, leaping, wrestling, &c., which were performed naked, gave the last polish to the art of sculpture, and to the taste of the Greek nation.

The multitude of heads, arms, and other organs, with which, in many cases, we find a single Hindoo statue provided, arose, it is probable, from the eager desire of the constructors to express as completely as possible the various properties and attributes of the divinity. But the Hindoos are not singular in this extravagance, for we find the same thing in the most ancient statues of Greece. The Jupiter Patröos at Larissa (Ζεὺς

* Bossuet, Hist. Univer. p. 3, art. 3.

† Calcosthenes the Athenian, Demophilus and Gorsanus, were potters; nor is it improbable that Idiocus and Theodorus of Samos were so also.

πατρῶος of Pausanias) was represented with three eyes, watching over the heavens, the air and the earth. The Diana of Ephesus also, with her numerous breasts; and the Janus of the Romans, sometimes seen with two, and sometimes with four faces, are instances of the same kind.* But the extravagant imagination of the Hindoos far outstripped competition. The image of Brahma, an account of which is transmitted to us by Porphyry, must have been the most stupendous of all human conceptions. He was represented in the figure of an hermaphrodite, with the sun in his right-hand, the moon in his left, and a multitude of genii, with the different parts of the world, the heavens, the mountains, the sea, the river Ganges, the ocean—plants, animals, and all nature on his crossed arms. Here the progress of Hindoo sculpture stopped: the brahmins and buddhists continuing to vie with each other in deformity and absurdity. As for the Greeks, they went steadily onwards till they attained the summit of perfection; and it was not till the sanctuary of the arts was violated by the Romans, about half a century after Phidias, that sculpture with them began to decline. In the deification of the musical sounds, however, the Hindoos exhibited a beauty of imagination that has never been equalled. What are the Peris of the Persians, asks M. Muller—what are the nymphs of the Greeks—to the truly ideal delicacy of this thought?

Nothing, however, can be conceived more gross and stupid, when taken in the mass, than the exoteric system of the Hindoos; and, although it is our purpose to offer some expositions of the metaphysical doctrines, for the purpose of illustrating the Buddhaic system, in mercy to the reader's taste and patience, we shall say as little as possible about the thirty-three millions of the popular divinities.†

In India, as the almost universally acknowledged centre from which population, art, and science radiated over the rest of the world, we shall find, if any where, the vestiges of primitive religion, or at least be enabled to trace the progress of unassisted reason in its instinctive researches into the moral mysteries by which the world is surrounded. Guigniaud, and other writers, trace back the religion of Hindostan to its origin in the worship of the Sun, which they term the Indian Bacchus. Supposing this to be correct, the next step might be, to distinguish the

* We do not know of any instance of this liberality on the part of the Egyptian mythologists; but among the Persians the sun is represented as a man on horseback, with two heads. The dragon and the beasts of the Revelations, prove that such ideas were not unfamiliar to the Jews.

† Mill, Hist. India, vol. i. p. 285.

productive from the generative powers of nature; and thus the system would be converted into a grand dualism. "But every thing in this world," as Creuzer says, "has a beginning and an end; every thing grows and dies,—and every thing is *renewed* in the bosom of death." When a thing passes away, and is succeeded by another, the *cause* of the reproduction still remains and continues in operation. Thus the inquirer, advancing a step farther in his early philosophy, discovers a third mysterious power—a power which creates, a power which preserves, and a power which destroys and renews. The foundation was thus laid of the famous Trimourti, on which the religion of the Hindoos is sustained; but the dualism, far from being discarded, was retained as an important part of the system. How far this agreed originally with the doctrine of the unity of the Deity, it would now be in vain to inquire; but there is much reason for agreeing with Colebrooke, that the ancient religion of the Hindoos recognized a single supreme God, although without distinguishing broadly enough the Creator from his creatures.*

This supreme God is Brahm, the Eternal, the great First Cause, the illimitable, the uncontrollable, the imperishable, the soul of the world, the soul of every being. The universe is Brahm; it comes from Brahm; it exists in Brahm; and it will return into Brahm.† This eternal, incorporeal, invisible, omnipresent, universal Being, "emerging from the depths of his essence," to create the world after his own image, revealed himself at first in Brahma, the creator, then in Vishnu, the preserver and saviour, and finally in Siva or Mahadeva, the destroyer and renewer.

These dogmas exhibit the religion of the Hindoos in two distinct and even opposite forms. In one point of view it is a highly abstract and metaphysical system, of which unity is the basis. Everything radiates from a common centre, which is also a common focus to which all things return. The gods are emanations of the one infinite, and self-existent Being; they are revelations from him, in fine they are his laws, or agents, or attributes, by which he manifests himself in the universe. On the other hand, God and Nature seem to be co-existent; the

* The powers of production, preservation, dissolution and renovation, reside in nature: they are parts or properties of nature; but nature herself, the whole, the grand unity, appears to have been confounded in every system of natural religion with the Deity. There are some striking analogies in this respect between the theology of the ancient Egyptians and that of the Hindoos.

† Guigniaud, after the Vedas.

one is the soul and the other the body, indivisibly joined and mutually dependent. Thus a highly refined and intellectual system of theology is mingled in inextricable confusion with a kind of pantheism.

But the doctrine of emanation did not stop here; it proved the means of conducting Hindoo philosophy beyond even that point of splendid yet lofty and refined extravagance to which Lao-tseu, Pythagoras, and Plato aspired. Beholding a single principle present itself continually in every different form of nature, the brahmin recognized the identity of substance through all the varieties of its phenomena. The world and man, he proclaimed, are the same; they are nothing more than figures of the Deity. Every thing is God; nothing exists but God; what comprehends God is God; beyond God all is illusion.*

This doctrine, founded on the Vedas, and developed in the Mimansa system of philosophy (the author of which is said to be Vyasa, the third incarnation of Brahma) is followed by a wild and poetical cosmogony, presenting some curious resemblances to that of the Greeks. Goerres has proved that it does not differ essentially from the cosmogonies of the Vedas or Menu; and we shall see presently what relation its fundamental dogmas as stated above, bear to those of Buddha. It is by no means clear, after being thus resolved into unity, how the soul of man becomes an individual and responsible being; but according to the Vedas, after separation from the illusion of the body, it is either at once cast into a new form, or in the first place punished in hell for its crimes, then rewarded in heaven for its virtues, and then returned to the earth to undergo a further trial and purgation. When its transmigrations are at last ended, and perfect purity attained, it regains its original fountain and mingles with the being of the Most High. Here the passions and sentiments find no entrance; every thing is swallowed up and lost in enjoyment without limit and without end. The doctrine of destruction and reproduction embraces the whole of the system. The world itself is subjected to the destiny of man; and is destroyed and renewed in perpetual alternation.†

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* Religions de l'Antiquité, p. 267.

† At the close of the present age Vishnu, the Saviour, mounted on a *white horse*, will appear to put an end to the crimes of the world. The analogy is curious between this intimation and the prophecy in Revelations, chap. xix. v. 11. Guigniaud, while admitting the Indian origin of some of the more western theologies, hazards a conjecture that some reaction on opinion may have taken place in the west. We may add that

In some of the traditions of Brahminism, Siva is made the second incarnation of the Deity instead of the third; and the rude and often revolting worship of this god assuredly presents indications of very high antiquity. After the original doctrine of Brahma, say the floating authorities we refer to, had subsisted about a thousand years in peace and purity, sin entered into the world, and the altars of a mild and merciful religion were overthrown. Then Siva the second incarnation appeared, with frantic shouts and blood-dripping lips—the true Bacchus of India—extending the sacred lingam, the type of life and death. Wild orgies usurped the place of the pure festivals of primitive religion, and blood-offerings smoked upon the altars of Cali. Next Vishnu approached to moderate if not extinguish the fires of Sivaism, to modify and soften the worship of the Lingam, and purify and spiritualize the whole system. His efforts, however, were for a time in vain, and a reform was all he could accomplish. But, thirty-six years after the death of his incarnation Krishna, Buddha followed, to overturn at a blow the whole fabric, and rebuild the desecrated altars of antiquity.

The advent of this extraordinary being—god—man—or mere abstract idea—was one of the most important circumstances in the history of the human race. If the Buddhaic religion really arrived at predominance in India, its rise in the first place, and more especially its extirpation, are not merely events of stupendous magnitude, but of impenetrable mystery. How the fatal system of *castes*, which was the very throne of the Brahmins, could dissolve 'like the baseless fabric of a vision' before the appearance of Buddha, is matter of wonder; but how, after it did dissolve, its scattered elements could be collected and concentrated, and built up anew;—how the people, after the enjoyment of intellectual liberty, could return of their own accord to put their necks again into that chain of soul and body from which they had escaped;—how the moral stream of time could have run backward, and the Indian nations have returned, not to the comparative barbarism which usually succeeds the revolutions of empires, but to the very earliest stage in the progress of society after men have emerged from utter barbarism—are wonders past understanding.

The date of the origin of a power, which although it has ceased to exist in India, rules at the present moment the destinies of

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Lao-tseu, the Chinese philosopher, whose system resembles in many points that of the brahmins, designates the great First Cause by a name slightly altered from the Hebrew IHV, Jehovah. This taken conjointly with the tradition of his early journey to the west, indicates pretty clearly the source of his philosophy.

three hundred millions of mankind, must, of course, be considered a question of extraordinary interest and importance. In each of the various countries however, into which the religion of Buddha has been introduced, a different æra is assigned; and as yet the speculations of the learned have been mere guesses. Creuzer and Guigniaud, while candidly avowing their ignorance, conceive that the name, like that of Hermes, Zoroaster, and the other mystical chiefs of ancient religions, may have been applied to a mere personification of the doctrine; but they do not deny that at last the genius of ancient religion and philosophy may have been identified with some human reformer. To the theorist who advocates the mere human origin of Buddha we would suggest that the doctrine of transmigration, so prevalent in the east, offers some strong points of support. Pythagoras, who is supposed to have been deeply embued with the philosophy of India, pretended to have reigned in Phrygia under the name of Midas—to have once been Euphorbus who wounded Menelaus—and to have recognized in the temple of Juno at Argos the buckler he wore at the siege of Troy. In the same manner, the disciples of Lao-tseu asserted that the soul of their master, before animating his body, had appeared in various former incarnations on the earth; and among other adventures, that it had descended many ages before into the west (from whence, by the way, Lao-tseu is supposed to have derived his doctrine) and converted the inhabitants of the Roman empire, more than six hundred years before the foundation of Rome. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the Buddhists may have claimed the same sort of antiquity for their teacher; on the contrary, the incarnations of the Hindoo deities afford them an immediate and pressing example. A pretension to divinity, in fact, could not have been held forth with any prospect of success among a people so madly attached to the remote, by a more modern pretender; and hence, perhaps, the endless line of Buddhas, extending beyond even the fearless imaginations of his worshippers.

The fact of Buddha having been a historical personage, may also be clearly made out from the statements of the brahmins and their books. Atheism, they say (for by this name they stigmatized the doctrine), existed long before the time of Buddha; but its introduction into the world they attribute to their own deities. Indra and Virochana, we are told in the Rig-veda, having asked Brahma what the mind was, misunderstood an involuntary gesture for a reply which indicated that the body was every thing. Vishnu also at one time propagated atheism for a particular purpose; and in the

Padma-poorana, an incarnation of Siva is represented as being employed in the same honourable pursuit. But when these books come to speak of the Jains and Buddhists, they drop at once all reference to mythology. The teacher of the former sect is called Rishabha-deva in the Shree-Bhagavata; and the same work informs us, that Buddha was the son of Ajina, born in the district of Maghada. The Buddha Poorana agrees, with regard to the name of his parents, with the Manigombo, one of the works from which Klaproth obtained his materials for the life.

As we intend ourselves to keep aloof from the chronological controversy, which there are, in fact, no materials in Europe to determine, we shall content ourselves for the present with laying before the reader the opinions of various authors with regard to the date of Buddhism, or rather, with regard to the æra of the birth of the earliest Buddha of whose human existence we possess anything approaching to satisfactory testimony. These statements are given either from their authors comparative calculations, or on the authority of the books of the various countries into which the religion was introduced.

	Years B. C.
Couplet, Proem. Declar. in Confuc. Sinar. philos. p. xxviij....	1026
Abd-allah Beidhawy, after Kodja Raschid, Journal Asiat. t. iv. p. 12	1022
P. Adrien de Ste-Thule, MS. de Sectis Anamitarum	1029
Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, t. ii. p. 223	1027
Abul Fazel, Ayeen Akbery, t. ii. p. 434	1366
The Bagwad Amrita (Sanscrit), Sir W. Jones.....	2099
M. Bailly, Jones's Works, v. iv. p. 21	1031
Thibetians, P. Horace de Pinnabilla, apud Georg. Alph. Tib. p. 42.....	959
——— Upham, p. 11.....	949
Japannese, Kœmpfer, Gesch. von Japan, l. ii. c. 1. p. 172....	1027
——— Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta.....	1029
Moguls, Pallas, Mongol, Vœlkersch: t. ii. p. 11.....	988
——— ——— ——— ——— t. ii. p. 19	2044
——— Deguignes, see Upham p. 11	1036
——— Klaproth, Journal Asiat. l. i.	961
Chinese, Deguignes, supposed by Remusat to be the most correct	1029
——— ——— Mem. des Inscript. t. xxvi. p. 710	688
——— Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, p. 385	1027
——— ——— ——— ——— p. 385	668
Kashmerians, Jones's Works, v. iii. p. 38	1000
Tonquinese, Alex. de Rhodes apud Lacrozé, p. 668	1000
Siamese, Kœmpfer, l. i.....	1202

Siamese Klaproth, l. i.	744
——— Loubere, ii. p. 160	1202
——— Marsden, Asiat. Research. viii. p. 531	1202
Burmans, Symes, Itinerary, p. 329	1000
Cingalese, Ozeray, Recherches sur Bouddha	1029
——— Davy, Account Inter. of Ceylon	619
Peguans, Klaproth, Asia Polyglotta, l. 1	638

If in the above accounts* the Mogul dates by Pallas, one giving 988, and the other 2044, appear contradictory, what shall be said of the author of the article "Bouddhah" in the "Biographie Universelle," who places his birth about 400 years before Christ, and his death 142 years before his birth? When we add that the Jains, a sect so closely allied to the Buddhists in their doctrines, as to be altogether confounded with the latter by some authors, make the æra of their last sage 1036 B. C., we believe we shall have collected nearly every thing which bears upon the birth of Buddha at present known in Europe. From these statements, taking them in the aggregate, it would perhaps not be improper to place the era of Buddhism about a thousand years before the Christian era; and unless the Buddha of that time formed an exception to the body of early teachers of religion, by declining to follow the common practice of claiming an earlier origin by the aid of the doctrine of transmigration, it would be imprudent to go much higher. As for the learned reveries in which he is identified with the Thoth of the Egyptians, the Odin of the Scandinavians, the Teutates of the Celts, &c., they can answer no purpose but to amuse the scholar. The early reformers of the rude worship of the sun, which there is reason to believe prevailed among every nation in one stage of its history, were all, in a metaphysical sense, Buddhas; and with this it would be wise to be contented, where even tradition is silent, and where the explorer of the darkness of antiquity has little to rest on, except the insecure and equivocal footing of etymology.

Who then was this personage, whose birth, about a thousand years before Christ, forms so remarkable an æra in the history of mankind? What country had the glory of producing the founder of a religion which, as Remusat says, is only excelled, in the fruits of virtue and happiness, by that of the Saviour of the world? Sir William Jones, the great pioneer of our Indian researches, pronounces unhesitatingly that Buddha, in the

* The Chinese dates 1027, or 1029, are supposed by Klaproth and Remusat to be the most correct, as they agree with the chronology of the legislator's successors [see Asia Polyglotta, l. i.; Journ. Asiat. iv. p. 14; Melanges Asiat. t. i. p. 117].

opinion of his worshippers, was a negro; M. Langlés is peremptory on the subject of his African origin; and a host of lesser names, such as that of Moor, the author of the "Hindoo Pantheon," are arrayed on the same side of the question. "Siamenses narrant," says Brucker, "deitatem illam, quæ Vistnou dicitur, cum veterum mundum invisisset, formâ Ethiopis se manifestavisse, huncque deum illum Sommonocodomum, id est hominem απαθον fuisse."*

On the other hand, Remusat has collected abundant evidence to prove that the descriptions of the person of Buddha in the Buddhist books, refer to an Asiatic, and that his titles and epithets, as applied to a negro, would be in the highest degree ludicrous. In Davy's "Description of Ceylon," there are arguments on the same side by a practical man; and Guigniaud dismisses the subject in a short note as incontestibly proved against sir W. Jones.

The statues of Buddha are the principal, if not the only witnesses in this dispute, and they are appealed to by both sides. In the first place, these images are sometimes represented *black:* but as the images of Vishnu and Krishna are so also, this proves nothing more than that black is a symbolical colour among the Hindoos. "Such representations," says Mr. Upham, "are in the museum of the Asiatic Society, and they have not only the hair, but the thick lips, and the features of an African negro." The statues Mr. Upham alludes to, have, it is true, thick lips, but if we can place any dependence upon our own eyes, they are not the thick lips of an African negro; and as for the other parts of the face, we cannot well imagine any thing more dissimilar to negro features. The hair of a negro is matted and crisp, like the wool on the back of a sheep; while that of the Buddhaic statues is divided with the nicest regularity into small curls. Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny that the colour and compact appearance of the latter suggest very forcibly the idea of the former. The Buddhists very naturally evince some uneasiness when their idol's hair comes in question. They cannot deny that it presents a different appearance from the living Asiatic locks with which it may be compared, and the stories they invent to account for a phenomenon of which the tradition is lost, are not a little absurd. In one of them the mystery is solved by the fact of their sage having had his hair cut with a golden sword! The Jains, according to Major Mackenzie, account for the negro heads of their statues, by affirming that their ascetics being forbidden the use of the razor,

* Hist. Philosophiæ, vol. v., p. 817.

employ their disciples to pluck up the hair by the roots.* This curious explanation is received in triumph by Remusat; who thus contrives to expose the blindness of prejudice in himself and his opponents at the same time.†

In the superb statue of Buddha in the cave of Gharipuri (Elephanta), Moor tells us a large rose projects on each side of the head, *as if confining the hair.* The same author is confident that the hair is woolly, and affirms that the appearance is seen in no other Hindoo deity: but when we turn to the plates he has himself given us in the Hindoo Pantheon, we find that the latter assertion was very incautiously made. In plate 20, a figure reclining on a lotus leaf, which he calls Brahm (erroneously no doubt, for the supreme Being is never personified in simulacra by the Hindoos), is furnished with precisely the same character of hair as that of the plates of Buddha; and in plate 45 Ganesa, and in 59 the infant Krishna, are in the same predicament.

Some authors attempt to solve the problem by remarking, that Ethiopia may have been one of the countries which produced a Buddha, or into which the Buddhaic religion was introduced at some early period; and that his Ethiopian statues introduced into India in the infancy of art may have been blindly copied by succeeding generations. The Ethiopians, however, it should be recollected, although on the borders of Nigritia were not negroes; nor was their country supposed by the early geographers to form a part of Africa at all. Herodotus speaks of a nation of Ethiopians in Upper Egypt, and another in the East; Philostratus informs us that Ethiopia was peopled by Indian emigrants; Eusebius remarks the same thing; and some of the poets even confer upon that country the name of India. The difficulty, in fact, is by no means solved to this day, although we may suggest that a considerable part of it belongs to the low state of sculpture in the East; and on this subject we shall conclude with quoting Mr. Crawfurd's account of Burmese statuary, as being perhaps equally applicable to the art in the whole of the Buddhist countries.

"The Burmese statues are as rudely finished as possible. They are almost all in the same attitude: the form and position of the limbs are the same; the head and features are the same; and there is no room in any respect for the display of taste, fancy, or talent, the whole operation being purely mechanical, and this of the lowest order."‡

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* Asiat. Res. xi. p. 249. † Melange's Asiat. t. i., p. 111.
‡ Embassy, p 173.

Klaproth, in his "Asia Polyglotta," has given a life of Buddha from the Mogul historians, of which the following is an abstract. In the kingdom of Maghada, in western Bahar, there flourished the family of Chakia, of which the king himself was a member. The queen of this powerful sovereign was Maha-maya, who, while yet a virgin, conceived by the divine influence, and bore a son. While sporting with her companions in the garden, she felt that her delivery was at hand, and leaning against a tree, gave to the world, without the pains of child-birth, the divine incarnation. The mother taking her infant under the right arm, without allowing him to touch the ground, presented him to a king who was an incarnation of Brahma, who wrapped his charge in a precious stuff. Another king, an incarnation of Indra, baptized the infant with divine water, and gave him the name of Arda-Chidhi. He was then carried, according to ancient custom, to a sacred place surrounded with rocks, to be presented to a divine image; where, while paying his devotions, the image was seen to bend before him. The spectators being thus convinced that the infant was a miraculous being, adored him by the name of god of gods. Seven virgins were appointed to please him with their songs, seven to bathe him, seven to rock him to sleep, and a like number to the several employments of dressing, washing, and amusing him. In due time he was put under the care of a preceptor; but he soon proved himself to be more capable of teaching than under the necessity of learning; his thirst of knowledge was unappeasable, and the acquisitions it gave rise to prodigious.

Arda-Chidhi surpassed in beauty the whole human race. When he walked abroad the people followed in crowds to admire and adore him, and to present him with flowers and jewels. Even after he had arrived at the proper age he refused to marry; but yielding to the entreaties of the whole kingdom, he at length consented, on condition that the wife they found for him should be a perfect virgin, possessed of the thirty-two virtues and principal perfections. This rarity, contrary to his expectation, was at length found, and at twenty years of age he became a husband, and in due time after the father of a boy and girl.

His marriage, however, did not draw him into the whirlpool of the world, and the human affections had no power to disturb the contemplations that were fixed upon the deity. The depravity of mankind more particularly engaged his thoughts, and the misery which was its result oppressed his heart, and made him hate the splendors of royalty. He heard every

where the groans of his fellow men; he looked around and saw only the pains of child-birth, the helpless feebleness of old age, the writhing of disease, the agonies of death. He at length determined to renounce the world, and retire as a penitent to the desert. 'Farewell,' he said, embracing his father with tears, 'I renounce thee, my father—the kingdom, my wife and my beloved children. I go where I am called; hinder me not, I beseech thee, it is to me a sacred duty.' In vain his father took every precaution he could imagine to prevent his escape; a horse was brought to him by Indra, the king of heaven, and he fled into the kingdom of Oudipa, where he took up his abode as a hermit on the banks of the river Narasara, assuming the humble name of Goodam, or Gautama, or the cow-herd.

For six years he lived in this solitude with his disciples, meditating on the divine nature. The prince of the Apes, living in the neighbourhood, presented him with honey and figs. His uncle, who had been his rival in love, determining upon revenge, made an elephant drink of cocoa wine till he became intoxicated, and then fixing swords upon his flanks, he drove the furious animal into the encampment of Gautama. The sage merely raised five fingers of his hand, and the elephant, taking him for a lion, became suddenly calm.

Retiring into a still more solitary place, Gautama and his disciples sustained triumphantly an argument with two of their bitterest enemies. But a severer trial exhibited his righteousness in a yet clearer light. Four young and beautiful sisters, burning with unholy love, presented themselves naked before him, and besought him to comply with their desires. 'Who, O Gautama,' said they, in the rage of their disappointment, 'Who is the lying witness who dares attest that the virtues of all the former saints are concentrated in thee?'—'Behold my witness,' replied the sage, striking the ground with his hand; and at the moment Okiin-tôngri, the tutelar genius of the earth appeared, proclaiming with a loud voice, 'It is I who am the witness of the truth!' The young women then fell upon their faces, and adored Gautama, saying, 'Oh pure and perfect countenance, wisdom more precious than gold, majesty impenetrable! honour and adoration to thee, thou source of the faith of the three epochs of the world!'

Having lived six years in this retirement, and vanquished the temptations of the senses, Gautama terminated his state of hermit, and received the name of Chakia-mouni, or Penitent of the House of Chakia. But unwilling still to enter upon his high calling, he retired again into the wilderness, and fasted

forty-nine days. He was then visited by successive kings, who implored him to commence the salvation of the world. The princes of the genii at length presenting themselves before him, joined in the intreaty; and his five disciples, recognizing for the first time his divinity, fell upon their knees, and adored him. The countenance of the saint shone with a divine majesty, and he at length consented to reveal himself to the world. Having spread his doctrines throughout India, and triumphed over the arguments and sorceries of his opponents, he died at the age of eighty years, prophesying the expulsion of his followers from India, and the ultimate diffusion of his doctrines over all the world.*

What these doctrines were from which an effect so fatal to the Indian Buddhists resulted, is an inquiry of much importance; it is an inquiry, besides, which has been prosecuted with tolerable success by some of the literati of Europe—yet it has invariably led to a recognition of the almost absolute identity of Brahminism and Buddhism. This singular conclusion has been the source of much perplexity and consternation among the savans of France and Germany; and as we mean, on the present occasion, to deviate a little from our original plan of making the article a mere echo of the opinions of the learned, we shall take some pains to explain the subject.

It may be observed, in the first place, that the obscurity which still remains hanging over the Buddhist doctrine is owing principally to the prodigious prolixity of the books in which it is explained. No single European scholar, possessed of a whit less of patience and self-denial than Buddha himself, could be expected to wander through those vast magazines of theology, mythology, metaphysics, poetry and romance—each of which is literally a load for an elephant. The Thibetian "Gandjour" itself—a mere *résumé* of the religion—is in a hundred and eight thick volumes, forming in the mass a burthen as heavy as a camel can walk under. But not contented with this enormous reality, the theological dictionary called "San tsang fa sou" gravely indicates a work containing as many Khieï (or sentences of about twenty words) as there are atoms in three thousand

* Ward, in his "View of the History, &c. of the Hindoos," although apparently unacquainted with the speculations of Klaproth, or the documents from which the original of the above abstract was taken, conjectures from historical evidence that the Buddha was the son of a king of Maghada. This king, Klaproth, after the Mogul writers, calls Soudadani, "he who eats genteelly," and Ward, Mŭhēēpŭtee, "lord of the earth,"—which are evidently titles that might have belonged to a single individual.—*Ward*, vol. iii. p. 418.

universes, divided into as many sections as there are atoms in the terrestrial world; and another, a single sentence of which, taken in its most limited sense, would require the ocean to be turned to ink, and the grass on Mount Sou-merou for reeds to write it. There are other qualities besides, beyond mere diffuseness in the Buddhist writings, which render them somewhat difficult of approach to the European student; and these are glanced at by Remusat in the following passage: "I fear not to be confuted," says he, "in affirming, that a man who has not read any of the Buddhist books must be ignorant of the extent of human extravagance, and unable to form an adequate conception of the degree of absurdity into which the human mind may be conducted by meditations without aim, and the application of disjointed abstractions to subjects beyond all understanding."*

In the mean time, enough has been gathered from those intractable masses, to prove that "there is only a step between the Vedanta philosophy and Buddhism."† Like all the religions which originated in India, Buddhism is founded on the great principle, "that the universe is animated by a Spirit individualized in endless forms by matter which is nothing more than illusion."‡ The lingam appears in it as the emblem of creation; the world exists only in figure and quality by the work of Maya or Illusion; the trimourti retain their place, with the three elements, the three fires, the three colours, the three worlds, and the three times. Chaos is presented under the figure of an egg, from whence the father of all beings comes forth; the world is personified under the image of a man, or some huge animal. Even the hierarchy of the gods, the regulation of the world and of time, the nature and destinies of the human soul, the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls—all meet in common in the two religions. The fundamental idea of the divinity is the same in Buddhism as in the Vedas; for although the former doctrine is taxed with atheism, yet the charge is disproved, not merely by a comparison of the general parts of the system, but by the very passages which give rise to it. The pure, luminous, and transparent æther, the infinite and illimitable space of the Buddhists, does not result from the *absence* of forms—but, on the contrary, it is the origin and cradle of forms, and exists anterior to all things. Every creation, the work of

* Melange's Asiat., i. p. 151. The majority of these books exist at present only in Sanscrit and Chinese; but the cultivation of these languages is making rapid strides in France.

† Guigniaud's Creuzer, p. 300.

‡ Klaproth, Asia. Polyg., p. 7.

Maya, is as nothing before the uncreated Being; and every movement must end in his holy and profound repose. The universe exists from all eternity, but only in its principle, which is the eternal power of nature, producing and reproducing continually from its own substance. *

A. W. Schlegel declares frankly that he has been unable to form any idea of Buddhism in its relation with Brahminism. "We know," says he, "that in the Buddhist temples we find the whole Pantheon of India. Not only the theogony, but even the heroic mythology, so closely connected with the dogmas and law of Brahminism, have been transplanted into the Buddhist countries. The latter, no doubt, may have been inherited or borrowed from the priests of the ancient faith; but where then is the novelty, where the distinctive character of the new religion?" The monotheism, he goes on, which is found at the bottom of all this idolatry, is common to Brahmins and Buddhists, and so is the mystical morality which teaches man to unite himself to God by the extinction of the flesh. The merciful law of the Buddhists also, which forbids the slaying of animals, was extolled by the ancient saints of the Brahmins. "Buddha," pursues M. Schlegel, "rejected the Vedas; he abolished a part of the rites and ceremonies which their books recommend; he effaced the distinction of castes. All this, however, was merely negative. Could it be necessary for such changes that a new revelation should be given, and a prophet erected into a god? In fine, it is certain that the sect of Buddha, after having been for a long time exceedingly numerous in India, was either exterminated or expelled; and hardly had this sect disappeared, when the Jains sat down unopposed in its place, between whom and the Buddhists no difference perceptible to me exists."†

The solution of the enigma by Creuzer and Guigniaud is exceedingly unsatisfactory. It consists simply in the erection of a *hierarchy* by the Buddhists, while the Brahmins formed a religious aristocracy.‡ "The Rajas," they continue, "uniting with the Brahmins, turned their arms against those dangerous sectaries, who thus threatened to raise the edifice of their spiritual monarchy on the ruins of every other power; and the voice of the ferocious Koumaril Bhatta was heard exclaiming to the ministers of his vengeance, 'From the bridge of Rama even to the snow-capt Himala, let no man spare the Buddhists, young or old, on pain of death.'"

* Guigniaud's Creuzer, p. 656; Goerres, Mythengesch, i. p. 171; Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, i, pt. 2, 226.

† Indische Bibliothek, l. i. p. 414.

‡ Religions de l'Antiq., p. 305—6.

"Hierarchy," it must be confessed, is a dignified and mouth-filling word enough; but why the simple fact of a church being governed by a single priest, or a council of priests, should stir up such deadly hate in another, governed by an aristocracy of priests, is by no means obvious. The conclusion is the more lame and impotent, following, as it does, what seems to us to be the true explanation, although given unconsciously by the authors. "We are inclined to think," say they, "that the reform of Buddha was slow and insensible; that the innovations were gradually introduced, and had at first no other object than secondary points of doctrine, and practices more in harmony with the theory of the religion; that the Buddhists separated themselves slowly from their brethren the Brahmins; and that the first considerable schism took place when the sectaries produced sacred books and philosophical theories of their own. They then rejected the Vedas, proclaimed themselves the only true believers, and, whether from conviction or the need of partizans, broke down the antique barriers of caste, exalted divine inspiration above the laws of the priesthood, and invited to the preaching of the word all those who felt an inward call."

To persons who have studied thoroughly the political constitution of India, ancient and modern, there is, in the foregoing brief sentences, every thing that Creuzer, Guigniaud, Schlegel, and Mr. Upham, are in search of. The Brahmins, says Creuzer, had no common centre, composing a sacerdotal aristocracy, just as the warriors did a military aristocracy; they never aspired to form a state within the state—to elevate a spiritual beside the temporal monarchy. True! They had no common centre, because they were like Pascal's description of space, "a circle, of which the centre is every where and the circumference no where;" they never thought of forming a state within the state, because they were themselves the state; they did not elevate a spiritual beside the temporal monarchy, because their dominion was spiritual and temporal in one. In Egypt, where the crown was hereditary in the military body, the very fact of a warrior becoming a king constituted him a priest;* but in India this was unnecessary, for the sovereign, no less than the meanest paria, was bound hand and foot in the trammels of the Brahmins. The Brahmins were the priests and legislators in one; they were the counsellors and advisers, or rather the masters, of the king; they were the inventors of the Vedas. The phrase "Brahminical system," does not by any

* Strabo, 789; Plutarch, de Isis, p. 452; Diod. Sic. i. 70.

means apply solely to the religion of India, for Menu was a temporal as well as a religious lawgiver; in fine, the political and sacerdotal systems were woven inextricably together.

On what foundation did this compound system rest? What base was powerful and solid enough to sustain a column so vast and so shapeless? The system of *castes*. The Brahmins, according to the laws of Menu, were the masters, temporal and spiritual, of the world; the Chatryas and Vaisyas were their subjects, and the Sudras (the mass of the people) their slaves—their footballs. The similarity or dissimilarity of doctrine, so much insisted upon by European writers, has nothing whatever to do with the question. Brahminism was, and is, essentially tolerant; and if the new sectaries had followed peaceably their vocation, they might have flourished in India to this day.* Not contented, however, with emancipating themselves from the monstrous dominion of the Brahmins, the Buddhists at length put forth their sacrilegious hands against the Vedas, and hoisted the standard of freedom before the whole world. This was the signal of fury and dismay. The Brahmins felt themselves attacked in the very vitals of their power; and rising like giants from their sleep, to wield that tremendous weapon of the caste, which time had rusted but not eaten through, they scattered their enemies before them. In this point of view, the war which deluged India with blood from the third till the seventh century of our æra,† becomes doubly interesting as a war of liberty.

A very remarkable collateral proof of the correctness of this theory is to be found in the history of the Jains. Well might Schlegel say, that he could discern no difference between the tenets of this sect and those of Buddhism, for in point of fact no substantial difference exists. The Jains, however, taught by the fate of the Buddhists, were prudent enough to respect the

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* Controversialists on this subject have been led into error by supposing that in India the same rancorous hostility must naturally spring up between different or opposite sects, which we are so well acquainted with in Europe. The Brahmins, however, listen with absolute indifference to the most heterodox and damnable doctrines, they even commend a man for holding fast to his own religious opinions whatever they may be. "A man's own religion," says the Geeta [48] "is better than the faith of another man, be it ever so well followed:—it is good to die in one's own faith; for another's faith beareth fear."

Moor tells us [Hind. Panth. 356-7] that at Porna, at the Mohammedan festival to commemorate the martyrdom of the sons of Ali and Fatima, the Brahmins join in the procession.

† Wilson, Sanscrit Dictionary, pref. p. xv-xx.

fundamental institutions of Brahminism; and like the other Hindoos, they wear the fetters of caste to this day.*

Mr. Upham's splendid book has not been devoted to inquiries as to the opinions on this subject, which have so long agitated the learned world. But we shall thankfully avail ourselves of his assistance, in offering a sketch of some of the leading doctrines and legends of Buddhism. It is necessary only to premise, that these, it is probable, are variously modified in the different countries which profess the religion; although the fundamental principles no doubt are the same in all.

The Universe, say the Buddhists, is eternal, and exists in a perpetual succession of rise, change, and decay. At a periodical renewal, it is first peopled by beings from the heavens, who descend upon the earth, attracted by the glorious appearance of the spring of nature. Here they exist for a time in splendor and happiness. They have no power to return; but they still walk in the light of their lost heaven, which lingers around them. Exempted from labour, they live upon the spontaneous productions of the earth; till the original sin inherent in their nature, begins to manifest itself. Glorying in the length of their years, they become unmindful of their origin, and careless of their fate. Above the infirmities of life and the miseries of the world, they deride the very deities—they are as gods to themselves. At this epoch their self-emitted light becomes dim and more dim, and darkness is seen rushing upon them through the moral twilight. The very earth is blighted by the sin of pride; its productive bosom slowly dries up; its spontaneous banquet becomes scantier and scantier; and men at last are obliged to support nature by the sweat of their brow. In the ages of happiness the lower animals have their kings; and when wickedness makes this advance among the human race, they also feel the want of a sovereign power to control them. But the time of the first king is comparatively an age of purity and happiness. Mankind still retain a large portion of their beauty (virtue), and their age is still prolonged to an immense duration. In the time of the second king, the beauty has diminished, and the span of life is contracted; the strides of crime are more rapid; falsehood, murder, and other deadly sins, enter one by one into the world; and so on through an incalculable series of ages, till luxury, anger, and ignorance, have

* Ward, vol. iii. p. 437. How lightly these fetters are now worn this is not the proper place to show; but to the struggles of the Buddhists may in great part be attributed the gradual dissolution of the system, which is beyond all question going on.

reduced the stature of men to a pigmy size, and the days of their lives to the space of ten years. Then "the windows of heaven are opened, and the fountains of the great deep broken up;" the rain falls in drops as large as a Palmeira tree, and the outcasts of sin seek for refuge in the rocks and caves of the earth. The evil passions spend the last moments of their power in fiendish revelry, and, like the devils of Scripture, rend their victims before leaving them for ever. Cruel in their terror, and furious in their despair, the brethren of mankind rush like tigers and bears on one another. Whatever they can grasp is turned into a weapon of destruction, and thus they fight till nearly the whole human race perishes. The few who had succeeded in hiding themselves from the poisonous elements, now come forth from their dens, and, struck with dismay at the spectacle of devastation before them, all depraved as they are, renounce one of the sins forbidden in the commandments of Buddha. Their children renounce two sins, and their grandchildren, and remoter posterity, advance step by step, in amendment, till happiness again takes up her abode in the world. The earth, as formerly, produces her spontaneous fruits; and the human denizens of the earth, waxing daily in size, power, and longevity, forget all that has passed, and look upon themselves as immortal. Then the retrograde motion recommences; men sink as before into sin and misery; and when the measure of their iniquity is full, a new mandate of destruction is issued against the world. Six additional suns appear in the heavens, and these rise and set alternately, without making any distinction of day or night. So mighty is their heat that the whole universe is consumed to ashes. An inundation follows, and the elements of the world expand into a new creation. The beings who had been saved in one of the temporary abodes of felicity, forsaking in their turn a heaven for an earth, descend to people the world. The same happiness endures, the same change takes place, and the same descent into sin and misery and despair. *

If the period of the grand cataclysm has arrived, brought on by the increasing guilt of the world, men are warned of their fate by signs and portents. A Nat god descends upon the earth, his hair dishevelled, his countenance mournful, and his garments black; he passes every where through the public ways and streets, with doleful voice announcing the approaching disaster. In the same manner as the fowls of heaven, and the fish of the sea, by a certain natural instinct, have a fore-

* The above is the substance of the systems at page 5, and pages 80-81, collated, reconciled, and blended together.

boding of storms, so the Nat perceives the approach of a world's destruction. Having finished his warning, a fine rain falls, but it is the last rain during that world. The wind begins to blow, and gradually increases; at first it only raises sand and small stones, but at length it whirls about immense rocks and the summits of mountains; then shaking the whole earth, it dissipates this and the others, with all the habitations of the Nat gods, Rupa and Arupa, and scatters them through the immense extent of the skies.*

These dogmas, at once fantastic and sublime, present a very striking analogy to those of both the sacred and profane writers of antiquity. The description of the virtue and happiness which prevailed in the world in its early years, the rationality of animals, the longevity of mankind, their rebellious pride, the introduction of sin, the curse of the fruitful earth, the shortening of the span of human life, the destruction of the world, and the preservation of a small part of mankind—all appear as if actual transcripts from Scripture. The demons, and the pre-existence of the soul of the Pythagoreans, in their exoteric doctrine, may also be perceived in the Buddhist system; and the ideas of Plato are still more clearly developed. This philosopher, we know, ascribed a divine origin to the soul, of which the stars were the first habitation. After their fall they were condemned to dwell in human bodies, where they still retained some faint recollections of their former existence. To this reasonable soul another was united, which was the seat of the senses, the desires and the passions, which had power to betray into sin, and was fated to perish with the body; while the spirit *par excellence,* might be rendered worthy to return to its primitive state.

This singular doctrine of the destinies of the universe is placed by the Buddhists in a more singular frame. An infinite number of deities are set over the different parts of the system, as if to rule and direct them; but these, without power to hasten, avert, or retard calamity, are apparently nothing more than gilded trappings to catch the gaze of the vulgar. As this part of Mr. Upham's work is of necessity both the dullest and the most incomprehensible, we shall refrain for the present from doing more than allude to it. In Buddhism there is no hell, as the majority of Christians understand the word; the places of torment are purgatories, from which the very devils may escape. The subordinate heavens—the "many mansions"

* Asiat. Researches, vi. 242—4. The general analogy of this system with that of the stoics is very striking.

of bliss—are also of a temporary nature; and the soul which has been rewarded for its virtues with millions of years of happiness, may at last be returned to the earth, and then to the hells, to undergo a further trial and purgation.

The object of this complicated system of trial is the final attainment of Nirwana—a word which some writers maintain to mean annihilation, and others supreme felicity. Nirwana is at once the deity and the abode of the deity; it is the womb of forms and the mother of spirit; it is the centre from which every thing radiates, and the focus to which every thing returns; it is, we should think, the very antipodes of nothingness. In the exoteric system, as Mr. Upham justly observes, it means any thing but annihilation; for the Buddhas who have already *attained* Nirwana, are represented as consenting to the accession of a new Buddha. In the esoteric doctrine, which in fact represents the soul of man as eternal and indestructible, annihilation is out of the question. "Nirwana," says Dr. Buchanan, "implies (among the Burmans), exemption from all the miseries incident to humanity, but by no means annihilation."*

Nirwana can only be attained by obedience to the commandments of the Buddha, and the Buddhaship is open only to the sons of men. The five principal commandments, by the strict observation of which a man may obtain Nirwana, and the human race even avert, or delay, the execution of the decrees of fate with regard to the destruction of the world, are as follows:

I. Thou shalt not kill.†
II. Thou shalt not steal.
III. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
IV. Thou shalt not say any manner of falsehood.
V. Thou shalt not drink any intoxicating liquor.

There are five other commandments, the purport of which is to repress luxury and avarice in their various forms. But in case the transgression of any of these ten precepts should arise from ignorance or accident, a table is given specifying the graduations of guilt.

The reader will have been struck in the course of this article, not only with the resemblance of some of the doctrines of Buddhism to the patriarchal traditions, but with the analogy the whole system bears to Christianity. The world is described

* Asiat. Researches, vi. p. 180.

† "Nihil esse interficiendum quod εμψυχον sit."—Brucker, *Hist. Philosoph.* v. 5. p. 818.

in both systems as a scene of turmoil and anxiety, and the Nirwana of the Buddhists, and the heaven of the Christians, are both essentially places where "the weary are at rest." Buddha arose like the divine Founder of Christianity, to "call the nations to repentance;" he opened the arms of his religion to the Gentiles; he rebuked the Scribes and Pharisees of Hindostan for the hollowness of their observances and the falsity of their pretensions, and called to the standard of his faith the poor, the humble, the ignorant, and the obscure. To "mortify the flesh" was the injunction of both. To subdue nature, as Pythagoras taught, in order to approach the divinity—to practise virtue (the ἀρετὴ of Plato, which implies true wisdom), moderation (σωφροσύνη), or the subjection of the desires under the empire of reason—courage (ἀνδρεία), or the constancy to shun moral and endure physical evil—justice (δικαιοσύνη) or the fulfilment of our duty towards our neighbour—these were alike the fundamental doctrines of Buddhism and Christianity.* It is not our province, nor, in a Christian country and in the nineteenth century, is it necessary, to show in what the *difference* between the two religions consists.

So remarkable was this analogy, even in the outward forms and in the doctrines which lie most on the surface, that the early missionaries to Thibet considered Lamaism as merely a degenerated Christianity; and this opinion was supported by Thévenot, Renaudot, the Andradas, Horace de la Pena, and Georgi; and more recently by Deguignes, Lacroze, and others.

We have no room to pursue Mr. Upham through the other departments of his book, in which he presents a popular picture of the Kapooism or Demon worship, and the Bali or planetary incantations of Ceylon. We return him our thanks for calling in so attractive a manner the attention of the British literati to subjects on which the French and Germans are far outstripping us; and, in the meantime, we shall wait with some impatience for the translations of the Cingalese sacred and historical books which we understand may soon be expected illustrated with his notes.

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* The earlier school of Lao-tseu, as Remusat tells us, exhibits a striking conformity with those of Pythagoras and Plato. 'There is no greater sin,' says the Chinese, 'than ill-regulated desires, and no greater misfortune than the torment which is their just punishment.' We have already hinted at the supposed derivation of this philosopher's doctrine from the west.

ART. IV.—*The Leeds Mercury; The Manchester Guardian.*

THE subject of the present article will be the Provincial Newspaper Press of the three kingdoms, or at least such specimens of it as may give a correct idea of the whole; and in communicating the information we have been able to collect, we shall endeavour to deduce a few conclusions, as to the influence which is exercised by the provincial papers on the minds of the population, and the extent to which liberal, or in other words, correct and just ideas on religion and politics, have been created by the greater diffusion of knowledge through this medium. There is, however, one difficulty in the way. Of the total number of newspapers published out of London, some of the most extensively circulated, and which might fairly be expected to express opinions of their own, and to lead to a certain degree those of their readers, are absolutely without original articles, and may be regarded as mere (although frequently, from the skill and taste displayed in the selection, clever), registers of the news and occurrences given in the London papers. It would be a matter of great surprise, to see large towns and districts thus unrepresented in the great parliament of human intellect, if it were not for the circumstances attending the establishment of such papers. Many years ago, when under administrations, which encouraged every kind of tyranny in the "duly-constituted authorities," from the office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department to the constable of a hamlet, the expression of liberal opinions would have been attended with danger to the pecuniary interests, if not to the persons of those who should utter them. Newspapers were commenced in towns requiring some public means of announcing the mercantile changes and wants of the population, upon the express understanding that all opinions on political questions should be excluded, or that if any were given, they should be in accordance with those of the rector, the magistrates, and the members of the corporation, who could discover no evils in a system under which they "throve and fattened daily." Several of the most extensively-circulated country papers had this kind of origin; and in many towns where the improved ideas and principles of the last few years have made rapid progress, the reading and reasoning part of the inhabitants are satisfied to tolerate a local print, which is either a mere medium for advertisements, or the political opinions of which do not represent their own. Every large, and indeed almost every small town in Eng-

land, and several in Ireland, have now subscription reading-rooms, at which all the leading London papers are taken, so that no person who can afford to pay a guinea or so, annually, needs be without the means of gratifying his curiosity, or desire, for improvement. In many of the towns where papers of the kind alluded to are well circulated, the absence of competition may be very easily accounted for. In the metropolis, a speculating individual who wishes to start a weekly newspaper can do so with little risk, as compared with the country. Printers are to be found in almost every street with whom he may make an arrangement for a week, or a month, by way of experiment; and a similar plan may be adopted as to every kind of literary assistance, whilst at the house of an established publisher he can have his work sold at a certain commission. When the experiment has been tried a few months and found to answer, he sets up an office and types of his own, upon which he derives a profit, which, in the first instance he was willing to forego, in the certainty of being able, at a very short notice, to lay down the speculation with a small loss. It is not so in the country. There are few towns in which a printer is to be found with sufficient materials for printing a newspaper, unless he has already one of his own, consequently a large outlay of capital becomes necessary. Then the literary engagements must be at least for one year, for no man of talent and experience in newspapers would accept of an engagement on a new provincial print for a shorter term. Agents must be appointed over the whole district, and a variety of expenses must be incurred, of which nothing is known in the setting-up of a London weekly newspaper. Considering all these, and next the great difficulty of obtaining subscribers and advertisements in towns or districts where prejudices and habits are much stronger than in the metropolis—where in short every thing new, however excellent, is regarded with distrust—the surprise that there should be so few liberal papers in some places will yield to astonishment that the "march of intellect" should have induced so many persons to risk their capital in this way in others. As we proceed we shall endeavour to shew the extent to which this enterprising spirit has already been carried, and it does not require the spirit of prophecy to foretel that, unless some extraordinary and unexpected circumstances should occur to prevent so desirable a result, new papers, conducted with the spirit and liberality which so eminently characterize many of the provincial newspapers, will soon appear in places which have now either only a mere advertisement-sheet, with a column or so of accidents and offences, or a print devoted to the interests of persons

of the old Tory school, who contrive, amid the fondness for what is ancient among Englishmen, to maintain a certain degree of influence in society.

By printed lists published by the respectable advertising agents, Newton and Co., of Warwick Square, and by Barker and Co., of Fleet Street, it appears that the total number of newspapers printed in Great Britain and Ireland, not including those of the metropolis, is two hundred and fifty-four, of which number there are printed in Ireland fifty-nine, and in Scotland thirty-seven. In the preceding articles was given a calculation of the average circulation of these papers, and of the amount of expenditure for stamps, paper, &c.; and as subsequent inquiries have confirmed the general correctness of the estimate, it will be unnecessary to offer any further observations on that part of the subject. It may not be amiss, however, to make a few remarks on the character and influence of some of these publications, with a view to the conclusions which we shall endeavour, in the spirit of fairness and impartiality, to draw from the general consideration of the subject. Of the provincial papers published in England, Bath and Bristol have each four, Exeter five, Leeds three, Liverpool eight, Manchester seven, Sheffield three, York four, Brighton three, and Birmingham, with its great population, only two. The increase of newspapers in Liverpool and Manchester, during the last few years, has been very creditable to the inhabitants. Three of the papers published in Liverpool, the Chronicle, Albion, and Times, are of comparatively recent date, and the advocacy of liberal principles, which was for some years almost exclusively confined to the able pen of Mr. Egerton Smith of the Liverpool Mercury, has derived much strength from the additions which have been made lately to the number of Liverpool newspapers. A more upright and determined support of right doctrines than that given by Mr. Smith, could not have been desired; but the increasing population of the place, and its growing importance, as well in wealth, as in intellect, rendered some additions necessary, particularly as the Tory paper, the Courier, was no mean advocate of the principles of its party, and was in very general circulation. The Liverpool papers are well got up, most of them are of the quarto shape, very neatly printed, and they contain, from time to time, articles on general science, as well as politics, which are very meritorious. In the Mercury, particularly, we frequently find articles on natural philosophy, so written as to be interesting to every class of readers; and besides the newspapers published in Liverpool, there is a small periodical paper exclusively devoted to Literature and Science called the

Kaleidoscope. We have no means of ascertaining the exact number of copies of the Liverpool papers printed, but we have reason to believe that it is considerable, and if a conclusion might be formed from the appearance of the advertising columns, we should set them down as very profitable undertakings. With a due regard to the interests of the advertisers, the charge for advertisements in the Liverpool papers is said to be very moderate; and taking that circumstance into consideration, as also the fact, that although the duty on the advertisements is paid by the proprietors to the government monthly, a twelvemonth's credit or more is frequently given to advertisers, we may infer that the profits are less considerable than they would otherwise be. About three years ago, an attempt was made to establish a daily paper in Liverpool by some gentlemen connected, we believe, with a paper in Dublin. It did not, however, last more than three months. That Liverpool is large enough, and spirited enough, to support a daily paper, there can be no doubt, but before the projectors of the paper in question started their concern, and applied for support, they ought to have ascertained the want of such a publication. The same post that would take the news from London to Liverpool for the use of a daily paper printed there, would bring the London papers ready printed, so that they might be read through by all the subscribers of a reading-room, and at the inns and coffee-houses, long ere the conductors of the local print could send out their paper with the news extracted from the London journals. As an advertising sheet, there was no want of a daily paper, for the papers printed in Liverpool are so divided as to their days of appearance, that in one or the other it is practicable to advertise almost daily;—add to this, that the paper in question, was not very well conducted, and it will not be thought surprising that it did not answer. It may be well to state, for the information of those readers who do not see the Liverpool papers, that most of them (even the Liverpool Courier to a certain extent) advocate free-trade principles. This fact, we think, is a very powerful answer to the assertions of one or two London journals, that the principal merchants in great Britain are opposed to a system of free trade, and fully convinced of its fallacy. If we may be permitted to refer to the sentiments expressed in the papers published in Liverpool, and to consider them, as we think we have a right to do, the faithful organs of the wealthy and enlightened merchants and traders of that great town, we shall shew at once that the persons most interested, and best able to understand the subject, are strong advocates of the measures which, amidst so much reviling and prejudice, Mr. Hus-

kisson introduced into parliament. The reception given to this gentleman, on his recent visit to Liverpool, and the candid admissions in favour of his system, which appeared in the Liverpool Courier, a paper not generally favourable to Mr. Huskisson, afford strong evidence of the good sense and impartiality of the inhabitants. They are as creditable to the town as they must have proved flattering to its distinguished representative. Another excellent paper, the Liverpool Times, has been lately started in Liverpool under the intelligent management of Mr. Baines, jun.

From Liverpool to Manchester the distance is so short, even without the facilities of the rail-road, that we may very well travel at once to that extraordinary town. Much of what we have said about Liverpool, will equally apply to Manchester; but it may very well be imagined, that in a place where the population is in a marked way divided between the governing and the governed—between the employers and their workmen; or, as some have unjustly said, the task-masters and their slaves—there must be more of party violence among the conductors of Newspapers than in Liverpool. This, however, is now much less the case than it used to be. The overthrow of the Castlereagh and Sidmouth administration, under which great horrors were perpetrated at Manchester, and the adoption of a more moderate system, had the natural effect of lowering the insolence of the tools of power, and softening the asperity of the reformers, who, in defiance of danger, had exposed the corruption of the authorities, and vindicated the rights of the people. The Manchester Newspapers of the present day are polished and urbane in their conduct towards each other, compared with what they were about the time of the calamitous event called "The Manchester Massacre;" and without having compromised a jot of principle, the "Manchester Guardian," which rose into notice upon that sad affair, has become a steady advocate of reform—a temperate medium of reconciliation between the extravagant commands of the masters and the unjust demands of the workmen. Of the seven Papers printed in Manchester, those decidedly liberal are the Guardian, the Mercury, the Advertiser, and the Times. The Guardian, which has a very large circulation, and is altogether a respectable and profitable undertaking, was commenced by Mr. John Edward Taylor. It is now conducted by him, conjointly with another gentleman named Garnett. The Mercury, which appears on the Tuesday, three days after the Guardian, is the property of the same parties, and conducted upon the same principles. The Advertiser is almost a new paper started on the interest of the licensed victuallers

of Manchester and its vicinity. It must therefore, have an extensive circulation, and be of a nature to cause the liberal sentiments which it advocates to be very much diffused. Of the Manchester Times every thing that we know is highly satisfactory. It has invariably advocated popular rights and popular interests, and has advocated them with ardent and honest zeal. The circulation of the Manchester newspapers is less extensive than it would be, from the density of the population of the district, and the disposition to reading, from the circumstance of several towns within a short distance, such as Stockport, Bolton, &c. having each a newspaper; but it is nevertheless great, and it is computed that each copy of a liberal newspaper printed in Manchester, has from fifty to eighty readers (taking, of course, the average upon the whole number). This is more than we should be disposed to credit from the calculations generally adopted; but as it has been communicated by persons likely to be well acquainted with the fact, it is but fair to state it. Of the fifteen papers published in Liverpool and Manchester, about two thirds may be said to be liberal; and that also is the precise proportion at Leeds; but at Birmingham, where, notwithstanding the extent of the population, there are but two papers, neither can be considered as decidedly so; whilst in Brighton, which from a variety of circumstances, one would be disposed, without positive evidence to the contrary, to regard as the focus of the aristocracy, with a population not half so extensive as that of Birmingham, with no *debouché* to the south, and with no large town east or west, for the circulation of papers (except Lewes, where there is an old established paper called the Sussex Advertiser) two out of the three papers there published are liberal. One of them, indeed (the Guardian), is remarkably so; and it may be said, to the credit of the town, that no case of injustice, or undue partiality in the authorities, can pass unnoticed or uncensured. In country towns, papers which, without being actuated by a mean spirit of envy or dislike, manifest a proper portion of distrust of local authorities, much good is produced, and much evil is prevented.

It is difficult to assign any reason for this great difference. It is not for want of spirit or wealth at Birmingham that there is not a greater number of newspapers, and it is rather an extraordinary fact, that the taste for newspaper-reading is there so great, that a subscription reading-room upon a very extensive scale has been established, and is fully frequented. Besides, Birmingham has long been a very populous and busy place; whereas Brighton, forty or fifty years ago, was a mere fishing

town; and little more than twenty years ago it had not a single newspaper. The first speculation in this way was by an auctioneer, who probably established a paper chiefly as a medium for his own advertisements, under the title of the Brighton Herald, which still exists, and has a wide and respectable circulation. A few years subsequent to the establishment of this paper, another was started on the high Tory interest, called the Brighton Gazette. This paper has a good circulation, and is conducted with much talent. It is the organ of the old Tories of Sussex, and is said frequently to contain articles which are supplied by some of the London Tories still in office. The third paper started in Brighton, was the Brighton Chronicle, which, from various circumstances, was destined to be short-lived; but on its decease another, called the Brighton Guardian, was started on broad liberal principles. It is a curious illustration of the saying, that the supply of some kinds of food creates an appetite for more, that until the Brighton Herald appeared, few persons thought that a local newspaper could succeed; and now that there are three papers in the town, the first established paper of the three has a much larger circulation than when it was without a competitor.

At Leeds the principal papers are the Mercury and the Intelligencer: the Mercury is a well-conducted print, of enormous dimensions, on the liberal side; and the Intelligencer, a similar production as to size, in the Tory interest. Both have, we believe, been invariably consistent in their politics, until within the last year, when the Catholic Question turned up to try the principles of both parties. The editor of the Intelligencer, retreating from the ground which he had so long occupied, and thinking perhaps that a more favourable opportunity of avowing his error, without prejudice to the owners of the property, could not be taken, hastened to express his conviction of the propriety of emancipation, and succeeded, as we are assured, in bringing over many of the Tories to his opinion. The proprietors of the Intelligencer, however, being less liberal than their editor, asserted their authority and dismissed him. The paper was then put into the hands of a genuine Tory; and it is now what it used to be, a church-and-state paper, but with much less power than it possessed, as some of its staunchest supporters have seceded, whether from interest, or from conviction. The Leeds Patriot is, we believe, what it purports to be, the advocate of the rights of the people. It has a fair circulation, and is well conducted.

The leading party papers at Bristol are the Journal on the Tory side, which is, we understand, the property of Mr. Gutch,

who holds, or very lately held, a large portion of the London Morning Journal, and the Mercury on the liberal side. The Bristol Gazette stands as it were between the two. The Bristol Journal has long been a profitable concern, from which it might be inferred, that the Bristolians are rather Tories than liberals.—Such indeed is the generally-received impression; but there is much public spirit amongst some of the wealthy and well-informed inhabitants, and the success of the Mercury is a proof that all the Bristolians certainly are not opposed to the diffusion of correct opinions. Each of these papers contains from time to time well-written articles—those of the Mercury have on several occasions displayed much nerve and sound reasoning, but in all the Bristol papers there appears to be a want of taste and industry in the getting-up, which one has not to complain of at Liverpool. Where there is talent, improvement is easy—and a suggestion may not, perhaps, be thrown out in vain. At Exeter the decidedly liberal papers are, the Western Times, and Besley's Devonshire Chronicle.—The former is of recent date, but it promises to become a great favourite in the West of England. It is well written, the selections are tastefully and carefully made, and it is neatly printed. The Alfred started as a reforming paper, but veered precipitately round, and has become intolerant in church matters, and opposed to reform in those of state. The Luminary has been consistently illiberal. There are two other weekly papers conducted in the way in which country papers were generally conducted twenty years ago. At Plymouth there are three papers, the Journal, the Herald, and the Telegraph. They appear to be got up with great care, and those which we have been in the habit of seeing (the Journal and the Telegraph), have frequently contained very creditable comments on the conduct of the Portuguese, who were driven by the usurpation of Miguel to seek shelter in England. It was gratifying to witness in journals, one of which had long been accused (unjustly no doubt) of a leaning towards despotic principles, a vindication of the conduct of these unhappy men, when they were the objects of gross misrepresentation, and a sympathy for their sufferings alike honourable to the conductors of the journals, and to the town whose sentiments they were supposed to speak. In better times, and, we hope, under very different circumstances, these kind demonstrations of regard will be gratefully remembered. The West of England has not been behind the rest of the kingdom in exhibiting evidences of intellectual improvement. Within the last few years several new papers have appeared in different parts—one of them

(the Falmouth Packet) deserves particularly to be noticed, and noticed with eulogy.

Our limits will not permit us to particularize more of the provincial English papers, although there are many which we could wish to name. Among these the Carlisle Journal and the Kent and Essex Mercury appear eminently deserving of attention. Many others occur to us, of which an opportunity may be afforded hereafter to speak in detail. The object has been by taking a few towns or districts, to give *ex-pede* samples, by which the whole may be pretty correctly estimated. The chief thing worthy of notice in the provincial newspapers, is the skill and talent with which they are conducted, as compared with what was witnessed thirty years ago. At that time scarcely one-third of the provincial papers had editors who were capable of writing what are called leading articles: they were chiefly printers, many of whom had no knowledge of any other editorial duties, than the paste and scissars part of the process of putting a newspaper together, and the original articles were written by gentlemen connected with the London press, by whom they were sent down to the country. A few years ago it was by no means unusual to see advertisements in the London newspapers, "wanted an editor for a provincial newspaper, who understands the business of reporting, and can work at case," thus combining the duties of an editor, reporter, and compositor; and we have heard of one instance in which a gentleman was offered 80*l.* per annum to compile a paper, write an original leader, report the proceedings before the magistrates, compose two columns of the paper, and assist in the evening in serving in the shop of the proprietor, who was a stationer. We have also heard of the proprietor of a paper in the North of England, who was a printer and publican, dismissing his editor because that gentleman would not undertake to teach the children of his employer to read, and thus economise the expense of schooling—but these things are now past, or are of very rare occurrence. Two-thirds at least of the provincial newspapers are now in the hands of wealthy and well-educated persons, who are able to appreciate and willing to reward talent, and the consequence is, that the editors of country papers, generally speaking, are men of good literary attainments and liberal principles. With the mechanical improvement of the provincial press, mental improvement has more than kept pace; and we may read in the local prints of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and other towns, as well-written and well-imagined productions as in the columns of the best of the London newspapers. The editors of country newspapers are not, however,

so well paid as their more fortunate brethren in the metropolis. In London the salary of an editor varies from 400*l.* to 1000*l.*, or even more per annum. In the country few editors have more than 250*l.*, and many not more than 100*l.* to 150*l.* per annum. It must be remembered, however, that if in the country the editor of a newspaper is not so well paid, neither has he so many demands upon his purse as an editor in London. In the metropolis the most prudent man, who is at the head of a newspaper, has some party connection to keep up—some dinners to give, and some sacrifices to make. In the country nothing of this kind is expected, and, with tolerable economy, a man with 200*l.* is quite as well off in the country as another in London with his 500*l.* or 600*l.* per annum.

The expenses of a provincial newspaper have already been described as very light compared with those of a London weekly print. In the country, most of the proprietors of newspapers are at the same time general printers, and as their papers appear only once a week, the persons employed in the composition are able to devote a considerable portion of their time, to the ordinary, or job printing, which is a very lucrative branch of business to the employer; but the greatest advantage which the proprietor of a country newspaper enjoys, is being free from the combination law, which is so harassing to the proprietors of London newspapers. Among the compositors on London newspapers, there is an understanding equal in its present effects to the most severe law ever enacted by parliament, that no person who has not regularly served an apprenticeship of seven years to a printer, shall be allowed to work in a newspaper-office, and that no man shall be permitted to work at a smaller rate of wages than that fixed by the rules of the society. To keep these regulations in force, meetings called Chapels are regularly held, at which reports are made of persons who have suffered for refusing to work at less than the fixed rate of wages, or who have violated the rules of the society, by working under price. To the first mentioned, sums of money are allowed for their maintenance until they can find regular employment, and the latter are declared *Rats*, and an order is issued to all newspaper compositors not to work with these *Rats* on pain of being themselves declared *Rats*, and exposed to all the disgrace and inconvenience of exclusion from the society. Many attempts have been made by spirited individuals to put down this system, but from want of concurrence in the body of employers, they have failed. The injury inflicted upon the proprietor of a London newspaper by this system, may be easily conceived by the fact, that if it did not exist, the same

labour for which he now pays 43*l.* 10*s.*, by twenty regular hands at 2*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* each per week, might be performed by seven or eight good workmen, and twenty apprentices for about 25*l.* Of all descriptions of composition in type, newspaper composition is the easiest; a clever lad is able, at the expiration of twelve or fifteen months, to do almost as much work, and as well as a man who has regularly served his apprenticeship; and apprentices of two or three years standing are quite equal to the work now performed by two-thirds of the men in newspaper offices. In India, the newspaper offices are nearly filled with black compositors, who are not able to read what they compose mechanically, and yet with the aid of two or three good European compositors, a newspaper is got out very correctly. The proprietor of a country newspaper, instead of having to pay the London wages of 2*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, can obtain good hands at 30*s.* to 35*s.*, and he may have as many apprentices as he pleases. The expense of getting out a middle-sized country paper, published once a week, is little more than half that of a London weekly newspaper; but on the other hand, the expense of distributing the papers is very great, as newspaper carriers are sent at the charge of the office to the different small towns and villages, to which there is no post conveyance, or one too tardy for the interests of the employer. Again, the number of papers printed is usually small. Six or seven hundred copies are considered a respectable circulation. Of the newspapers published in England, there are not perhaps a hundred which throw off one thousand copies, and the number of newspapers having a larger circulation than one thousand, must be very limited: some, however, there are, with two to three thousand, and a very large number of advertisements. Probably such papers as the Leeds Mercury, the Manchester Guardian, the Norwich Mercury, the Hampshire Telegraph, the Birmingham Gazette, the Salisbury Journal, and seven or eight others, yield to the owners from 2 to 3,000*l.* per annum each. The means of communication between the provincial papers and the metropolis, are very simple. There are two newspaper-agency offices; the respectable and old established firm of Newton and Co., formerly Taylor and Newton, in Warwick-square, and that of Barker and Co. in Fleet-street. At these offices, advertisements are received for all the country papers without increased charge to the advertiser, the commission of the agent being paid by the newspaper proprietor, and these agents also send to the country the stamps necessary for the papers, and undertake the collection of accounts owing in London. It is one of the disadvantages of a country newspaper,

and no slight one, that the stamps must be procured in London, for thus they have to pay for carriage and agency, whereas if the distributors of ordinary stamps in the country were compelled to keep a stock of stamps on hand, or rather empowered to stamp paper, as at Somerset House, the process being now rendered very easy by an improvement introduced by Mr. Pouchée the type-founder, there would be great convenience to the conductors of newspapers in the neighbourhood, and much economy and some little advantage, as to the employment of capital.

It is to be regretted, that no official return of the number of newspaper-stamps used in England and Scotland, has been made since the year 1827, so that we are unable to form a correct estimate of the average circulation of the newspapers published in England; we believe, however, that the calculation which has been made in the first numbers of this article, will be found pretty near the truth. The editor of the Scotsman, in an able article which appeared in his paper in September 1828, estimates the average circulation of weekly papers, at seven hundred. With respect to Ireland, we are better informed, for among the parliamentary returns of the session, we find the subjoined account of the number of stamps used in the last three years,* which will

* An Account of the Number of Stamps issued to each Newspaper in Ireland, in each Year for the last three Years, ending the 5th of January, 1829. (*a*)

Published.	Title.	Jan. 1827.	Jan. 1828.	Jan. 1829.
Dublin . .	Argus	17,299	5,750	
	Correspondent . . .	81,175	82,244	
	Dublin Evening Mail . .	429,696	436,320	470,570
	——— Evening Post . .	223,000	243,000	287,500
	——— Gazette . . .	12,475	14,500	10,500
	——— Mercantile Advertiser	25,850	24,670	24,000
	——— Morning Post . .	139,750	108,000	108,000
	Even. Packet & Correspondent			179,000
	Freeman's Journal . .	265,275	180,000	151,120
	Irishman	72,748	57,000	
	Morning Register . .	113,830	120,000	148,880
	Patriot	93,150	57,550	
	Pilot			7,200
	Racing Calendar . .	1,261	1,240	675
	Roman Catholic Expositor .	6,500		
	Sanders's News Letter .	340,625	373,000	403,500
	Statesman and Patriot .			61,400

(*a*) Many of these papers have ceased to exist. The number of papers now in Ireland is said to be only fifty-nine.

give an average to each paper for the year, of something more than sixty-two thousand copies, or more than one thousand two hundred each, weekly, a much larger number than in the absence of an official statement we could have imagined.

Having given as long a notice of he state of the provincial

	Star of Brunswick			19,250
	Warder	41,335	77,530	93,425
	Weekly Freeman	39,375	80,500	75,940
	——— Intelligencer; or, Farmer's Journal	16,804	1,540	
	——— Register	126,200	135,600	173,240
Antrim	Belfast Commercial Chronicle	131,850	141,825	124,000
	——— News Letter	144,411	144,700	119,025
	Guardian		62,500	118,150
	Northern Whig	30,757	36,000	49,400
Athlone	Athlone Herald	5,175		
Carlow	Carlow Morning Post	18,325	16,150	15,250
Clare	Clare Journal	8,039	6,890	7,500
	Ennis Chronicle	8,036	7,958	7,650
Cork	Constitution	153,175	168,480	175,960
	Mercantile Chronicle	54,911	61,085	63,803
	Southern Reporter	146,906	132,250	151,099
Down	Newry Telegraph	57,956	67,000	68,500
Drogheda	Drogheda Journal	28,340	31,425	27,150
Fermanagh	Enniskillen Chronicle	12,997	17,850	16,000
	Impartial Reporter	8,284	10,425	12,475
Galway	Connaught Journal	21,625	20,575	26,275
	Galway Weekly Advertiser	10,540	6,785	3,105
	Independent	2,350	6,760	4,355
	Western Argus			13,358
Kerry	Kerry Evening Post	3,725	4,600	3,875
	Western Herald	11,200	10,700	10,375
Kilkenny	Leinster Journal	13,250	10,750	14,150
	Moderator	15,141	15,947	14,714
	Independent	17,500	16,975	7,350
Limerick	Limerick Chronicle	154,562	171,885	140,200
	Evening Post	9,475		33,225
	Irish Observer	16,800		
Londonderry	Londonderry Journal	41,725	42,850	45,550
	North West Farmer's Journal	4,075		
Longford	Longford Journal			5,500
Mayo	Ballina Impartial	6,295	6,500	7,590
	Mayo Constitution	13,205	12,925	12,260
	Messenger	6,425	4,925	
	Free Press		5,225	9,400
Roscommon	Roscommon and Leitrim Gazette	4,000	5,000	7,000
	——— Journal			3,000
Sligo	Sligo Journal	13,700	15,400	12,318
	Western Luminary	6,375	1,350	4,050
	Sligo Observer			2,625
Tipperary	Clonmel Advertiser	25,850	31,655	26,030
	——— Herald	15,825	16,200	14,725

press in England as the nature of the subject required, or our limits would allow, we shall proceed to review the newspaper press of the Scotch and Irish capitals, and as much of the national character may be supposed to be influenced and represented by these organs of intelligence, we shall give a detailed account of the circulation and supposed influence of those journals. Of the correctness of that account we may be permitted to speak with some confidence, since the facts have been communicated to us by well-informed and impartial correspondents.

The state of the newspaper press of the SCOTCH capital, may be regarded as a proof of the extent to which the desire for information and intellectual improvement is carried in that city. On looking at the comparatively limited number of its population, at the peculiar habits of the inhabitants, from which there is an absence of that excitement which necessarily promotes a newspaper circulation in more bustling cities, and also at the rapidity of the intercourse between Edinburgh and London, by which the former is rendered less dependent on local publications for news, and for the general communications of a newspaper; the number of papers printed in Edinburgh, and the attention bestowed in many of them on subjects of permanent interest, as regards the improvement of society, it must be acknowledged, that our modern Athens, as it has been facetiously termed, need not in this respect be ashamed of a comparison with larger and more frequented cities.

The Courant, which is considered the leading journal, more, perhaps, on account of its being by far the most valuable newspaper property, than from any superiority in other respects, has a circulation of seventeen hundred, and appears thrice a week. For a long time the Courant had, as an advertising paper, no rival, and with the view, no doubt, of retaining the support of all parties in this particular, it takes no part in politics. Its leading articles are remarkable only for their shortness and

	Tipperary Free Press . .	4,500	43,800	45,650
Tyrone . .	Strabane Morning Post .	5,225	5,375	4,850
Waterford .	Waterford Chronicle . .	71,188	59,982	51,600
	——— Mirror . .	28,875	33,750	22,380
	——— Mail . .	42,599	34,000	30,000
	——— Weekly Chronicle			
Westmeath .	Independent and . .		11,500	
	Midland Chronicle . .	6,500		
	Westmeath Journal . .	10,000	13,000	12,000
Wexford .	Wexford Herald . .	20,874	18,825	20,750
	——— Evening Post . .	14,050	15,625	14,850
Total number of Stamps issued in each year		3,473,014	3,545,846	3,790,272

general absence of party sentiment. The state of the markets and other commercial intelligence being pretty fully reported, it is, perhaps, the best business paper in Edinburgh. The profits are said to be 5,000*l.* a year, certainly they cannot be less than 4,000*l.* The present editor is Mr. Buchanan, who was formerly editor of the Mercury.

The Edinburgh Weekly Journal has existed between thirty and forty years. For the last twelve years its editor has been Mr. James Ballantyne, the eminent printer—a gentleman of considerable literary attainments—under whose management it has gained a high character, and an extensive circulation, —about two thousand five hundred copies. This circulation necessarily causes it to be extensively used as a vehicle for advertisements: indeed, although only a weekly paper, it is only second in point of advertisements to the Courant. In its politics the Journal may be considered a Tory paper, but of the most moderate kind. This moderation, though by no means agreeable to the zealots on either side, has been acceptable to the public on the whole; the more so, as it has been exhibited, not by abstaining from stating opinions on great political questions, but by giving them decidedly and fearlessly, without regard to party distinctions. For example, this paper strenuously advocated the cause of Burgh reform, at a time when that doctrine was very obnoxious to the Tories in Scotland; and, on the occasion of the Manchester riots, espoused, with great energy and perseverance, the *opposition* side of the question. It followed a similar course in several other instances; and its opinions have considerable weight from the character of political integrity which it has gained. The Weekly Journal has occasionally been enriched by a considerable number of contributions, which, from clear internal evidence, have been universally ascribed to sir Walter Scott. Among these are the well-known letters of Malachi Malagrowther, which had such an influence on the paper currency question, as it related to Scotland; and a beautiful article on the death of lord Byron, which found its way into almost all the periodicals in the kingdom. This, of course, has arisen from the friendship which this illustrious man is so well known to have for the editor of the paper. The Weekly Journal has been uniformly distinguished in Edinburgh for its attention to literature, the drama, and the fine arts. For a long time it stood almost single in this respect; and though of late some of the other Edinburgh papers have begun, very successfully, to follow its example, yet, in some particulars, especially dramatic criticisms, it maintains its superiority. In musical criticism, it is

perhaps one of the first papers in Britain; certainly the first in Scotland.

Among the most distinguished papers on the liberal side, is the Caledonian Mercury, edited by Dr. James Browne, a man of distinguished ability, and the writer of several articles in the Edinburgh Review. This is one of the oldest papers, and was long the third in estimation as a vehicle for advertisements, after the Courant and Advertiser. It was reckoned a Tory paper, although belonging to Mr. Thomas Allen, a wealthy banker, Whiggishly inclined. Indeed, till the Scotsman started, it was supposed impossible that a paper opposed to the Tories could prosper, or do less than bring destruction on its editor and proprietors. But since Dr. Browne became its editor, this paper has become a bold exposer of abuses of all kinds, whether in the city, or in the government. It has also outstripped its competitors in presenting early reports, and in procuring exclusive information. In fact this paper is an evidence of what the active attention of a single mind can accomplish, even of a mind engaged in many other pursuits. The circulation of the Mercury is said to be on the increase. Its early information about the late murders served it much. It is published on Mondays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

The Scotsman was the first decided liberal paper in Edinburgh; its editor was for several years the celebrated political economist, Mr. M'Culloch, assisted by Mr. William Ritchie, a solicitor, an amiable and able man, and by Mr. Charles M'Laren, the present editor. The bold writing of the Scotsman on Burgh reform, and other political questions; on matters of city polity; but more especially on political economy, was a subject of astonishment and terror in Edinburgh, where nothing energetic on such topics had ever appeared in the shape of a newspaper before. The Scotsman speedily rose in high favour with the public. It is celebrated for its statistical and philosophical articles. The editor is a man of great attainments in geography and statistics, and an excellent writer. This paper, like the Mercury, abounds with valuable literary criticism. It is published on Wednesdays and Saturdays, and has a highly respectable circulation, but not so extensive as its merits undoubtedly deserve, though there are few parts of the world where the Scotsman is unknown.

The Advertiser appears twice a week, with a circulation of about seven hundred and fifty copies. It does not enjoy a high reputation. It is Tory and aristocratical in its politics. It was furious in its opinions under the immediately preceding proprietor, but is now more moderate.

The Observer appears twice a week, and circulates about

eight hundred and fifty copies. It is high Tory in principle, —light and fluent in style,—far less serious and argumentative than the Scotsman, but more amusing: it is rather a losing than a gaining concern, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made at different times, by the purchase of the copyrights of other papers, to increase its circulation: it is edited by Lieutenant Sutherland, a gentleman of considerable ability.

The Saturday Evening Post is a sort of successor of the Beacon, of disgraceful notoriety. It stickles for church and state, the ascendancy of the aristocracy, and every one of the exploded or fading abuses in politics and political economy. Few take it for its opinions; but it is published on Saturday evening, after the arrival of the London mail, and so gives the very latest news of the week, and is an agreeable companion on Sunday morning. De Quincy has been engaged regularly by the Post. Two of its pages are filled by what they call Scottish Literary Gazette. The critical notices there are almost entirely written by Mr. Andrew Crichton, the author of several volumes, and are able, learned, and impartial. There is a much greater proportion of original writing in the Post than in any of the other Edinburgh papers.

To these newspapers may be added the Edinburgh Literary Gazette, a paper on the plan of the London Literary Gazette, by Messrs. Constable and Co., and the Literary Journal, published in royal 8vo. on Saturdays; edited, and as is said almost entirely written, by Mr. H. G. Bell.

Several newspapers have been started in Edinburgh within the last ten or fifteen years, and failed. Among these were the Star, the Correspondent, the Examiner, the Times, the Independent, the Edinburgh and Leith Advertiser, the Edinburgh Times, which was edited by Mr. Rintoul, now of the Spectator (a paper of admirable variety and excellent management in London) was liberal, bold, and clever; and so was the Edinburgh and Leith Advertiser, by Messrs. Gray, two Englishmen of enterprise and spirit, who have since established a paper exclusively devoted to advertisements; the success of which, in the face of bad times, limited capital, and the most virulent opposition of rival newspapers, does them great credit. This paper is sent gratuitously to several thousand persons in different parts of Scotland. A steam-engine, and one of Applegarth and Cowper's newspaper machines—one of the first used in Scotland*—has just

* The Weekly Journal had a newspaper machine, upon the same principle, a few weeks sooner.

been erected for the printing of this paper; and six thousand copies are now distributed in Edinburgh and Glasgow every Saturday morning; those for the latter city being sent there by *express* the moment they are ready. The estimation in which this paper is held in Edinburgh will be best shown by stating, that, although the charges for advertising are necessarily very high, it generally contains from two hundred to two hundred and fifty advertisements; whilst a hundred to a hundred and thirty are almost the utmost that are found in the pages of its most powerful competitor. It is rather strange that in London, where there is such a spirit of enterprise, something of this kind is not started: a nearly similar plan was indeed tried a few years ago by Mr. Goldsmith, of Anti-Jacobin notoriety; but it was not pushed with sufficient vigour to give it a fair chance of success: we hear that something of the same kind as the Edinburgh Advertiser is now in contemplation.

The IRISH press may be said to reflect the real condition of the country, full of politics, and almost destitute of capital and commercial enterprise. Such is its present, such has been its past state, but the great political event which has rendered the present year the era of a nation's regeneration, will probably produce, along with other financial and intellectual improvements, a public press more in accordance with the wants and feelings of a free, enlightened, and wealthy community. There are, however, amongst the Irish newspapers of the present day, many splendid exceptions, which in the qualities of composition and typography, are scarcely inferior to journals of high repute in England or Scotland; but the Irish press generally cannot, in justice, be characterised in any other manner, than as discreditable to literature and science.

This observation applies, for the most part, to periodicals, which derive their chief means of existence from what is termed the government proclamation fund; the remainder of the degenerate class, is composed of papers which were instituted as the local organs of Catholic Association, or Brunswick principles; but as the coffers from which they have drawn support are now empty, this factitious aid is at an end, and many of those journals must expire, to give place to a press which shall have industry and intelligence for its recommendations, and which shall be calculated to take the proper part of "the best possible instructor" in the advancement of morals, and domestic prosperity. A correct biography of the Irish press must be interesting, whether it is regarded as a matter of statistical history, or as a description of a political engine which has been extensively employed in the recent political struggles of that country. The

names of seventy-two periodicals were included in the last parliamentary returns, but of these eleven were extinct in the year 1828, and two others, the Dublin Gazette and the Racing Calendar, cannot properly be denominated newspapers. There are at present, fifty-nine journals in Ireland; the total circulation of which in the last year was three million seven hundred and seventy-nine thousand, and ninety-seven; being an increase of about one hundred thousand on the former year, and of two hundred thousand on 1826. There are in Dublin thirteen newspapers, whose total circulation in the year 1828, when the Irish press had risen to its highest numerical elevation, was two million two hundred and three thousand, and twenty-five sheets, which is not larger than the annual circulation of any one of the leading London journals. This surely may be taken as a proof, not only of the poverty of the country, but of the poverty of literary information, when the engines for its dissemination are at so low an ebb. And there are not in Ireland, as in the two sister countries, reviews or magazines to supply the deficiency. The publications of this class are confined to one or two religious periodicals. The daily morning journals of Dublin, are four in number, the Freeman's Journal, Sanders's News Letter, Carrick's Morning Post, and the Morning Register. The newspaper reading of the citizens of Dublin may be said to be almost confined to the morning papers, and as the circulation of the four each morning, does not average two thousand five hundred numbers, and as the population of the city is about two hundred and fifty thousand, there is but one paper, for the reading of each hundred persons, supposing that all these copies were circulated in Dublin, which of course is by no means the case. It is a very strange fact, that notwithstanding the unparalleled political excitement of the last eight or ten years, the circulation of the Dublin Morning Press is very little larger than it was twenty years ago; and although great changes have taken place in the individual circulation of each paper, the total has been scarcely affected. If one paper gained a certain number, another sustained a corresponding loss; but it is evident from the past and present state of the circulation, that the reading portion of the citizens of Dublin has not increased, even during a period, when it might be expected that the political events then in agitation, independent of the progress of literary cultivation, and the gradual increase of population, would have increased the circulation to a vast extent. The advertisements, too, have greatly diminished, and do not at present amount to half the number of twenty years since. The circumscribed state of trade may account in some measure for this, but the extensive use of

steam packets is a primary cause, for the country shop-keeper has now become his own merchant, and instead of waiting for the announcement of newly-imported goods by a Dublin merchant, he takes a trip to Liverpool, and from thence proceeds to the English manufacturing towns, where he purchases his stock.

The Freeman's Journal is the oldest of the morning papers, having been instituted by the celebrated doctor Lucas, about the year 1755, under the designation of the Public Ledger and Freeman's Journal. Doctor Lucas was one of the representatives of the city in the Irish parliament, and the paper was set up to sustain those great public principles of which the doctor was so distinguished an advocate. At his death in 1774, the paper fell into the hands of a person of rather questionable repute, named Higgins, but much better known by the cognomen of "the Sham Squire," which he acquired by reason of his falsely representing himself in a matrimonial affair, as the real squire Higgins, a man of considerable wealth and high respect.—Although the Sham Squire led a very dissolute life, and was a mere adventurer, he contrived to amass a large sum of money, and after becoming proprietor of the Freeman's Journal, he was tolerated in respectable circles. He got into the favour of the late lord Clonmel, the chief justice of the King's-bench, through whose influence he obtained a pension of 200*l.* per annum; but his bad reputation was so notorious that the government refused to place his name on the pension list, and in consequence the allowance was set down in the name of Philip Whitfield Harvey, who after the decease of the Sham Squire, continued to receive the pension up to the time of his death; Mr. Harvey was a relation of the Sham Squire, and came into possession of the bulk of that person's property, including the paper. Harvey was a man of considerable enterprise, and made great exertions to render the paper lucrative and respectable by employing for its conduct, gentlemen of high literary attainments, and much statistical knowledge. Mr. Conway, the present editor of the Evening Post, and Mr. Staunton, proprietor of the Register, were successively its editors; and about twelve years since, when the latter gentleman was editor, the Freeman's Journal stood at the head of the morning press, having a circulation much larger than the two other morning papers then in existence (Sanders's News Letter, and Carrick's Morning Post) taken together. The Freeman has, however, been rapidly declining, so much so, that within the three last years the amount of its decrease has been one hundred and fourteen thousand one hundred and fifty-five.

It is, notwithstanding, an honest and liberal journal, and its loss in public favour is perhaps attributable to inefficient management since it came into the hands of the present proprietor Mr. H. Grattan, M. P., who received the Journal as a part of the marriage portion of his present wife, who was the only child of the late Mr. Harvey.

Sanders's News Letter has the largest circulation amongst the morning papers, and more advertisements than any other paper in Ireland, although it enjoys no reputation for talent. Whilst the other journals were squabbling in the politico-religious warfare, in open hostility on the one side or other, Sanders was a pretended neutral, but a hidden and concealed enemy of liberality—gulling the Catholic (alas, how often has he been gulled) by an appearance of fairness in now and then giving as a salvo for the vilest slanders of the profligate press, an hebdomedal little gleaning of candid honesty from its better portion. By this device, Sanders was regarded as a kind of neutral ground for the belligerents, whilst at the very time it was the paid agent of the Castle, the chosen vehicle of the saints of Kildare-place, and one of the official organs of the Brunswick club. So strong was the delusion, that Catholic shopkeepers who feared to displease the high Protestant party, by advertising in the Morning Register, or Freeman, resorted to Sanders as an *impartial* paper, and by these means it became a most prosperous journal, having almost all the advertisements, and drawing into its circulation a vast portion of the readers of the Freeman and Carrick's Morning Post. But the gross error of public opinion which propped up Sanders, could not have lasted long if the Catholic question had remained unsettled, for recently its duplicity was a subject of strong observation in the Catholic Association, where Mr. O'Connell thus described the City Orange press. "They have the Warder, which lies once a week, the Mail which lies three times a week, and sly Sanders, which collects a heap of borrowed lies every morning." Carrick's Morning Post, or as it is now called the Dublin Morning Post, was originally a Commercial Day Note, and about twenty-three years since it was formed into a paper by a respectable printer named John Carrick. The paper in a few years, fell into the hands of Richard Lonergan, a person of some literary ability, of good understanding and commercial knowledge. This journal was rather a thriving concern, until it entered into a personal warfare with Mr. O'Connell about seven years ago. Although Mr. Richard Lonergan died in the interim, the enmity between Mr. O'Connell and the paper continues to the present hour, and it has been gradually declining in advertisements and

circulation. It was not an ascendancy paper, and therefore was not espoused by the Orangemen, it was the bitter enemy of O'Connell, and was therefore deserted by the Catholic body. Between both it has fallen, and the wonder is, how it can now sustain existence.

The junior daily morning paper is the Morning Register, which was instituted in October 1824, by Mr. Staunton, at that time proprietor of the Weekly Register. At this period the Catholic body, rising hourly in energy and political importance, called loudly for a public journal, with literary capabilities to represent their wants, and to describe their proceedings. As an inducement to Mr. Staunton to proceed with the undertaking on a large and splendid scale, a number of gentlemen, including some of the leading members of the Association, proposed to raise a large sum in shares to be repaid after a certain period by the proprietor. The paper was then started. Its editorial department had the aid of some of the best writers of the day, and a novelty in the Irish press was introduced by Mr. Staunton in the shape of an effective corps of reporters modelled after the London system. From this time the Catholic Association began to assume that high bearing, that system of organization which rendered it a species of national legislature, and which at length produced the political necessity for conceding emancipation. The almost daily meetings of the Association were reported in detail in the Morning Register, as well as the local meetings of the most distant parts of the country. These were afterwards published throughout the provinces by the Weekly Register, the Evening Post, and the liberal journals in the country also copied the proceedings from the Morning Register, and thus from one extremity of the land to the other, the spirit of excitement was kept alive, and every individual in the community was brought into the struggle. In this way the Morning Register obtained a great hold on the public feeling; and although the Evening Post or the Freeman's Journal were still the favourite papers of those who read them, because their fathers and grandfathers had done the same, it might truly be said that the young and rising mind of Ireland was with the Register. Of the sum proposed to be subscribed, not more than 120*l.* was paid, and as the proprietor determined to proceed with the journal on his own resources, even this sum was repaid shortly after its advance. By the ascendancy party, the Register was regarded as a most dangerous foe, and in consequence it has suffered much in a financial point of view, by the withholding from it the advertisements of the public offices, but received in all circles as a well-selected and interesting

paper, and its present circulation is next in extent to that of Sanders's News Letter. Within the last few months there has been a decrease in the circulation of Sanders whilst the Morning Register is said to maintain the circulation which it had in the hottest days of agitation. This is attributable to a prudent adaptation of the tone of the paper to the extremely altered state of public feeling. There are four evening papers in Dublin, and it is very remarkable that whilst the morning papers of London are printed on large sheets, and the evening papers in a smaller shape, the morning papers of Dublin are nearly as small as the French journals, and the evening papers are large. There is one reason certainly for this contradiction—that the Dublin evening papers being published only three times in the week, require an enlarged space. The Evening Post is a journal of high repute, and being now nearly seventy years old, has all the advantage which so venerable an age, and an unsullied reputation might naturally be expected to produce. The present proprietor is Mr. James Magee (in whose family the paper has for a long time been), and the editor is Mr. Conway, who is the senior amongst the literary persons connected with the press in Dublin. The Evening Post retains a very respectable circulation, and it is one of the few prosperous journals in Ireland, but it is certainly not advancing, for its circulation eighteen years ago was much larger than at present. Then it was the oracle of the Irish people generally, and of the Catholic body in particular; but the energetic working of the Catholic question brought into the market able and successful competitors. It has more than once been stated, with what accuracy it is impossible to judge, nor are we disposed to offer an opinion on the subject, that Mr. Conway receives a pension of 300*l.* from the government, obtained for him in the second year of lord Wellesley's administration, through the kind offices of an eminent Catholic barrister, an intimate friend of his lordship; whether this be the fact or not, we are sure that Mr. Conway conducts his paper with a proper spirit of independence. It is the only journal in Dublin printed on an improved machine, which we have described in a former number of the Westminster Review. The Evening Mail, the chosen champion of the ascendancy, and the still eager defender of that party, is at present in its seventh year. It was originally instituted by Mr. Joseph Timothy Hayden, a man of considerable ability, and wonderfully mechanical, but he was characterised by an unsteady and veering turn of mind, and although he has been connected with many journals in Dublin, and advanced some of them into a condition that yielded emolument and promised per-

manence, he is now unconnected with any paper, and, with a large and interesting family, is without his accustomed means of supporting and educating them. Mr. Hayden has done more for the Irish press in regard of typography (a department which needed large and radical improvement) than any other man; and if others had the merit of maintaining its literary dignity, he certainly introduced the taste and habit of neat and creditable printing. Mr. Glynn was the partner of Mr. Hayden, and after the latter gentleman's departure from the concern, Mr. Glynn enabled Mr. Thomas Sheehan, then a clerk in the establishment, to purchase Hayden's share. Mr. Remmey Sheehan, proprietor of the Star of Brunswick, became one of the editors of the paper. The Mail has risen to a large, but certainly not what can be considered a permanent, circulation, and it is a favourite advertising paper; the internal quarrels of the proprietors, however, and their expensive litigation with each other, have greatly diminished the profits. The Mail is remarkable for much talent and humour in satire and pasquinade; but it is on stilts, and raised beyond the capability of its writers, when they attempt to deal with any great question requiring enlargement of thought or statistical research. The Evening Packet (formerly the Correspondent) is one of the pensioned castle papers. It has a good circulation, and, through the influence of a Master in Chancery having some interest in its well-being, it receives a considerable revenue from advertisements denominated Chancery Sales. But, as to intellectual ability, this paper is totally without a claim; the writings of its "people" (an habitual phrase of the paper) being remarkable for nothing but clumsiness of style and want of knowledge of the subject. The Pilot has not yet been a year in existence, but it has already gone far in establishing a good reputation. The proprietor is Mr. Barrett, well known as what is termed a Protestant agitator; he was editor of the Patriot newspaper for some time previously to its change of name and principles, and is a person of enlarged and liberal views. Mr. Barrett is brother to a writer well known in London, Eaton Stannard Barrett, author of the political satire of "All the Talents," "The Heroine," the poem of "Woman," and other light and interesting productions. There are five weekly papers in Dublin, four of which publish on Saturday, and one, the Mercantile Advertiser, on Monday. This latter paper is the property of a Mr. Stevens, and its circulation is confined to the city merchants. It is a useful journal, and often contains an able article from the pen of Mr. Conway. The Weekly Register is beyond comparison the most successful journal of its class, and for some

years past has had the largest circulation in Ireland, taking into the account that it appears but once a week. This journal was the great engine of Catholic agitation throughout the country, in every part of which it enjoys a high reputation as an upright, able, and independent paper. It was established by Mr. Staunton, and is now in its eleventh year. The Weekly Freeman's Journal was instituted by Mr. Harvey in 1816, and is a very respectable periodical, with a considerable circulation. The Warder is a clever paper, much esteemed by the Orange party; amongst the weekly papers it is next to the Register in circulation. The Star of Brunswick, recently established by Mr. Remmy Sheehan, as the hebdomedal organ of the Brunswick Club, would probably not have been started at all if its proprietor and the club had been aware of the duke of Wellington's altered views on the Catholic question.

The Irish provincial journals are forty-five in number, and at least the half of them so worthless and contemptible as scarcely to deserve the name of newspapers. The journals in the northern provinces are certainly the first in intelligence and typographical appearance. The Northern Whig may justly be placed at the head of the Irish provincial press in point of talent and conduct, and at the head of the press of the whole country for its admirable execution, but its circulation is smaller than that of many other country papers. There are three other journals in Belfast, the Chronicle, the highest amongst the four in circulation, the News Letter, and the Guardian, which is only in its second year, and was established for the advocacy of Brunswick principles in the north of Ireland. The Newry Telegraph is an intelligent and well-printed paper, having a moderate but steady circulation. There are two papers in Londonderry, one of them, the Journal, is very old and stupid; the other, the Chronicle, is yet too young to have formed a character. The Enniskillen Chronicle is a neat and useful paper, but very low in circulation. Munster, the most wealthy of the provinces, has more papers than the others, but several of them are very low and vulgar prints, existing solely on the government proclamation allowance. There are three very respectable papers in Cork, one of which, the Southern Reporter, bears a high character for intelligence and general efficiency. One of the proprietors, Mr. O'Driscoll, is in the habit of residing in London during the parliamentary session, and supplies his journal with information on Irish affairs, which is entirely passed over in the parliamentary reports of the London journals. The Cork Mercantile Chronicle is rather low in circulation, but it is an honest and well-conducted paper; the pro-

prietor is Mr. John Pearce. The Cork Constitution was originally called the Cork Advertiser, and was an obscure print, until the spread of Brunswickism enabled it to merge into notoriety as an advocate of those principles. There are two papers in Limerick, the Chronicle, which is now in its sixty-third year—like Sanders's News, this paper is prosperous without talent. The original proprietor was a person named Walsh, and from him it reverted to an alderman of Limerick named Watson, who continued, by efforts which few men have the capability or the disposition of making, to obtain for the Chronicle a large portion of government patronage; and even to this day the army intelligence first appears in that paper, and is copied from it into the London and Dublin journals. The Limerick Chronicle, however, is fast declining, as appears by the last parliamentary returns—this change has been caused by the distaste of a great number of its former readers for the malignant, but clumsy opposition of the Chronicle to the progress of toleration. The other Limerick paper, the Evening Post, is the property of Mr. Geary, and it has been distinguished, particularly during the period of the Clare election, for efficient and talented conduct. But like many other honest papers, its profits are small, although its circulation is considerable. The Waterford Chronicle, and the Tipperary Free Press are excellent provincial papers. It is rather a singular fact, that the editor of the latter journal, established by a number of public-spirited gentlemen, totally unconnected with newspapers, was recommended to their notice on account of his having written libels on a member of the Beresford family in the Waterford Chronicle during the last election for that county. There are few other papers in Ireland deserving of the slightest notice. As Connaught is the most backward of the provinces in intelligence and literary improvement, so also are the journals in it remarkable for want of talent and almost illegible printing. The Connaught Journal is one of the oldest papers in Ireland, and belongs to Mr. O'Flaherty. It is a public-spirited print, and has more of the appearances of prosperity than any of its western contemporaries.

The newspaper press of Great Britain and Ireland has now been reviewed.* In doing this all possible means have

* The following is a copy of the List of the Newspapers in England and Scotland, recently printed by Messrs. Barker & Co., the newspaper agents, Fleet Street. The Irish papers are not given here, as they are to be found in a parliamentary return which we have given elsewhere.

LIST OF ENGLISH COUNTRY PAPERS.

Titles of the Papers.	Days of Publication.
Bath Chronicle - - -	Thursday

been taken to obtain correct information, and to avoid giving offence. The writer has had no party purpose to serve, no individuals to please, and none whom he would wish to injure

Bath Journal	Monday
Bath Herald	Saturday
Bath and Cheltenham Gazette	Tuesday
Berkshire Chronicle (Reading)	Saturday
Berwick Advertiser	Saturday
Birmingham Gazette	Monday
Birmingham Journal	Saturday
Blackburn Gazette	Saturday
Bolton Chronicle	Saturday
Boston Gazette	Tuesday
Bridgewater Herald	Wednesday
Brighton Herald	Saturday
Brighton Gazette	Thursday
Brighton Guardian	Wednesday
Bristol Gazette	Thursday
Bristol Journal (Felix Farley's)	Saturday
Bristol Mirror	Saturday
Bristol Mercury	Tuesday
Bucks Gazette (Aylesbury)	Saturday
Bury Post	Wednesday
Bury and Suffolk Herald	Wednesday
Cambridge Chronicle	Friday
Cambrian (Swansea)	Saturday
Carmarthen Journal	Friday
Carlisle Journal	Saturday
Carlisle Patriot	Saturday
Chelmsford Chronicle	Friday
Cheltenham Chronicle	Thursday
Cheltenham Journal	Monday
Chester Chronicle	Friday
Chester Courant	Tuesday
Chesterfield Gazette	Saturday
Colchester Gazette	Saturday
Cornwall Gazette (Truro)	Saturday
County Chronicle	Tuesday
County Herald	Saturday
Coventry Mercury	Sunday
Coventry Herald	Friday
Coventry Observer	Thursday
Cumberland Pacquet (Whitehaven)	Tuesday
Derby Mercury	Wednesday
Derby Reporter	Thursday
Devizes Gazette	Thursday
Devonport Telegraph	Saturday
Devonshire Chronicle (Exeter)	Saturday
Dorchester Journal (Sherborne)	Thursday
Dorset County Chronicle	Thursday
Doncaster Gazette	Friday
Durham Advertiser	Saturday
Durham Chronicle	Saturday

or offend. If inaccuracies have crept in, they were unavoidable: those who can detect them are, at the same time, able to account for their existence; and the public, generally, will, it is hoped,

Essex Herald (Chelmsford)	Tuesday
Exeter Flying Post	Thursday
Exeter Gazette	Saturday
Exeter Western Luminary	Tuesday
Exeter Alfred	Tuesday
Exeter Western Times	Saturday
Falmouth Packet	Saturday
Gloucester Journal	Saturday
Hampshire Chronicle (Winchester)	Monday
Hampshire Telegraph (Portsmouth)	Monday
Hampshire Advertiser (Southampton)	Saturday
Hants Herald (Portsmouth)	Sunday
Hereford Journal	Wednesday
Herts Mercury	Saturday
Hull Packet	Tuesday
Hull Advertiser	Friday
Hull Rockingham	Saturday
Huntingdon Gazette (Cambridge)	Saturday
Ipswich Journal	Saturday
Kentish Gazette (Canterbury)	Tuesday and Friday
Kentish Chronicle (Canterbury)	Tuesday
Kent Herald (Canterbury)	Thursday
Kent and Essex Mercury	Tuesday
Lancaster Gazette	Saturday
Leamington Spa Courier	Saturday
Leeds Intelligencer	Thursday
Leeds Mercury	Saturday
Leeds Patriot	Saturday
Leicester Journal	Friday
Leicester Chronicle	Saturday
Leicester Herald	Wednesday
Lincoln Herald	Friday
Litchfield Mercury	Friday
Liverpool General Advertiser	Thursday
Liverpool Saturday's Advertiser	Saturday
Liverpool Courier	Wednesday
Liverpool Mercury	Friday
Liverpool Albion	Monday
Liverpool Mercantile Advertiser	Monday
Liverpool Times	Tuesday
Liverpool Chronicle	Monday
Macclesfield Courier	Saturday
Maidstone Journal	Tuesday
Maidstone Gazette	Tuesday
Manchester Chronicle	Saturday
Manchester Herald	Thursday
Manchester Guardian	Saturday
Manchester Mercury	Tuesday
Manchester Courier	Saturday
Manchester Times	Saturday

look with indulgence on the attempt to supply them with information on a subject which is allowed to be of general interest.

Manchester Advertiser	Saturday
Monmouth Merlin (Monmouth)	Saturday
Newcastle Courant	Saturday
Newcastle Chronicle	Saturday
Northampton Mercury	Saturday
Norfolk Chronicle	Saturday
Norwich Mercury	Saturday
Nottingham Journal	Saturday
Nottingham Review	Friday
Nottingham Mercury	Saturday
North Wales Chronicle (Bangor)	Thursday
North Devon Journal (Barnstaple)	Thursday
Oxford Journal	Saturday
Oxford Herald	Saturday
Plymouth and Devonport Journal	Thursday
Plymouth Herald	Saturday
Preston Chronicle	Saturday
Preston Pilot	Saturday
Reading Mercury	Monday
Rochester Gazette	Tuesday
Salisbury Journal	Monday
Salopian Journal (Shrewsbury)	Wednesday
Shrewsbury Chronicle	Friday
Sherborne Mercury	Monday
Sheffield Iris	Tuesday
Sheffield Mercury	Saturday
Sheffield Independent	Saturday
Sheffield Courant	Friday
Stamford Mercury	Friday
Stamford News	Friday
Staffordshire Advertiser	Saturday
Staffordshire Mercury (Han.)	Saturday
Stockport Advertiser	Friday
Sussex Advertiser (Lewes)	Monday
Suffolk Chronicle (Ipswich)	Saturday
Taunton Courier	Wednesday
Tyne Mercury (Newcastle on Tyne)	Tuesday
Wakefield and Halifax Journal	Friday
Warwick Advertiser	Saturday
Westmoreland Advertiser (Kendal)	Saturday
Westmoreland Gazette (Kendal)	Saturday
West Briton (Truro)	Friday
Windsor Express	Saturday
Wolverhampton Chronicle	Wednesday
Worcester Journal	Thursday
Worcester Herald	Saturday
York Courant	Tuesday
York Chronicle	Thursday
York Herald	Saturday
York Gazette	Saturday

In the preceding Numbers the press of Great Britain has been described as an engine of great power in effecting intellectual improvement: but whilst room was found for gratification, in the fact of its enormous increase, even under all the shackles imposed upon it by taxation and illegal restrictions,

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BRITISH ISLANDS.

Guernsey Gazette	Saturday
Guernsey Mercury	Saturday
Guernsey Star	Tuesday
Jersey Gazette (Mourant's)	Saturday
Jersey Constitutional	Saturday
Jersey British Press	Tuesday
Manks Advertiser	Thursday

SCOTCH PAPERS.

Aberdeen Journal	Wednesday
Aberdeen Chronicle	Saturday
Ayr Advertiser	Thursday
Dumfries Journal	Tuesday
Dumfries Courier	Tuesday
Dundee Advertiser	Thursday
Dundee Courier	Tuesday
Edinburgh Caledonian Mercury	Mon. Th. and Sat.
Edinburgh Evening Courant	Mon. Th. and Sat.
Edinburgh Observer	Tuesday and Friday
Edinburgh Advertiser	Tuesday and Friday
Edinburgh Gazette (by authority)	Tuesday and Friday
Edinburgh Weekly Journal	Wednesday
Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle	Wednesday
Edinburgh Scotsman	Wednesday and Sat.
Edinburgh and Leith Advertiser	Saturday
Edinburgh Evening Post	Saturday
Edinburgh Literary Journal	Saturday
Fife Herald (Cupar)	Thursday
Glasgow Courier	Tues. Th. and Sat.
Glasgow Herald	Monday and Friday
Glasgow Journal	Thursday
Glasgow Chronicle	Mon. Wed. and Fri.
Glasgow Free Press	Wednesday and Sat.
Glasgow Times	Saturday
Glasgow Evening Post	Saturday
Greenock Advertiser	Tuesday and Friday
Inverness Journal	Friday
Inverness Courier	Wednesday
Kelso Mail	Monday and Thurs.
Kelso Weekly Journal	Friday
Montrose Review	Friday
Paisley Advertiser	Saturday
Perth Courier	Thursday
Stirling Journal	Thursday
Stirling Advertiser	Friday
Strathmore Journal (Cupar)	Thursday

it was not forgotten that it might become much greater if it were left with proper freedom and scope for action. In the course of the last year, the editor of the Scotsman addressed two long and very able Letters to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, pointing out to him the hardships under which newspaper proprietors are suffering, and showing the extent of intellectual and commercial benefit which would result from a more liberal mode of proceeding on the part of the government and the legislature. The editor of the Scotsman, after making a calculation, by which he supposes, that if all the duties on newspapers were repealed, the paper which now costs sevenpence could be sold for three halfpence, and assuming that, if government were to reduce the stamp-duty to two-pence, and the advertisement-duty to one shilling, the two taxes would yield as much to the Treasury as they do now, proceeds to consider how these taxes immediately affect the circulation of newspapers. We cannot render a more effectual service to the proprietors of newspapers generally, or indeed confer a greater benefit upon those who take a strong interest in the subject, than by copying the remarks made by this gentleman. He says,

'Colquhoun computes, that, in 1812, there were in Britain one hundred and twenty-three thousand heads of families, with incomes exceeding £800 per annum. Their number may probably be now one hundred and forty thousand; and, in the United States, almost every person with such a revenue would have a daily paper. Now, from a parliamentary document, printed in 1821, we find, that the average circulation of the London daily journals was about two thousand two hundred; and assuming that it is the same still, it follows, that the impressions of all these papers put together amount to only thirty-five thousand. Hence we have reason to conclude, that, were papers untaxed, the wealthiest class alone would take three or four times as many copies of the daily papers as now serve the whole population of the country! a reduction of the duties would have a proportional effect on the circulation.

'The population of the British isles, at present, is very nearly double the population of the United States; the one being above twenty-three millions, and the other about twelve millions; deducting the blacks, the American population will be about ten millions.

'In the British isles there are at present, according to M. Moreau, three hundred and thirty-four newspapers; of which nineteen or twenty are daily; viz. sixteen in London, and three or four in Ireland.

'In the United States, in 1810, there were three hundred and sixty-four newspapers: in 1823, according to a table in my possession, there were five hundred and ninety-eight; and in last Spring Mr. Cooper estimated the number at eight hundred ["*Notions of the Americans*," vol. ii. p. 133]: of these, according to the statement

of an American editor to me personally, and according to a paragraph which appeared some months ago in several American journals, there are fifty published daily. New York, in the month of March last, had twelve daily papers; Philadelphia, eight or nine; Baltimore, five; Boston, three or four, &c.

'The whole number of papers printed annually in Britain and Ireland, on an average of the last seven years, as I find from the amount of stamp-duty, was twenty-seven millions, eight hundred and twenty-seven thousand. This gives an average circulation of about eleven hundred for each.

'I might, perhaps, state the average circulation of the American journals fairly enough at the same amount; because the daily papers there, which print a greater number than the others, compose a much greater proportion of the entire mass. But, taking them at one thousand copies each, and classing them as I find done in an American paragraph, the result is as follows:—

	Copies Printed Annually.
550 Weekly Papers	28,000,000
200 Semi-Weekly, or Tri-Weekly	20,800,000
50 Daily	15,600,000
	64,400,000

'If this Estimate is fairly made, it shows that there are nearly two and a half times as many papers printed in the United States as in Britain, for less than half the population (excluding the blacks). Combining the two ratios, it results, that a million of persons in the United States purchase five times as many newspapers as a million of persons in the British isles!

'But to draw the parallel justly we must recollect the peculiar circumstances of the Americans. They live so widely scattered that one thousand persons are spread over as large a surface as ten thousand in Britain: hence vast numbers are far from any post-office, and must find it difficult to procure a paper, though ever so able to pay for it. Again, the class of persons who possess entire leisure and accumulated wealth, and to whom a newspaper is a moral necessary of life, is comparatively small in America. To balance this, indeed, the labouring classes have better wages there than here: but the truth is, that if a paper could be had for two-pence a week, the worst paid labourer could afford to get it: we shall, therefore, have a juster idea of the state of the press in each country if we compare the towns of the one with those of the other.

'There is not a town in Great Britain but London that does or can support a daily paper!—In the United States every considerable town has one or more: Rochester, a town with six thousand inhabitants, Troy, with nearly the same number (both in the State of New York), have each their daily paper, while neither Manchester nor Glasgow has one! Think of the capital of Scotland wanting a paper of this description, while an American town, of the size of Dalkeith, has one! Think, too, of Leith, with a population of more than twenty thousand *persons*, trying, in vain, some years ago, to establish a weekly paper!

'Philadelphia and Liverpool have nearly the same amount of population, but the English town has probably six times as much trade as the American.—Now Liverpool has eight weekly papers, which put forth eight publications in all per week. Philadelphia has eight daily papers, and eight or ten others, which put forth about seventy publications per week!

'Scotland, with two million one hundred thousand inhabitants, has thirty-eight papers, not one of which is published more than thrice a week. Pennsylvania, with one million two hundred thousand inhabitants, had one hundred and ten papers in 1823, of which fourteen or fifteen were published daily!

'These facts speak for themselves: I think they fully warrant the conclusion, that in the most thickly-settled parts of the United States, which alone afford proper materials for comparison, the number of newspapers in circulation amongst any given number of inhabitants is eight or ten times as great as in Britain.'

There is much good sense in the arguments here used, and the fact that no town in England, except London, can support a daily paper, can we think be owing to nothing but the enormous price at which a newspaper is sold in this country.

Next to the stamp-duty on the paper itself, the most oppressive thing under which the newspaper press suffers, is the duty on advertisements. Every advertisement, however short, pays to the government a duty of 3*s.* 6*d.* and the accumulation of advertisements, even at the enormous price charged for them in well-established papers, is so great as to prevent all possibility of displaying them properly so as to catch the eye of the public. In the American papers scarcely an advertisement appears without some engraving of a character adapted to the nature of the announcement, and the practice, although not very chaste to us, who are accustomed to see advertisements set in the smallest type, and crowded together so as to be almost lost, is found to be very useful to the advertiser. We are not, however, advocates for the engraving plan, but should like to see the advertisements so displayed in type, that in this commercial country, where public advertisement is the only channel of sale and purchase, the advertiser and the reader may be well accommodated. A change is desirable, indeed, if it were only to do away with the illiberal, we had almost said dishonest double-sheet system, by which advertisements instead of appearing in the regular course, are thrown into a supplementary sheet which is not read by one person in fifty. The editor of the Scotsman very justly observes, that newspapers are in the most strict and proper sense instruments of trade, and being so, it may fairly be asked, whether so enormous a tax ought to be imposed upon them. As a proof of the extent to which this

duty operates, it is mentioned that whilst the number of advertisements which appeared in the newspapers of the United States of America in one year was ten million one hundred and five thousand, the number in the same period in Great Britain and Ireland and the British Isles, was only nine hundred and sixty-three thousand nine hundred and twenty-three, although the population is double in amount, so that in fact the advertising in America is to that in the British Isles as twenty to one. The charge per line in the two countries for the shortest class of advertisements, viz. those of eight or ten lines, is as follows:

	In London. Per line.	In New York. Per line.
For the first insertion	1*s.* nearly	... 3*d.*
For the second, do.	1*s.* ...	... 1½*d.*
For each subsequent insertion at the rate of thrice a week	1*s.* ...	... 1⅛*d.*
For each subsequent insertion daily after the second	1*s.* ...	... ¾*d.*
For advertisements of twenty lines:—		
First insertion	9*d.*	... 2*d.*
Second, do.	9*d.*	... ¾*d.*
For each subsequent insertion at the rate of thrice a week	9*d.*	... ¾*d.*
For each subsequent insertion daily after the second	9*d.*	... ⅝*d.*

And yet it is supposed that in America, the proprietors of newspapers having no tax to pay, derive a greater average profit than the same class of persons in this country. In Great Britain, where the charges for advertising are so high, few persons advertise in more than two or three newspapers—those of course which are supposed to have the greatest circulation, and thus it is only by a few that considerable profit can be derived. To reduce the duty would, therefore, be to equalize the profit, and to offer a boon to commercial enterprise of every description. But the newspapers alone do not suffer from this tax. We are much mistaken if the government, which now derives only between 160,000*l.* and 170,000*l.* per annum from the advertisement duty, would not gain much more by reducing it two-thirds. The high-duty system has never succeeded in any branch of industry—it has been abandoned with benefit to all parties in many instances, and we cannot conceive any fitter occasion for repeating the experiment than in the instance of newspapers.

We cannot close our review of the newspaper press in the

United Kingdom without remarking upon the silly affectation of indifference to newspaper opposition or advocacy, which is displayed by some of the leading persons in and out of parliament; nothing is more common than to hear this or that great man, with a sneer exclaim, "oh, the newspapers say so," or "who pays attention to the newspapers?" and on the bench or at the bar, persons who, but for the newspapers would never have risen to eminence, appear to aspire to a notoriety founded upon contempt for the opinions expressed in the public journals. If the indifference pretended to be entertained by these persons were real, we should shudder to see it tolerated as it lately has been, for if once the newspaper press could be brought into general contempt, there would be an end of liberty and of the constitutional right of discussing the merits of persons in authority. But it is a mere affectation—an affectation of the most childish and silly description—an assumption of independence over that power, the well-directed influence of which a truly great and good man must acknowledge and respect. Nothing denotes weakness of mind more than this pretended indifference to praise or censure—nothing betrays a desire of emancipation from the salutary control of the newspaper press more than the silly and contemptuous defiance thrown out by those who profess to be above newspaper criticism. It is some satisfaction to know, that all this vapouring has its origin in weakness; that whilst in public speeches and writings the press is defied, private sacrifices are offered, and propitiatory mediations are made, to secure its support or neutrality. It is in our power to shew this in the case of several of the little great men now in office or in the legislature, but we shall reserve our exposure for a more fitting opportunity. We have noticed the subject because it was due to the numerous body who have been insulted by sneers of the kind alluded to, to do so, but at present we shall go no further.

The subject will be pursued in future articles on the newspaper press of continental Europe and America.

Art. V.—*Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America; being a Diary of a Winter's Route from Halifax to the Canadas, and during four months residence in the Woods on the Borders of Lakes Huron and Simcoe.* By George Head, Esq. London. Murray. 1829.

WHY is the Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, the Mariner of York, the most delightful and interesting of books? In what does the pleasure of the reader consist; whence is it

derived? How is it that the various members of the busy world, high and low, young and old, feel so intense a sympathy in the fortunes of the shipwrecked sailor in his utter solitude? It cannot be said that it is the spirit of adventure which enchains the attention of the anxious reader, for adventure chiefly ceases with his shipwreck when the true interest of the story commences: it is when he is alone that our imagination is with him: in his cave, in the chase of his goats, in his primitive contrivances of necessary utensils, in his solitary visits to the wreck, in his wanderings on the shore. His register of simple notch and pole, though it only reckons the days of a poor mariner's sojourn in a desert island 'placed far amid the melancholy main,' is reflected upon with even a more lively interest than that other Register termed Annual, of paper and print, which in this country records all the great yearly transactions of the entire world. Such is the intensity of individual sympathy.

There are few things more flattering to mankind than to be shewn by a practical example the fertility of human resources: it is a noble spectacle for us to watch an individual turning all nature to his uses, forcing her bounties where she does not yield them spontaneously, and by the arts of civilization, diverting them into the channels best adapted to administer to his wants: the struggle is noble, and no small source of the interest we take in such narratives as those of Robinson Crusoe. There is moreover a pleasing perplexity in suddenly discovering the extent of our dependence in a state of civilization upon persons and objects to whose aid we have been so long habituated, that we absolutely forget the necessity of their mediation. When we behold a being accidentally placed out of the reach of all civilized subsidia: seeking his fire in the recesses of nature, moulding his own pottery; and stripping his clothing from the beasts of the field, we are excited to a sudden and lively impression of the advantages by which we are surrounded: our porcelain, our plate, and our stores of shining steel, our well-compacted dress, and all the accessories of civilized life assume a distinct existence. A pair of gloves becomes a chapter of thought, and we become alive to all the complicated machinery of artificial life. These are some of the pleasures derived from the perusal of such works, and thus they are combined with all the hopes and fears which spring from the common source of sympathy with one who is placed in circumstances of extreme trial.

We have been led to talk of Robinson Crusoe by the narrative of Mr. Head, who is a sort of Robinson Crusoe in his way. He was neither shipwrecked nor wholly excluded from society, but

in his residence among the back woods of Canada he was placed very nearly in a state of complete solitude, and sufficiently thrown upon his own resources to give us an interest in the perusal of his adventures.—The scene of his temporary banishment from society was not laid in any paradisaical island of the South Seas, but still in a country which has high claims upon the lover of the picturesque; a country of rude and gigantic features; of hard but invigorating climate, and abounding in difficulties which task the ingenuity and the courage of the occupant. Mr. Head is equal not only to live among the cold Canadian hills, but he is equal to the description of them; we have perused his work with considerable pleasure and shall contrive to inform our readers what they may expect from it.

Mr. Head, with some objects in view which he does not explain, disembarked at Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, after a rough passage from Falmouth, in the month of November: the St. Lawrence was already closed for the winter; consequently our voyager had to make his way to the Canadas over land, an enterprise of some difficulty and hardship. A journey in this country, in winter, is only practicable after the snow has fallen in quantities sufficient to bear the sleigh; and as the snow had not yet come down, Mr. Head was delayed in Halifax until the roads were in order for travelling. The moment of the descent of the snow is the signal of gaiety in Halifax. The sleigh is put in immediate requisition, the fur cloaks are assumed, and all the world is in motion, for business or pleasure: the fall of the snow is a manner of breaking the ice in Nova Scotia. Merchandise of all descriptions begins to arrive, and not the least singular in appearance are the waggon-loads of frozen pigs. These "are exposed for sale, quite hard and stiff, and in a fit state to keep till the spring. They had an unusually uncouth appearance; for their mouths were generally open, and the last services seemed never to have been properly paid to the defunct. Their limbs were not arranged with decent regularity, and they appeared to have given up the ghost in the act of squalling and at full gallop. Some were placed standing at the doors in the streets like rocking-horses before a toy-shop, upon their four legs, as if they had been alive. This mode of keeping a pig for a winter without giving him a grain of anything to eat, or being subject to his noisy unmannerly conduct—nay, to be enabled to eat him piece-meal is indisputably one advantage of a cold climate. But frozen meat, on the other hand, disappoints the epicure, being always tasteless and bad."

Dr. Granville in his description of St. Pe 'ls us of

markets piled with frozen provisions, and of housekeepers who store their winter's provision in cellars as we do coals; he, however, if we remember right, differs from Mr. Head in his estimation of frozen viands. In all probability the Russians understand the art of thawing better than the North Americans, and it may be owing to this that the latter find their provisions "tasteless and bad."

On the 8th December, Mr. Head left Halifax in a sleigh which he had engaged to take him to Annapolis, a distance of one hundred and thirty-two miles, for which he was to pay 20*l.*, a tolerable proof of the difficulty of the roads. The Canadians and the other Colonists in that quarter seem to share the identical manners of the Yankees themselves; not only as we have them painted in the elaborate pages of Captain Basil Hall, but even as Matthews himself has sketched them before the admiring audiences of our countrymen. The reception Mr. Head met with at the different inns on his route is truly American. "The people" says he of an inn on the road to Annapolis, "were not at all uncivil; they allowed me to shake the snow off my clothes in the passage, and proceed unmolested as far as the parlour, but nobody seemed at all inclined to stir, till in answer to my repeated entreaties, "Mother," said the great girl of the house, in a fretful tone, "*Mother, don't you hear how the man is calling for something to eat:* and then the mother did begin to move herself, and presently a heavy pile of toast and butter was placed before me, together with tea and beef-steaks." The fact is, that the landlords of the inns are mostly holders of land, and independent of the profits arising from their hostelry; they are moreover thinly scattered, and consequently, the Boniface of Canada, as well as of many parts of the United States, considers that the obligation between the traveller and himself, is mutual; and the balance considerably in his own favour. Some official importance is also generally assumed, for it very frequently happens, that the publican is a captain or colonel of the Militia.

From Annapolis Mr. Head made his way to Digby, where he was to embark in order to cross the dangerous bay of Fundy to the town of St. John's. After which town, the next point on the route to Quebec is Fredericton, a distance of eighty-one miles; upon the ice of the frozen river of St. John's. The season was, however, not sufficiently advanced to render the entire passage by the river practicable: it was therefore only resorted to by the driver of the sleigh occasionally, when he deemed it sufficiently frozen. The ice-route on these and other rivers of Canada is never entitled to be called safe; the confined air bursting

from underneath, leaves chasms which becoming slightly skimmed over with new ice incapable of bearing the weight of a vehicle, and this will occur whatever may be the general thickness of the ice, or however great the intensity of the frost. The depth of the snow-drifts also opposes some obstacles to the traveller, but when the ice happens to be sound, and the snow to have been driven away, this mode of getting on has its charms. At one spot, "the wind," says Mr. Head, "had cleared away the snow, and the ice was nearly bare. The driver rattled his horses on at a brisk gallop, till they, by degrees, settled down into their fastest trot. The sound of the runners upon the ice, and of the horses feet, together with the perfect indifference with which the driver treated repeated loud cracks, which were distinctly audible, was to me altogether new. Still the motion was new, and the labour of the horses light, that there was very much to be pleased with, so finding that he whose business it was to judge of the soundness of the ice appeared to be satisfied, I very soon left off thinking about it." In one spot, however, the ice gave way: fortunately only the horses dropped through the hole, and they were at length extricated by the united efforts of the driver and Mr. Head. They were proceeding so fast and the shock was so sudden, that Mr. Head was flung a long way clear of the water.

At Fredericton the pains of travelling are relieved by a ball, into the pleasures of which Mr. Head entered with all his heart. These things appear to be pretty nearly conducted on the plan of the old country, except that the severity of the climate without, perhaps, encourages a still greater *rapprochement* within, and disposes all to enjoy the pleasures of society with a more cheerful warmth than with us. The jingling of the bells of the sleighs at the doors, and the general donning and doffing of fur, and, on the part of the ladies, of snow-boots, in the ball room, were features which appear chiefly to distinguish a Canadian ball from an English dance in the country. "Heaps of these snow-boots," says our author, "were distributed by the person who had them in charge to their fair owners, who all at once within a very small space, began to put them on. All these snow-boots required fastening, and to fasten them it was indispensable to stoop: some had chairs, but most had not; so that the variety of attitudes in which the female figure was on that occasion displayed, I shall not readily forget—much less the dilemma in which I found myself when standing in the midst of, and surrounded by so many fine forms, I was unable to stir an inch to the right or the left, backwar[illegible] ...thout the imminent risk of disturbing the [illegible] v equipped

themselves with great rapidity, and laden with shawls, plaids, and calashes, sleigh after sleigh received its burden, and away they went with bells jingling, and the white smoke from the horses' nostrils shining in the lamps of the carriages that remained."

At Fredericton Mr. Head was obliged to make his preparations for a formidable journey on foot over the snow lying in drifts on the bed of the river St. John; for although he had still eighty-three miles sleigh carriage to go as far as Presque Isle, yet Fredericton was the last place of sufficient importance to afford him the necessary supply of snow-shoes, tobogins, and buffalo skins. After the purchase of which he sets out to Presque Isle. At an inn, or rather reception-house on the road, Mr. Head meets with entertainment which he describes with much humour: the scene in the following passage of domestic infelicity would be worthy of Hogarth, if the dash of caricature in it did not bring it down to the manner of George Cruikshank.

'The house we were now in for the night was very particularly dirty and comfortless. There were two beds in the room, one for the host, his wife, and four children, (the youngest of which was not more than a few weeks old,) and the other was appropriated to me. The driver and my servant lay on the boards before the stove, which was a Canada one, and too powerful for the size of the room. The heat all night was quite suffocating, though the weather certainly was not warmer than 20° of Fahrenheit. The bed I slept in had green stuff curtains, full of dust; and the sheets were of some soft spongy material which, if clean, at least felt otherwise, and for the first time since I had been in the country, I was tormented with fleas. It was impossible to get a wink of sleep; for, besides my own grievances, there were other causes of disturbance. The child cried incessantly in spite of all the woman could do to pacify it. It had, I believe, nothing at all the matter with it, but seemed, from sheer frowardness, to imagine that the little world of our miserable apartment was made for itself. Sometimes the good wife sat up in her bed with the little animal hugged up between her chin and her elbows, hushing and rocking herself and it; then she patted its back, and still it cried. Then ten times (I dare say) in the course of the night, out of bed got the poor husband, and stood for several minutes at the stove, with a pair of lean bare legs, and an extremely short shirt, stirring something in a saucepan with the broken stump of an iron spoon. A picture of obedience and misery! Then he got into bed again. Then came a long consultation and almost a quarrel, about what was best to be done. Then the grand specific was administered, but all without effect. At last the other children awoke, and the youngest of these began to cry too: and the mother said it was the big one's fault, and beat her. So off she went, and

we had a loud concert, till, what with the noise of the children, and the heat, and the dirt, and the fleas, I felt ready to rush out of doors and roll myself in the snow. But every thing must have an end, and so at last the children became all tired out, and by degress grew quiet; and in the morning I found I had been asleep, and got out of bed determined to be off as soon as I possibly could.'—p. 78—80.

The method of travelling in these parts is not at least without its apparent danger. Mr. Head met with an able driver, and they passed over their difficulties in a style worthy of the four-in-hand club: we question whether any members of that now obsolete society ever took a drag down and up a hill in better style than Mr. Head's charioteer.

'Occasionally, during this stage, we encountered some little ravines, or precipitous gullies, which crossed the road, and which formed small creeks or outlets of the river. There were several of these which it was necessary to pass, and at the bottom of each was a rude wooden bridge without side-rails, and scarcely broad enough to permit three horses to pass abreast; notwithstanding which, we went over with our pair always at full gallop: much to my annoyance at first, till I found that the cattle possessed quite as much sense as their driver, and sufficiently understood what they were about. The ravines were so steep, that in order to ascend one side, it was absolutely necessary to rush down the other to gain an impetus; and the distance from the top to the bottom was about one hundred and fifty yards. The bridges were composed of pine logs laid loosely together, which made a rattling and a clatter as the horses' feet came upon them. The Frenchman drove with long cord reins, without any contrivance to prevent them falling down the horses' sides, and the rest of the tackling was of an equally simple fashion. The cattle were indeed but barely attached to the vehicle; a matter of little importance during the former part of the journey, but now deserving a little more consideration: for the horses, so sure as they arrived at the verge of each ravine, seemed to take all sort of charge upon themselves, while the driver, yielding to circumstances, sat still upon his seat. Up went their heads and tails, and, like a pair of hippogrifs, down they went with a dash till they reached the bridge, when, closing together, laying back their ears, and cringing in their backs, they rattled over the logs at full gallop, and up the opposite bank, till the weight of the vehicle brought them to a walk. Now came the turn of the driver; and as he was perfect in all the words which frighten horses, he used them with such emphasis, jumping out of the sleigh at the same time with considerable activity, while the animals dragged it through the deep snow, that he contrived to keep them to their collar till they had completed the ascent.'—p. 81—83.

The houses of [illegible] settlers on [illegible] of road in a country so thinly inh[illegible] [illegible]erica, scarcely belong so m[illegible] They are entered

without ceremony: a salutation is scarcely considered necessary: the voyager enters, comes in after him his log of wood, and after he has thrown it on the fire, he takes down the key of the stable from its nail as if it were his own. The landlord may go to bed at night with an empty house; and in the morning find the hearth of his log-fire strewed with sturdy strangers who have dropped in at all hours of the night. "It is a question," says Mr. Head, "which is best off, the pennyless guest or the host himself, who cannot, in his own house, walk across his bed-room after nine o'clock at night, without the risk of disturbing some great fellow stretched out and snoring before his fire, and who, if he happen to be trod upon, will swear as loudly as if the whole house belonged to him.

On entering a house in Canada, the stranger stands a moment on the threshold to shake off the loose snow from his feet. This operation is performed by striking the hinder part of the calf of each leg with the great toe of the opposite foot very rapidly—this is as common in Canada as making use of a mat in England, and becomes so much a habit, that the Indians never enter a room even in summer without going through the ceremony. From such origins arise national practices, which often outlive their occasion and necessity.

At Preque Isle Mr. Head was entertained at the house of a Mr. Turner, on whom he has exercised his talent for sketching; the portrait is curious: in these remote and thinly-inhabited countries, if a man has not active duties to perform, in the absence of all claims of society and all motives of excitement he sinks into a state of absolute torpor.

'My host was, I believe, an American,—a tall, withered, thin man, about sixty years of age, with extremely small legs and thighs, narrow shoulders, long back, and as straight as a ramrod. Innumerable short narrow wrinkles, which crossed each other in every direction, covered his face, which was all the same colour—as brown as a nut; and he had a very small mouth, which was drawn in and pursed up at the corners. His eyes were very little, black, keen, and deep set in his head. He hardly ever spoke; and I do not think, that while I was in his house I ever saw him smile. He was dressed in an old rusty black coat and trowsers, both perfectly threadbare, and glazed about the collar, cuffs, and knees with grease; and he sat always in one posture and in one place,—bolt upright on a hard wooden chair. He seemed to me the picture of a man who, from want of interest in the world, had fallen into a state of apathy;—and yet that would seem impossible, considering that Mr. Turner was the chief diplomatist these parts,—the representative of the commissariat departm charged with the duties of supplying the garrison at Presque Isl man of high importance in his station, invested with local auth

and in direct communication and correspondence with the higher powers at Quebec. Notwithstanding all this, the energies of Mr. Turner's body and mind were suffered to lie at rest; for the garrison consisted of a corporal and four privates, making in all five men, to supply them with rations was nearly his whole and sole occupation; and so he had gradually sobered down into the quiet tranquil sort of person I found him. A daughter, a fine, handsome, bouncing girl, under twenty, with sparkling black eyes and an animated countenance, seemed to bear testimony to days gone by, when affairs were somewhat more lively; but the contrast now was sufficiently striking; for without regarding her, any body, or any thing, he kept his place and attitude, sitting always close to the stove.

'There was a small square hole in the centre of the door (as there generally is in all Canada stoves), made to open and shut with a slider as occasion requires: this he kept open for a purpose of his own; for by long practice he had acquired a knack of spitting through this little hole with such unerring certainty, by a particular sort of jerk through his front teeth, that he absolutely never missed his mark. This accomplishment was the more useful to him, as he was in the habit of profusely chewing tobacco,—all the care he seemed to have!—and he opened the door of the stove now and then, to see how the fire was going on.'—p. 98—101.

From this point the pedestrian part of the voyage commenced, the most fatiguing and painful part of which was the necessity of carrying on the feet the clumsy snow-shoes. This snow-shoe is a light wooden frame of an oval shape, about forty inches long and eighteen in extreme breadth, and its weight about two pounds. The whole surface within is formed of a net-work of thong, like that of a racket, but rather stouter. A small square aperture about the size of a man's hand is left in the net-work, into which the toes sink at every step, by which means the foot is prevented from slipping back, and a purchase is given to step from, while the snow-shoe, forming an artificial platform, remains still in the ground. The foot is in no way confined to the machine, except by the toes, by which it is lifted or rather dragged along at each step. Such is Mr. Head's description of the shoe which to him proved an instrument of torture. The weight and the strain upon the ancle cause to those unaccustomed to the use of it, a severely painful malady, which is called the *mal à raquette*.

On [illegible] route M[illegible]ead travelled in company with the Can[illegible] had [illegible] of the post letters, and who acted as his [illegible] by the accidental travellers and settl[illegible]. One of these settlers entered [illegible] relations of this man [illegible] he complained that [illegible] them owing to the

miscarriage of his letters. Mr. Head agreed to take charge of one for him. The description of the poor man's difficulties in inditing an epistle in these wild regions is amusing, and may serve to shew the inconsistency of letters and hand-labour in a scarcely-settled country, and console the friends of emigrants for an apparent negligence. The letter was accomplished in a log-house where the travellers spent the evening in smoking and the night in sleeping. The writer seated himself on the ground in a corner of the room; his desk was a plate supported on his knees; his paper was as bad as well could be; his ink newly thawed and quite pale; his pen pulled out of a wild-goose's tail, was oily; his own hand was as hard as the bark of a tree, and his broad black thumb had been smashed by the blow of a hammer or an axe, and had no sort of bend in it. Nevertheless he produced a folded epistle, and Mr. Head subsequently delivered it to its address. On one occasion it blew a violent snow-storm, and no exertions of the party could enable them to reach their appointed resting-place. The consequence was, that they were obliged to spend a polar night under the inclement air, which makes a citizen in snug quarters tremble with horror and apprehension. The narrative of this night's efforts forms an encouraging picture of the resources of human power. It begins thus—

'But, in spite of every obstacle, the strength of the two Canadians was astonishing; with bodies bent forward, and leaning on their collar, on they marched, drawing the tobogins after them, with a firm, indefatigable step; and we had all walked a little more than seven hours, when the snow-storm had increased to such a pitch of violence, that it seemed impossible for any human creature to withstand it; it bid defiance even to their most extraordinary exertions. The wind now blew a hurricane. We were unable to see each other at a greater distance than ten yards, and the drift gave an appearance to the surface of snow we were passing over, like that of an agitated sea. Wheeled round every now and then by the wind, we were enveloped in clouds so dense, that a strong sense of suffocation was absolutely produced. We all halted: the Canadians admitted that farther progress was impossible; but the friendly shelter of the forest was at hand, and the pines waved their dark branches in token of an asylum. —We turned our shoulders to the blast, and comfortless and weather-beaten, sought our refuge. The scene, though changed, was still not without interest; the frequent crashes of falling trees, and the cracking of their vast limbs as they rocked and writhed in the tempest, created awful and impressive sounds; but it was no time to be idle: warmth and shelter were objects connected with life itself, and the Canadians immediately commenced the vigorous application of their resources. By means of their small light axes, a good sized maple tree was in a very few minutes levelled with the earth, and in the mean time we

cleared of snow a square spot of ground, with large pieces of bark ripped from the fallen trees. The fibrous bark of the white cedar, previously rubbed to powder between the hands, was ignited, and blowing upon this, a flame was produced. This being fed, first by the silky peelings of the birch bark, and then by the bark itself, the oily and bituminous matter burst forth into full action, and a splendid fire raised its flames and smoke amidst a pile of huge logs, to which one and all of us were constantly and eagerly contributing.

'Having raised a covering of spruce boughs above our heads, to serve as a partial defence from the snow, which was still falling in great abundance, we sat down, turning our feet to the fire, making the most of what was, under circumstances, a source of real consolation. We enjoyed absolute rest! One side of our square was bounded by a huge tree, which lay stretched across it. Against this our fire was made; and on the opposite side towards which I had turned my back, another very large one was growing, and into this latter, being old and decayed, I had by degrees worked my way, and it formed an admirable shelter. The snow was banked up on all sides nearly five feet high, like a white wall; and it resolutely maintained its position, not an atom yielding to the fierce crackling fire which blazed up close against it.

'The Canadians were soon busily employed cooking broth in a saucepan, for they had provided themselves much better with provisions than I had. I had relied upon being able to put up with the fare I might meet with, not taking into consideration the want of traffic, and distance from the civilized parts of the province; owing to which, the scanty provision of the inhabitants could not allow them to minister to the wants of others, although they might be provided with a sufficiency for themselves. And I now saw the guides pulling fresh meat out of the soup with their fingers, and sharing it liberally with my servant, whom they had admitted into their mess. The poor fellows seeing that I had nothing but a piece of salted pork, which I had toasted at the fire on a stick, offered me a share of their supper, but this I felt myself bound to decline. My servant had fewer scruples, and consequently fared better. In return for their intentions I gave them a good allowance of whiskey, which added to their comfort and increased their mirth. One by one they lighted their tobacco pipes, and continued to smoke; till, dropping off by degrees, the whole party at last lay stretched out snoring before me.'—pp. 121—125.

We cannot go on with this extract: but have quoted enough to shew that even in the depths of a North American forest, buried in snow, and deprived of every ordinary succedaneum of civilized life, a man needs only to be bold and persevering. At the time when our traveller arrived at the St. Lawrence, that mighty river was not fixed by the frost. Its rapid torrent was carrying down immense masses of ice, and was frozen over for a considerable distance from each bank. The traverse was a service of danger, and indeed only practicable to the hardy and

active Canadian. It was effected, and a few days after the river was attacked by a frost, and passable to all the world. The act of fixing the river is the affair of but a few seconds. The moment a general jam takes place, as it is called by Mr. Head, the frost has time to do its business; the whole of the different masses are connected together by the frozen surface, and the rapid current rushing up between the different masses is quickly frozen, and serves as cement to fix the whole in one compact mass of ice. A road is then cut by means of axe and hatchet, the avenue is quickly filled with vehicles and passengers, merchandise passes from one side to the other, and all the world begins to perceive the value of a road. They call it a "Pont."

After passing Quebec, Montreal, and Kingston, which towns our traveller scarcely condescends to notice, on the ground of their being well known, or perhaps because they are not altogether in the desert, he proceeds to York, and thence to the bay of Pentagushene, an outlet of Lake Huron, where it was the object of the government to establish a naval and military magazine. In this work, it seems Mr. Head was employed, but in what department precisely we have not ascertained. It at any rate led him to a wild residence in the woods, to which part of the narrative we have at length arrived. We shall give his own account of his first introduction to forest companions:

'On entering the wood, I ascended a steep acclivity, which I had no sooner surmounted, than I found myself amongst a parcel of small huts, made up of a few poles thatched over with spruce boughs, scattered here and there; and from two or three of these it was that the smoke issued. There was not such a thing as a log-house to be seen; but I observed, that one of the huts was rather better finished than the rest, and a farther distinction was allotted to it by a flag, which was placed upon the roof. It was evident, that none of them could have been long erected, the snow was so excessively deep, and the foot-marks so few; however, I made my way immediately towards the one with a flag, where I found captain C——, of the navy; and I had no sooner entered and introduced myself, than I received a very cordial welcome. Captain C—— immediately afforded me the assistance of a couple of men to build me a hut; and, as it was necessary that it should be ready for me to sleep in the same night, I went back to the place where I had left my servant with the baggage. I told him where I would have the hut built; and, leaving him to superintend the works and remove the things, I returned to captain C——, where I was regaled with a fine piece of boiled beef, which I was hungry enough to think excellent, though from its toughness it would hardly remain upon the fork. Captain P—— and lieutenant E——, the other officers appointed to the establishment, had assembled at the commodore's

hut, and with them I remained till nearly seven o'clock, when I left the party to attend to my own affairs.

'I had directed my hut to be erected on the summit of the brow which rose close from the bay; and when I returned to the spot I found my servant busily arranging my different articles of property in an edifice which, if not equal in splendour to the renowned palace of Aladdin, had been, at least, completed nearly in as little time. By the help of a few poles and cedar boughs, I had now, such as it was, a house of my own. There were at least two sides with a back part, and the front was open; but a brilliant fire was blazing before it, big enough for the kitchen of the London tavern, and in itself a world of comfort. The plan of the hut was not of my own contriving; it was such as local experience had determined upon, and of the following description: the front, where the fire was burning, was six feet high and eight feet broad; but the roof dipped towards the extreme end, which was only four feet high, and the length was exactly ten feet. The snow had been well cleared away from the bottom, and, being banked up, it helped to support the poles which formed the frame-work. A bundle of spruce boughs laid across the extreme end, with a sack of potatoes for my pillow, formed my bed; and if I had no door opposite, all the cold that got in necessarily passed through the fire and smoke. My baggage,—that is, a very small valise, a gun case, and some other little packages,—was easily disposed of within these narrow limits, and every thing was perfectly ready for my repose soon after it was dark. My servant I had got attached to the shipwrights' mess, —a noisy set of fellows, crammed altogether within a very small compass, and among them there were some singers, the sound of whose voices I used frequently to hear at night as I sat by myself.'—pp. 187—190.

The next morning the new settler provided himself with an axe, and sallied forth to cut down trees, for the wood of which he had various uses. The first article of furniture he manufactured was a bedstead, he then contrived a kind of bed of spruce boughs, having previously lashed his poles together with a kind of ticking, composed of the bark of the bass-tree, an article which, in those parts, supplies the place of rope and string. Before he had advanced far in his work, he was reinforced by a gang of Canadian axe-men from York, who arrived to be placed at his disposal. The party immediately set about the construction of log-buildings for the reception of government stores, and huts for their own covering.

The building of Mr. Head's own house was the first operation; he chose the brow of a hill for its scite, close above the bay, projecting to chop down, one by one, all the trees which impeded his prospects. A person desirous of trying the value of the different systems of forest scenery, and settling the questions mooted between Sir Walter Scott and Mr. Withers, could not

hit upon a better scheme than that of settling amid the woods of Canada, and directing the operations of a few gangs of true Canadian woodmen. The dexterity of these men is extraordinary. To the Canadian labourer, says Mr. Head, accustomed to the use from his childhood, the felling of a tree is the act of a few minutes. He can drop it whichever way he pleases, divesting it of its limbs, and adapting it for its place in the wall of the buildings with equal dexterity. Standing upon the fallen tree, and with his foot placed in such a position as would appear liable to be split to the instep at every blow, he strikes directly under it boldly and carelessly, thus making a large notch (which enters, perhaps, half the thickness of the tree) quite perpendicularly. We remember pointing out a fine tree in Hyde Park to a little fellow, the son of a naval officer, who had been long settled in Canada; his remark was, "I would drop it north in three minutes."

As Mr. Head's house was in progress, he made a grand discovery: he was working close to the water's edge, when behold, he turned up a large iron pot with three short legs; invaluable tripod, the uses of this utensil were manifold, nay, incalculable. The first application of it was to the purposes of an oven, and that same evening the iron pot presented its discoverer with a loaf of bread.

Since Mr. Head's arrival in the woods, the weather had been uncertain; the snow was slushy, and walking far impracticable without the aid of snow-shoes, of which he had a horror; but on the 6th of March the world assumed another aspect, the snow clothed in glass, and the bay was frozen. A new pleasure was opened to him, he put on his skates, and seemed to have found a new sense; he had got wings and had left the state of chrysalism. In the course of gratifying this new power, he meets with an adventure which he shall describe in his own words:

'The glow of exercise, the lively rattle of the skates, and the sensation produced by the fresh air, combined to embellish the novelty of the scene before me, as I ranged with unlimited freedom the clear ice which extended all across the bay. Every object around me was unexplored, while I had the means of being conveyed, as it were on wings, from one to the other. I had been confined for many weeks, either sitting still half frozen in a carriage the whole of the day, or, since my arrival in the forest, completely weather-bound. For a long period I had never been thoroughly warm, only barely able to subdue cold, and had seldom during the whole day felt a dry stocking on my foot. My blood was now in full circulation, and the interest I felt in every thing around me was so great, that the sun had nearly reached the tops of the trees before I thought of returning to my dwelling. I had looked almost into every corner of the bay, which was about

seven miles long and from two to three across, and was at last quite tired, when I discovered an object which attracted my attention.

There was, at a distance on the ice, what appeared to be a mound of earth thrown up,—an appearance, under present circumstances, not to be readily accounted for; so I made towards it that I might see what it was. As I approached within a few hundred yards, I thought I perceived it move a little, and, halting for a moment, I saw that that was really the case. It was of a light-brown colour; but the figure was so indistinct, that while I watched it attentively I could not decide what it could possibly be. A bear would have been blacker, and I knew of no living creature of those regions answering its description. But, whatever it might be, there it was, and it was therefore necessary to be a little cautious, as I had no arms, in approaching it. I stood for some seconds thinking what I should do, and had almost determined to go home for my gun, when I saw the hide which caused all my speculation thrown suddenly aside to make way for the head and shoulders of an Indian, who protruded his rough matted locks into daylight from under it. This solved the problem in a moment, and I saw that the man had been employed in fishing, and had so completely enveloped himself in a large buffalo skin that no part of his body, head, feet, or hands, were to be discovered. He sat over a square hole cut in the ice, with a short spear ready to transfix any fish which might be attracted by his bait. The hole was about a foot square, and the bait was an artificial fish of white wood, with leaden eyes and tin fins, and about eight or nine inches long. The ice where he had cut it was about three feet thick.

'Being within a few yards of him, I commenced a parley by signs, for he did not appear to understand a word of English; but he seemed to wish me anywhere else, and to be much annoyed at having been interrupted in his occupation. As my object was to pacify him, I gave him a small ball of twine I had in my pocket, and with this he was highly gratified; much more so, however, by my skates, which he viewed with marks of great astonishment. He looked narrowly at the straps which bound them to my feet; but when I made him acquainted with their use, there were no bounds to his delight: at the same time he kept his own interest in view; for he tried to persuade me to give him a piece of a red shirt of flannel which I wore, to make a bait with. This I refused, by shaking my head and saying "No, no!" rather loudly; but he kept on entreating, taking hold of a corner of the collar with his finger and thumb. I persisted in refusing, and kept him off. But he was not so easily answered, and offered me his knife, giving me to understand I might cut it from what part of the garment I pleased. So, shaking him by the hand and patting his shaggy locks, I skated away, leaving him to pursue his occupation for the rest of the evening.'—p. 199—203.

The frost continued, and the hermit of the forest had leisure to make some observations on the extraordinary sounds which at extremely low degrees of temperature proceed from the frozen

bosom of the lake. "I was" says he, "occasionally surprised by sounds produced by the wind, indescribably awful and grand. Whether the vast sheet of ice was made to vibrate and bellow like the copper, which generates the thunder of the stage, or whether the air rushing through its cracks and fissures produced the noise I will not pretend to say: still less to describe the various intonations which struck upon the ear. A dreary undulating sound wandered from point to point, perplexing the mind to imagine whence it came or whither it went; whether aerial or subterraneous: sometimes like low moaning and then swelling into a deep-toned note, as produced by some Æolian instrument: it being in fact and without metaphor, the voice of winds imprisoned on the bosom of the deep. This night I listened for the first time to what was then perfectly new to me, although I experienced its repetition on many subsequent occasions whenever the temperature fell very suddenly."

By the time that the log-house was finished, and Mr. Head was about to take possession of his castle, the establishment at Pentagushene Bay received an order of removal: the government had changed its intentions. The camp was consequently broken up and the party took their departure for York, excepting Mr. Head and his Canadians, who were left in a desert station on Kempenfeldt. His solitude being now more complete than ever, he was still more entirely left to his own resources, and the uncertainty of how long it was intended that he should make his home on this spot, combined with the departure of his comrades, and the absence of every sort of comfort, depressed his spirits.

'The fire had been neglected in the bustle of departure, and had got low; remnants of packages and rubbish lay strewed about; my Canadians were at work at some distance in the woods; and there was nothing to disturb the loneliness and silence of the place. The building consisted of a single room of sixteen feet by twelve. The sides were rude logs laid one upon another, and calked in so insufficient a manner, that the light was visible in more places than I was able to count. The door, of thin deal, was too ill-fitted to fill its frame, and the light which entered the apartment was through a small window of four panes of green inferior glass.—A gloomy feeling invariably envelopes the mind, upon finding one's self suddenly deserted, as it were, and alone. Without stopping to think why, the very act of saying "good bye," and turning south while a friend or acquaintance walks away to the north, is always sufficient to produce this in a slight degree, and at the instant I felt inclined to despond. But a remedy, the best of all others, immediately suggested itself, and I seized my axe, to receive, by a couple of hours' hard work in the woods, the benefit of my prescription.'—p. 217—18.

Recovering his spirits by means of a copious use of the axe, he resumed his ordinary life: contrived a rest for his gun, tried his hand upon another bedstead, chopped his own firewood, and occupied his idle time in mending his habiliment. His gun constantly procured him fresh provision, and the kitchen and the toilette each consumed a small portion of his day. Sometimes he dined upon partridge, a woodpecker was good in a pudding; and, by way of variety, squirrels hotly peppered tasted as well as a rabbit. During these occupations he was unexpectedly joined by an ally, of whose services and faithful companionship he had no small reason to be grateful.

'March 20th. Very early this morning I was awakened by a scratching at my door; and on listening attentively, I distinctly heard the feet of some animal which evidently had an intention of making its way into the house. It put its nose to the bottom of the door, snuffling and whining from eagerness, after the manner, as I thought, of a dog. Conceiving it might possibly be either a bear or a wolf, without stopping to put on my clothes, I seized my gun, which was ready loaded over the fire, and keeping my eyes upon the door, which was of such very thin deal, and so imperfectly fastened by a wooden latch, that I could place no confidence whatever in its strength, I remained still a moment or two, not making up my mind exactly what to do. My window was fixed, and the glass so bad, that light would barely pass through it. As to distinguishing any object on the other side, that was quite impossible. There was many a hole in the house of which I might have availed myself, but it was scarcely day-break, and therefore too dark to discern any thing without. So I threw a small log or two upon the fire to blaze up, thinking it best to remain where I was, even in case the creature should happen to break into the house, when I should be sure to have a fair shot at it. Scarcely a minute had now elapsed from the very beginning, when I concluded, from the sound, the perseverance, and total absence of fear of the animal, that it must be a dog, and nothing else; so I opened the door very little and with extreme caution, and discovered, to my surprise and satisfaction, that I was right; for a dog it was; and in an instant, a brown, rough water-spaniel bounced into my room, overjoyed at having reached a human habitation. To account at once for the circumstance:—My house was but little removed out of the line of march of the North-west traders; to one of which persons (as I afterwards discovered) the dog had belonged; and having lost his master, had wandered through the forest, till he came by chance to my dwelling.

'I greeted him with a most cordial welcome, happy to have a companion; an honest friend! whether from the clouds or elsewhere, no matter: so wishing his former master, whoever he might be, all sorts of prosperity, my only hope was, that he might never show his face in my neighbourhood; and I put a string round the neck of the dog. The poor fellow was, on his part, just as happy to see me as a dog

could well be. He frisked and jumped, wagging his tail, and licking my hands, while his eloquent eyes, as plainly as letters engraved on brass, besought me to make trial of the merits of one so ready, on his part, to execute a bond of faithful allegiance. I shewed him my gun, holding it down low to his nose; upon which he held his head back, while a glance of recognition ratified the treaty. Calling immediately for my servant, I got my breakfast; not forgetting my new guest. I had nothing for myself but bread and salt pork, which I shared with him. He ate voraciously, having been, apparently, a long time without food. I tried all the names of dogs, in order to see to which he answered best; and at last fancied that he attended most to that of Rover. So Rover, at all events, I determined to call him.' p. 227—230.

It may give a lively idea to the citizen of the wants of a settler in these parts, that Mr. Head from this log-house sent forty-seven miles and back across the frozen bay, covered with deep and slushy snow and frequently penetrated with air holes for a file to set a saw with. Liberté, the Canadian, employed on this expedition, brought back with him not only some files but a large piece of the flesh of a bear which some Indians had given him. It was a great lump of black looking meat, very like horse flesh, nevertheless a piece of fresh meat was a delicacy and it was cooked for dinner. Ill cooked we apprehend: it tasted as if it had been kept in a hot pocket for some time; a fault neither to be attributed in our opinion to the bear, nor the bearer, but to the cook.

This Liberté was the only man in the neighbourhood who would have undertaken or was likely to succeed in a similar journey. He was born for such exploits: he was in blood half a savage, in face a most curious combination of health and ugliness. His constitution was strong as that of a bear.

'Heedless of cold, a known and tried pedestrian, his short, thick figure betokened incalculable strength, and his swarthy features showed a tinge too dark and fixed to be discomposed by common causes. He had suffered grievously from the small-pox, and he had but one eye, the other having been gouged out one or two years before by the thumb in a drunken squabble.'—p. 28.

About the middle of April the weather suddenly changed, the scenery of the country assumed a totally different aspect and all the winter pursuits of the dweller in the woods were succeeded by others appropriate to the fine season. The climate of Canada knows no intermediate seasons: they are neither prepared by autumn for winter nor for summer by spring, the appearance of things shifts like a stage scene, as if rather under the influence of a magician's wand, than by the slow and regular

processes of nature. The effect of this change upon the whole creation is very pleasingly described by our author.

'I perceived in the morning all the ice broken in pieces, and floating towards the lake. It was moving slowly away, and a considerable extent of water was already uncovered. This was a joyful sight, for of all things a sheet of water conveys the most lively impressions to the mind, and confined as I was from the impassable state of the ice to the shores on one side of the bay, the barrier was no sooner removed than I felt a sensation of liberation, which seemed to be participated by the turbulent waves themselves, as, just risen from their bondage, they rallied as it were and held council together, bubbling and fretting in their eagerness to press on the rear of their retiring enemy. The wind chased the chilly field before it, which, split into mammocks, was every minute retiring farther from the sight, till about three o'clock in the afternoon, when the lively change was altogether perfect, and Kempenfeldt Bay, so long the type of dreary winter, became a lovely basin of pure water. And, as if to add to the gratifying occurrence, the ice had no sooner disappeared, than the wind lulled, and the sun beamed forth to embellish the natural beauties of a spot in themselves very much above the common order. As the evening advanced, it was beautiful to see the enormous pines with which the banks were fringed, reflected in the water, while the winding shore presented a pleasing variety of sandy beach, and bluff, rocky head-land. Nor were the animal creation insensible to the moment: the large fish leaped incessantly high out of the water, and it was scarcely dark before a flock of wild fowl flew round and round in circles, lowering themselves by degrees, till each, one after another, dashed heavily into the favourite element. A sportsman can readily comprehend how animating it was to listen to the wild sounds which now broke upon the ear, as the feathered troop held their gabbling conversation together, and diving and splashing by turns, they commenced every now and then a short flight for the sake of a fresh launch upon the water. Every thing now was new; nature had thrown off her homely winter's garb, and was beginning to unveil her beauties. My enjoyments were from that day increased, and fish and fowl were added to my resources.—p. 257—259.

The fish were caught by spearing: an occupation which not only afforded food but sport. To be enabled to pursue it Mr. Head purchased a bark canoe of an Indian, a frail vessel which a child of twelve years of age can carry, but which will hold three men, and which is under the guidance of an experienced Indian, can follow the fish in all the deviousness of its rapid course. Sir Walter Scott has adorned one of his romances with a salmon-tickling: and all the world found it good: we have been interested in Mr. Head's fish-spearing and shall enable others to judge if there are not other pleasures than those of the salon and the boudoir.

'April 21st. The evening turned out remarkably fine, and the water was as smooth as a looking-glass. Every thing was ready for my fish-spearing expedition, the preparations for which were extremely simple. The fish-spear consisted of a straight handle about fifteen feet long, to which a couple of barbed iron spikes, of sufficient size to pierce a moderate-sized salmon, were affixed. The birch-bark, for the purpose of light, was prepared in pieces three or four double, each the size of a large quarto book; and one at a time of these was stuck in a cleft pole five or six feet long, placed at the head of the canoe, overhanging the water in such a manner that the blazing bark might shine upon it. It was no sooner dark than I went to the water's edge, where Liberté and another Canadian were ready with the canoe. As he held the vessel to the shore I steadied myself by his shoulder, stepped in cautiously, and took my seat in the middle. The canoe was a very egg-shell, and as cranky as a washing-tub, more fitted to carry ghosts than men, while Liberté was as ugly as Charon himself. A boy of twelve years old could have carried it, notwithstanding it was to hold three of us. We had an establishment of tinder and matches, and some pieces of fat pork cut into slips as a substitute for candles.

'As soon as we embarked, the men paddled away along shore towards the head of the bay; and as soon as we came near some small streams which set into the bay, we stopped, and the men, having struck a light, kindled the birch-bark in the cleft pole. Crackling like soft fat, the unctuous matter produced a clear flame, which lighted up the watery depth beneath us to the brightness of day. The soft ashes which fell occasionally from the fire caused a ripple, which for a moment confused the objects underneath, but otherwise at a depth of ten feet every thing was clear and resplendent. The slightest form was distinctly visible,—every pebble, even the beetle that crawled on the ground. We passed some perch lying close to the bottom, and soon afterwards a rapid quiver of the water announced the presence of some larger fish. Liberté now became animated, and pointing his spear in the proper direction, made signal to the man in the stern to give way. He struck once, twice, without success; but the third time brought a large fish up on his spear. It was a sucking carp; a worthless fish, full of bones, and very watery. However we pursued the remainder, and killed two more. We advanced nearer the head of the bay, and at the same time saw two other lights proceeding from the canoes of Indians who had visited the neighbourhood, and were pursuing the same occupation with ourselves.'

'All of a sudden Liberté again sounded an alarm, and off we were again in pursuit of a fish, which I could not for a long time see: a fine salmon-trout, but of a nature infinitely wilder than the carp. We chased him like lightning, turning and doubling in his wake, till I was obliged to hold both sides of the canoe to keep myself from being thrown out into the water. However I caught sight of the fish every now and then, when he was for a moment still; then he made a dart, and all again was obscure. We were some minutes after him, having

lost him, and come upon him again, but finally he eluded our pursuit, and made his way into deep water, till the glimmer of his silver sides was lost in the lurid yellow gleam that, becoming by rapid degrees more and more opake, confined to its very narrow limits our subaqueous prospect. I changed places with Liberté, with some risk of being upset, and I took the spear, kneeling down in the head of the canoe. (We had regularly replenished our lights, which burnt out every five minutes or thereabouts.) We went back to where we left the carp, and found them again. I struck at them several times, but without success. I found it not only difficult to hit them, from the refraction of the water, but impossible, even had I judged the distance correctly, to drive the spear, by its long bending handle, straight forward. I saw some perch close to the bottom, and I speared one of them. We were in about ten feet water, and I found it was necessary to aim a foot at least below the object. I had the less difficulty, as they were not in motion. I also saw at the bottom a hideous looking fish, yellow with black spots, the body like that of a snake, with a large head, about a foot and a half long, and somewhat in form resembling the small fish found under stones in running streams in England, and called the miller's thumb. I speared him, and found him so strong, that I verily expected he would have broken the handle of the spear.

'He was what the Canadians call a cat-fish. In his writhing he had a knack of twisting his supple body like an eel round the spear, and with a force that, considering his size, was quite surprising. He was, of course, not eatable.'—p. 265—269.

When we read of the sturdy life of the forester, of its independence and its activity, of its healthy energy and its noble freedom from the chains of poverty, we cannot help exclaiming with Mr. Head, why do not the young and free seek a home among the untrodden wilds of bounteous nature. Why linger away a life of dubious existence in corrupt capitals, or in hungry villages: why suffer the pains of contempt and want and repulsed endeavours, when the woods invite the resolute occupant to peaceful labour and well-earned content: in the woods poverty is no evil: the settler has nothing to buy, nothing to pay; all he wants is to be had for the trouble of procuring it: the trees which afford him shelter, supply him with abundant fuel; the ground he disencumbers is his farm; far and wide extend his manorial rights: with a gun in his hand he seeks for food what others pursue for pleasure; the water supplies him with fish, and he is a bad manager if he does not soon surround his habitation with abundance. It requires a strong will to plunge out of society into the wide sea of the solitary wood; and it would be absurd to undervalue the advantages of society to those who stand well with it; but, for the man to whom it is a niggard of its goods, whom it suffers in

its bosom rather than cherishes, for the stout arm that can hardly win its bread, and the stout heart almost broken by witnessing distress it cannot relieve, the terrors of the boundless forest must be small indeed. Listen to Mr. Head, who does not speak without experience: the privations of this species of life he was as likely to feel as another, and yet his memory is charged almost wholly with the advantages of such an existence in comparison at least with pauperism at home; and pauperism is not confined to the dependancy of the parish.

'It seemed wonderful to think there should be so few among our poorer classes with energy enough to break the chains of poverty, and visit a land where pauperism is yet unknown; where youth and strength supply the catalogue of human wants, and where industry must meet its sure reward. The exuberant abundance of wood for fuel renders the fire-side of the peasant, during the long evenings of winter, a solace equal to that of many a wealthier citizen of the world, and as his children, with united strength, drag each log to the hearth, he rejoices at the clearance of the encumbered earth, when those of the civilized world pay dearly for the enjoyment of warmth. An emulative feeling stimulates the natural industry of his constitution. The rattling clank of a neighbour's axe, the crashing fall of a heavy tree, seem to demand responsive exertion on his part, and give rise to an energy, which, even if the tinkling frosty air at his fingers' ends fails to remind him that he has work on hand, quickly rouses within him the spirit of active labour. The work of his young children is of a value to him, far exceeding the expense of their maintenance, and he lives in the enjoyment of the consciousness of being able to leave them an inheritance of peace, if not of affluence. With facilities of water-carriage, fish in abundance, and fuel, by the help of his gun, he may complete the necessaries of life, and while the partridge and wild pigeon supply him with variety in food, he has also in store both recreation and amusement.'—pp. 259—260.

It must be understood all along that our author speaks of the Canadas: other countries, as New South Wales, South Africa, may have their advantages—may have also greater countervailing evils. The apparent objection to the more northern parts of North America is the severity of the cold, which it is very possible may be so far from being a real objection, that it may contribute to the production of energy and the preservation of health.

Mr. Head was not permitted to remain long in his retreat: an order from his superiors drew him from the woods, and before the end of summer he was on his way to England to give the world a report of the pleasures and pains of a forest life. He concludes his volume with some remarks on emigration: without being profound, or embracing any wide extent of

question, they are sensible and practical, and together with the remainder of the book of which we have endeavoured to give a faint idea, entitle him to the favour of the public. Mr. Head is not a scientific traveller; he makes no discoveries of any kind, but he is a lively and agreeable artist, who paints things as he sees them. We have heard that he is a brother of the captain Head, of whose galloping course across the continent of South America we gave a favourable account in an early number. The brothers seem to resemble one another in straightforwardness of style and promptitude of manner. They write like athletic persons capable of contending with fatigue, and not afraid to encounter danger. Mr. George Head will now be as renowned for his exertions on foot, as captain Head has been for his feats on horseback.

ART. VI.—*The Further Division of Labour in Civil Life proposed.* By William Wickens. 8vo. Saunders and Otley. 1829.

THE convenience of the division of labour in the mechanical arts, and the various provinces of industry, has passed into a maxim; and it would be considered idling with common places to remind people, that an increase of skill is to be procured by confining attention and ingenuity to few objects. In the daily occupations of life it is sufficiently known, that constancy of application is a cause of proficiency, and the dabbler in many employments, the workman in many trades, is proverbially incompetent in all; but this opinion, which is a truism in respect of the ordinary walks of labour, will almost startle as paradox when affirmed to hold at least equally good in the business of legislation and government. It is thus that principles are often unseen in their highest applications, as the doctrine of gravitation to the earth's centre was long recognized before Newton discovered the prevalence of attraction in the celestial system. So long as we keep to the subject departments of duty and industry, we find the law of division of labour, and preparation for employment of admitted virtue and regulating force, but the governing world above is constituted and treated as if properly exempt from such rules. Every part of the main machinery of our "matchless constitution," both in structure and operation, would encourage the opinion, that nothing is necessary to the business of governing but the power. Of our three Estates, two depend on the accidents of birth, and the third on purchase. The king of England is educated, only rather worse than any private nobleman or gentleman, and no

nobleman or gentleman is educated in morals or politics, as a science necessarily preparative for the performance of his public duties. The hereditary legislator's idea of morals is generally conveyed to him by his intercourse with the world; there he finds certain degrees and manners of irregularity, occupying the whole of the moral code in affairs of the sexes; and as for his politics, as he calls them, he takes the name of Whig or Tory according to the custom of his family, and derives his notion of the points in question from his party newspaper and club. The member of the House of Commons, in the third instance, is perhaps a country booby or an idler, who has money, but wants consequence, and accordingly buys the power of making laws, franking letters, and adding the coveted M. P. to his name; or, if a person of ability and habits of application, he is engaged in a profession or business which occupies and exhausts his best power during the day, and leaves nothing but the husk and emptiness of the rhetorician for the senatorial business of the evening. The interests of a community would be simple and self-evident indeed, if these persons were capable of perceiving and promoting them. But they are confessed to be of vast intricacy; and yet this acknowledgement of the difficulty of the task of dealing with them, has been attended with no improved application or opinion, that it is a paramount duty to render the most anxious attention to matters often involving the prosperity of thousands to fearful extents. The terms on which the power of legislating is obtained, have naturally served to beget a habit of regarding the function with levity. It is bought as a bauble, and treated as a bauble when possessed—for the pleasure of the owner, not the welfare of the people, who are no parties to the bargain. This is the common sentiment, and it prevails where there are not the special causes mentioned for its conception. It is the habit to treat Parliamentary duties, as they are in mockery termed, as matters of secondary concern. The most sacred public obligation which can be contracted by an individual is waived for his personal interest or convenience, openly, avowedly, and without any sense of his committing a wrong to the society with whose welfare he has chosen to charge himself. We have not only to lament that devotion to public business has no existence, but we find ourselves so far removed from it, that the opinion even of its fitness has yet to be created. In an article in the Edinburgh Review attributed to Mr. Brougham, it was gravely affirmed that there was not one of an English Stateman's duties which was incompatible with the most active pursuits of business; or words of that import. Here we have the key to the common

vice—the opinion that legislation is an affair requiring no study or preparation—that it is a faculty coming after dinner, as, according to Dogberry, reading and writing come by nature. And certainly such legislation as that, which makes our Statute-book one monument of absurdity, is achievable under any circumstances, and consistently with any conceivable extent of ignorance and carelessness. If the requisites for the thing be deduced from the thing afforded, the position ascribed to Mr. Brougham is incontestible. The worthlessness of an abortive effect is not, however, to be converted into a law for the worthlessness of means to a desired and unattained end.

But whence is it that the public, who are vitally concerned in the effect, without sharing in the seductions productive of it, regard the carelessness of duty in their legislators with an indifference having all the appearance and the sanction of acquiescence? Is it that having never experienced good from parliament, they do not think of looking for the means of good? Or is it that the habit of considering it merely as a debating society has caused all that should be the real and substantial objects of its existence to be lost sight of? The contest of words has certainly the consequence of many a contest conducted with equal honesty in our streets, where the spectator has his pocket picked while he is idly amusing himself with viewing the affray. It has unquestionably grown into the popular habit to consider parliament as a rhetorical theatre, and the actorical circumstances have cheated men's minds, and led them to disregard what its works are, and yet more, what they ought to be. To try in some measure the truth of this position, let us consider what the estimation of parliament would at this day be, had it enforced its standing order against the reports of its proceedings, and made itself known only by its acts—acts which would give the world to suppose their authors idiots, lunatics, and candidates for Bedlam rather than for the honours of public opinion. Let Marriage Acts, Baker's Acts, Publican's Acts, most indeed of the late acts affecting popular regulation, be run over in mind, and an idea be formed of the judgment on the law-makers, excluding the knowledge that they have shewn themselves articulate creatures, capable of stringing phrases together in a manner superior to the performance of parrots: what would be thought but that the framers were creatures in the last stage of mental imbecility? The records of no society exhibit such stupendous accumulations of error and evidences of absurdity as the laws of our collective wisdom; and let it not fail to be noted that its blunders have

been increasing in frequency and grossness as the community has been making advances in wisdom and intelligence.

Mr. Wickens, in the pamphlet before us, has traced the vices and weaknesses of our legislation to their true causes, in the incompetence or culpable negligence of the law-makers, and he urges that without relieving it of some of its labours by transferring them to executive departments, the business necessarily devolving upon the House of Commons cannot be properly considered and satisfactorily despatched. Wisely, however, says the Proverb, "What is every body's business is nobody's business," and too aptly does the House of Commons exemplify the adage. In mobs of all denominations, idleness has an easy excuse for negligence; each man supposes that his associates will give that attention and study which he refuses, and the reliance on others is the cause of the failure of all. By parcelling out labour, by reducing the demands on study within the scope of easy performance, and increasing the pressure of obligation by decreasing the number subject to it, the fault we have noted is in a great measure to be corrected. To the first mentioned point Mr. Wickens's argument mainly applies, and he follows parliament through the evidences of its insufficiency to meet the demands on it with great method and succinctness. It is not our intention to accompany him through all the details of exposure, for pursuing the catalogue of a dung-hill's composition is a work of ungracious supererogation to those acquainted with its nature, and we shall confine ourselves to the main arguments of objection, and those instances most immediately in point, or suggestive of corroborative observation.

Mr. Wickens commences with these remarks, shewing the set of his objections, and the remedial principle:—

'The author of the "Wealth of Nations" tells us, there is a period in the progress of states, when the artificer in any given material is the workman upon all the occasions on which that material happens to be concerned:—when, for instance, the artificer in wood, besides being a carpenter, is also a joiner, a cabinet-maker, a carver in wood, a wheelwright, a plough, cart, and waggon maker, and we know not what more; thus engrossing in his own person offices or occupations the most multifarious and dissimilar.* If by any possibility this statement could be regarded in the light of an allegory, we should say that it depicts, with no ordinary fidelity, the present actual position or predicament of our legislature. Only so far, however, as we thus cite the passage, does it suggest to us ideas of analogy or parallelism to the case of parliament; the entire context being to the effect that

* Wealth of Nations, book i. chap. 3.

"as society advances in numbers and in improvement, the manifold avocations of the artificer come to be parcelled out among separate sets of hands, and to constitute in reality, totally distinct branches of industry;" nothing, as we all know, in the slightest degree approximating to which, does our legislature, in its whole history, present us with.

'In unfolding and vindicating our views of the imperfection of our existing legislative arrangements, and of the absolute necessity in their instance, of recurring to more of the principle of the division of labour, the first point to which we shall solicit attention is, the infinity of matters that are now submitted to parliament, as often as it assembles, to be discussed, legislated upon, or in one way or another disposed of.

'If very summary or general proof only were needed of the great aggregate of these matters, we should have it, at once and most conclusively, in the declaration made by Mr. Secretary Peel, in the House of Commons, April 13th, 1826, that "PARLIAMENT WAS OVERWHELMED WITH BUSINESS." We should have it further in the open avowal of the Speaker of the House of Commons himself, May 4th, of the preceding session, that "the increase of business in parliament had come to be such, that it was impossible to say what matter would be brought on upon any appointed day, and what would not; a state of things," he remarked, "from which the greatest inconvenience resulted, both to members and to the public."

'But for realizing all that we contemplate, mere general allegations will not suffice; and we must trouble the reader therefore with some details.

'At different times during the last few sessions, it has been announced by the public journals, that on certain days which they specify, such a variety of Committees sat upon bills, that the House of Commons, with all its accommodations, could not contain them. We ourselves can give dates within the period we speak of, when not fewer than five-and-twenty committees of the House have sat on the same day; and when also not less than eight, and even twelve separate committees on perfectly distinct bills, many of them, of course, with their accompaniments of clerks, professional attendants, witnesses, &c. have actually met in the same room, the room being one too of most limited dimensions. All this, however, falls short—very far short, of what has been known to occur. We have lying before us the report of the committee of the House of Commons, appointed in the session of 1825, to consider, among other things, of means for providing additional accommodation for the meeting of committees. We there read as follows: "During the present session, the members' waiting-rooms, the long gallery, the House of Commons itself, and even the Court of Exchequer, have been occupied by committees. Two hundred and seventy-six sittings have been held, of public committees. Four of the public committees, and thirty committees on private business, have met on a single day, nineteen of the latter having been fixed to meet in one room."

'We shall give one statement more, particularly as it shows an important consequence of this pressure of business, affecting both members and the public, which is not of a nature at first sight to arrest attention. "There were down on their Order Book," said the honourable member for Aberdeen in the House of Commons, May 11, 1827, "a list for that day of no less than thirty-two committees. Of these as many as five respected Scotland, upon each of which his sense of duty would have led him to attend, had it been possible for him to have done so."

'It would be indulging our own feelings if we stopped to comment here, on the bustle and confusion, as a mere scene, that is thus brought under our view, and the like to which is certainly not to be met with in the workshops of the commonest handicraftsmen.

'But the quantity of our modern laws is the consideration uppermost in our minds, and which it more immediately behoves us at present to speak to: and touching this single but most weighty item, what is the issue of the toil and hurly-burly that has been described? Why, that a mass of acts is added to the Statute Book every session, to peruse, we might almost say, but unquestionably to digest which, the ordinary term of human life would hardly suffice for!

'Accidental circumstances have induced us, in the main, to limit our strictures regarding parliament to the period that intervened between 1822 and 1828, both years inclusive; and which embraces, it will be observed, by no means the whole of the present reign, to say nothing of the regency. During that period, however, comprising seven short sessions only, the benefits, in the shape of acts of parliament, conferred upon the country, have been to the enormous amount of two thousand one hundred, and upwards!

'In performing the part allotted to it in the work of law-making, the compendious way in which the Crown, in these times, proceeds, is deserving, we think, of some mention. The Houses of Lords and Commons, it is well known, notwithstanding the numbers and urgency of the matters that crowd upon them, always entertain every measure submitted to them separately. It is equally well known, that every measure must there advance by stages, and that for each stage, a different day is appointed. His Majesty, however, as at present advised, sanctions and sends into the world these measures, in bevies of eighty, and even a hundred at a time; thus reducing himself, in the performance of one of the most exalted of his functions, to the level of a mere puppet or mechanical agent; and rendering quite farcical the doctrine, which in our books at least is to be found, however it may now be abrogated in practice, of an additional security being derived to the nation, in the passing of its laws, by the exercise, in turn, of the royal wisdom or discretion with regard to them.'*—pp. 3—8.

* We have spoken in this paragraph quite within compass, for on May 5, 1826, the royal assent was given to eighty-six bills; and on the 26th of the same month, the ceremony was repeated to the tune of one hundred and twelve.

This is one of those many facts the familiarity of which divests them of their force. We read in the newspapers that the king has between his luncheon and his drive, or between his drive and his luncheon, given his assent to a score of laws affecting the lives, liberties, or properties of twenty millions of people without an idea of the character of the act, and its bearing on the structure of our "matchless constitution." The reception of a questionable aspirant for the entrée of the drawing-room is an affair of infinitely more moment and consideration than his majesty's consent to a law however grave its nature, or doubtful its effect. But the king does not stand alone in this hasty and careless assent to measures of legislation. He does that in the gross which others do at intervals. The majority of the Ayes in the House of Commons are as carelessly given as the royal assent. Members, from indolence, a complaisant reliance on the wisdom of government, or corrupt motives, essentially act the same part which the king does from constitutional etiquette. A beauty which Blackstone has overlooked in our kingly estate is, that it is capable of, and prone to, thwarting legislation in its progress, but practically not free to refuse the completion. It may procure abortion *in ventre*, but not strangle the offspring of parliament after delivery. There is in this particular, full liberty of intrigue, but in fact, none of judgment, in the royal office. The history of the Catholic Relief, whenever it appears, will furnish a striking instance in support of this assertion. It is justly observed by Mr. Wickens, that the omnipotence of Parliament has encouraged it if not to an opinion of its omniscience, yet certainly to proceeding as though it possessed that properly accompanying attribute. Accordingly there is nothing with which it is not prepared to meddle, and as it has always more to do than it can well perform, so there is no addition that it is not ready to make to a mass of demands on it. The spend-thrift who never intends to pay, cares not by how much the more he increases his debts, and in a similar spirit parliament, which cares not how it performs, is indifferent about the extent of its undertakings. Thus it is constantly playing the bear in the boat, and assuming the direction of affairs in which it should take no part. Frivolous and vexatious legislation is among the reproaches of parliament, which thus contrives to afford a lamentable example of the truth of Montesquieu's remark, that by the habit of attaching importance to things intrinsically trifling, we come to treat as trifles things intrinsically important.

Of this defect, Mr. Wickens draws the following lively representation:—

'As to the "trumpery" character of certain of our laws, it appears to us, that parliament errs, errs most egregiously, at the very outset of much of its legislation: that, not to speak at this moment of the structure or framing of its enactments, these enactments are in numberless instances, in the most emphatic sense of the word, bad, as relating to affairs, or endeavouring to compass objects, of a pettifogging, and indeed contemptible minuteness. This utter want of discrimination on the part of parliament, as to what is really fitting to be entertained by it, we are warranted, we apprehend, in ascribing, without any hesitation, to the multiplicity of its business, and to the little time thus allowed to it, for any thing like circumspection. Upon what other shewing can it be accounted for, that our legislature should suffer itself to be put in motion, that it should permit its ponderous machinery to be agitated, about such matters as buttons, butter, bread, ounce thread, tailors' wages, apprentices' food, muffin plates, twigs for hoops, newsmen's horns, and we know not what more, that is in the lowest degree pitiful and pedling!*

'There may be no precedent for doing so, but for our own parts, we are quite decided as to the propriety of classing under the head of "trumpery" legislation, a vast portion of what is termed the private business, that is every session transacted by parliament. The very cognomen employed to designate this business, we hold to be a justification of the conviction upon this point, which we have long since come to. How any occupation to which the epithet "private" could apply, ever came to fall to the lot of parliament, we shall not stop to inquire; but we put it to the reader, whether it is not calculated to stagger every considerate mind, whether the thing is not of a nature to revolt all our notions of seemliness and congruity, to find the supreme legislative council of the empire, the congregated wisdom of the nation—busying itself, for instance, about widening Pill Lane; about improving the avenues to Piff's Elms; about the difficulties felt by Chelsea in disposing of its dust and ashes; and by Dublin in providing itself with Straw?

'The Speaker of the House of Commons, it is well known, when the opportunity is afforded him at the close of the session, triumphantly recounts to his majesty, the feats that have distinguished it. On these occasions, and while matters remain as they now are, this eminent individual will certainly never do common justice to his theme, till he appends to his harangue, some such recital as the following: "Our anxious attention has been given to the state of the river Ribble, and the roads about Paddle Brook we have directed to be repaired. The communications with Cow Down, Pot-Hook's End,

* The subjects we specify, have all of them been formerly discussed or legislated upon by parliament in modern times. Upon the question of Blowing Horns in the public streets, the House of Commons divided, June 22, 1821. Forty-three of our Statesmen, Philosophers, Juris-Consults, &c. decided against the expediency of continuing the practice, while as many as Eight turned out in favour of leaving the Horn-blowers in the undisturbed possession of their privilege!

and Bally-hooly, have not escaped our vigilant regards; and, agreeably to an unanimous decision of your faithful Commons, there will henceforth be a rail-way leading to Bullo Pill. Urgent representations having been made to us of the objectionableness of the present site of the Hospital at Sheffield, we have consented to its being changed. The work-house too, at Norwich, will, by our authority, speedily be taken down. To the townships of Skipton and Sharples, a further supply of Water has been awarded; and fit spots have been indicated by us, for the Plymouth hackney-coach stands. Nothing deterred by the difficulties and entanglements attendant thereon, we have plunged into all the minutiæ of the two great questions—the having a tram road between Manchester and Liverpool, and the lighting Edinburgh with Oil Gas. 'Delivered,' as we ultimately were, and 'in a way suited to the wisdom of parliament,' of these momentous topics, we proceeded to vest Pedlar's Acre in trustees, and to remove doubts, which, we flatter ourselves we have for ever done, as to the legality of the erection of the portico of St. Mary-le-bone parish church. Furthermore we have passed bills, to which we supplicate your royal assent, authorizing Kitty Jenkyn Packe to bear the arms of Reading: and naturalizing Henry Van Wart!" '*—p. 26—30.

If we may judge *ex pede*, from the effect with which parliament bungles little concerns, to the probably proportionately greater blunders in more important matters, how much reason must society have to tremble at the temerity of its quacks? The instances of blunder in things allowing of the more easy proofs of error, are of ludicrous absurdity. For example, says Mr. Wickens:—

'The skill or competency evinced by parliament in its almost innumerable enactments regarding carriage wheels, is thus pithily, and for our purpose, pertinently, summed up, in the report of the Committee of the House of Commons of 1821 on Turnpike roads: "The legislature began," says the report, "by *holding out a premium for wheels, which it was impossible to bring into beneficial use; and it ended, by giving the premium to wheels of such a construction, as it was not desirable to have used at all.*"—p. 98.

The unuseable wheels are but more easily intelligible examples of the ignorance and folly which have declared the pound-note and shilling equivalent to the guinea, which have maintained Usury-laws, Corn-laws, and the thousand and one other monstrous abominations prized by collective wisdom.

Our author states this more immediate instance of parliamentary appropriate care:—

'We will ask if our legislators feel themselves at all in a condition

* These, and a crowd of equally dignified enactments, are to be seen by any one who will run his eye over the tables of the Statutes of the last few Sessions.

to vaunt with regard to the new London bridge; which, from its first projection, has been so especially a thing of their own dandling, and in arranging the different details concerning which, these eminent judges proceeded, as has already been seen, with such singular self-possession and calmness? Although this structure is as yet barely peeping above the water, the fourth act of parliament relating to it is at this moment in progress,—and yet the point remains altogether to be ascertained—in what way, when the bridge is completed, access to it can possibly be obtained: unless it be by a sacrifice of property literally tremendous, and even then in the teeth of the very interests which first and foremost in the undertaking, it was proposed should be served by it.

'In this particular connexion we may state, that we apprehend the reputation of our legislature in nothing rests upon a more frail basis, than in bridge matters generally; always excepting, however, the case of canals. In both these ways, the monuments of its failure, in truth, are lamentably numerous; and till it shall be proved—which we challenge any one to do—that good on the whole, ensues from these, in so many instances unrequired, improvident, and bankrupt concerns, we shall, for our own parts, not cease to charge upon parliament, an aggregate of folly committed, and of wrong done, too weighty, if we mistake not, to be easily shifted off its shoulders.'—pp. 99, 100.

It is clear that if parliament renounced the practice of meddling with things it has no capacity or aptitude for dissecting, there would yet be a necessity for some improved system in its procedure, in order to render it competent to the making of laws. A mob is constitutionally unfit for this office, and small standing committees of the ablest and most diligent members would seem the best attainable expedient for the end in view. In any way the final control of the assembly in mass cannot be avoided, but their judgment would be less likely to err upon, or to derange, studied and finished labours, than a question debated in ignorance and passion, or partial glimpses of the merits, the means, and the objects. We are aware that the name of committees suggesting ideas of what committees are and have been, carries any thing but a recommendation with it to the popular ear. Their talk is not heard, and their vices and abortions are notorious, hence they are considered as the whole House would be, were it, as we have before put the case, known only by its deeds; but the committees we have in prospect would be committees neither for jobs, nor the evasion of improvements—committees, therefore, which parliament has at present constituted will by no means be apt to form—committees, which are, among the visions of reform, dreams of no very distant-coming events.

With regard to the committees of the hacknied character, we shall quote the words of Mr. Wickens, who, having represented the libraries of reports unknown, or unheeded, put forth by these bodies (some few of which, we must not omit to concede, are rare, and therefore the more honourable exceptions from the general description given of the class), goes on to express his surprise that,

'The very term *committee* has not long ere this become odious to the nation. We ourselves have lived to witness so much time, thought, and labour, often expended, not only by some of the parties forming these committees, but likewise by the numerous individuals attending upon them; and then, after all, so many hopes frustrated—the recommendations in which this time and these efforts end, being so soon laid aside and forgotten—that we acknowledge we recoil at the very mention of a "parliamentary committee." We look upon the phrase as little else than a synonym for anxieties or solicitude—superfluously awakened; for toil—fruitlessly incurred; for expectations—we are almost tempted to say—wantonly blasted.'—p. 15.

The predominant and notorious vice of parliament is its dishonesty, and the public mind which fixes upon the gravest offence is not sufficiently regardful of the inability which is the next fault chargeable against the collective wisdom. The inability may be broadly described as of two kinds—the inability identical with incapacity; and the inability arising from the pressure of private professional occupations, which leave the cleverest men in the House of Commons no leisure for the study of public affairs. Generally speaking, the men of pleasure who have the spare time, have not the habits of application; and the men of business, who have the habits of application, have not the spare time. To remedy one branch of the evil, Mr. Wickens proposes "to disqualify all individuals,—the ministers of the Crown only excepted,—from becoming legislators, so long as they continue actively engaged in other pursuits or avocations."

We are not prepared to pronounce on the policy or practicability of the suggested regulation, but of this we are quite confident, that the morality of individuals should forbid them to undertake trusts, the careful discharge of which they must know to be beyond their powers. And the insensibility to the obligation is the singular defect which lies at the root of the neglect in question. A man of talents, and practised industry, goes into parliament not for the service of the country, but for his own individual honour. His object is not to watch over the administration of affairs for the public benefit, but to regard them as materials for his speeches; and little obtains his at-

tention which is not convertible into aliment for his personal fame. Exceptions are to be admitted; there are a round dozen of men in the six hundred who condescend to be useful, and are ridiculed for the humility of their ambition.

It is not difficult to show that no reproach is supposed to attach to the neglect of public business, and that the duty, for it capriciously has that name without the force, is made dependent on the personal convenience or humour of the party. Thus public duty is exactly fulfilled by the attention a member may chance to be able to spare from his private concerns.

Of the truth of this representation, Mr. Wickens furnishes abundant proof in very striking instances. The Great Whig, Mr. Brougham, is the most forcible example. The truth of the statement, and the accuracy of the inference, are beyond question:—

'In an apology made not long since by lord Nugent at a public meeting, for the unexpected absence of Mr. Brougham, the noble lord assured the company that "that gentleman's time, in the discharge of his various and important duties, was measured out by *grains*." We put implicit faith in the statement; and our precise case, at least at this moment, against Mr. Brougham, is, that so few grains of his time fall to the lot of his parliamentary duties. Did we not know this to be true, we should say, the fact must be so upon lord Nugent's own shewing—his very metaphor implying, that each of the many matters which call for the attention of Mr. Brougham, receive their dividend or pittance, their inch—we beg pardon—their "grain," of his time or consideration. Besides his long absence every session on the circuit, the learned gentleman's so often unoccupied place in the House of Commons—attests the accuracy of this representation generally; and shews also, that in the business of graduating his time, of parcelling out his attention, Mr. Brougham acts with rigid impartiality—in no degree suffering the parliamentary to take any undue precedence of the professional claims there may be upon him.

'By the "unoccupied place" in parliament of the honourable member, we mean, of course, his public place there. We advert not to the pains-taking, the scrutiny, and toil, which some may think the learned gentleman, in common justice to his colleagues and to the nation, ought to undergo in the committee-rooms of the House. That, indeed, is a part of the subject, upon which Mr. Brougham may be heard for himself:—"I am not," said he, House of Commons, February 15th, 1828, "without desire to advance the objects of the committee [the celebrated Finance Committee, which had previously, and has since, given rise to so much—we should say, futile expectation]; but I am under the necessity of declining to be one of its members. To be present at its sittings *would interfere with my professional avocations*—the weight of which is such, that, especially at this season of the year, I never could hope to be able to give my attendance."'—pp. 163—165.

What better example than this can we have of the lax way in which parliamentary duty sits on members. Until virtue has its respect there is no hypocrisy, and here we see that frank renouncement of action which indicates the absence of the opinion of obligation. Were a few of the confessed coquetters with business thrust out of the House, the pretences of attention would be assumed by those who refuse the labour. In a reformed parliament, a Mr. Brougham would not have dared to utter the declarations we have quoted. He would have felt the hazard of striking the just reflection out of the public mind by presenting his rules of neglect in such rude nakedness. But members who walk into boroughs for a certain admission-money are unaffected by such apprehensions.

Wherever private interest comes into contact with public duty, we observe the preference of the former to be an avowed principle in parliament. The following instance in point we regard in the light of an exposure :

' "It is true," observed Mr. Brougham, in his place in parliament, May 17, 1827, "a petition from Mr. Bishop Burnett I did present to the House, and that, not without taking the previous precaution of examining and cross-examining Mr. Burnett, as to the correctness of his charges. Four or five days, however, after I had done this, I found myself professionally retained in an appeal cause before the privy council. Upon looking at my instructions, it appeared that the party, who, in the petition, complained of the alleged corruption of the noble governor of the Cape, had applied to the privy council for a revision of the decision of the governor; *and that I was retained as counsel at the opposite side.* This was the reason why I proceeded no further in the business of the petition. *The delicacy of my situation forbade it.* I felt myself bound, right or wrong, *to discharge my duty as a counsel;* and to advocate the interests of one party before the privy council, one day, and the interests of the rival party in this House the next;—how was it possible for me to do it?" Away, therefore—taking the case from Mr. Brougham's own lips—*away went Mr. Bishop Burnett, and his host of reputed wrongs, together with the grievances of the whole Cape of Good Hope population!* and, as a legislator—as a judge, indeed, in the cause of these various parties, the learned gentleman from that moment stood before us all, as he has ever since remained—not merely mute, but fairly emasculated.'—pp. 172—173.

What a "delicacy of situation" was that—a fee on one hand, a community's alleged interests on the other! The profession prevails—the patriot is silenced. What a fearful reflection is thus suggested of the extent to which a corrupt Treasury might deprive us even of Mr. Brougham's services by timely retainers. In cases of oppression it would only be necessary to retain him

for the defendant, and his voice, by his own shewing, must straight be silenced. Oh the delicacy of his situation. The Strand at midnight has no choices surpassing it in nicety.

We cannot, upon the present occasion, pursue this subject to its bearings upon reform in parliament. The main object at this moment, and one greatly favoured by the temper of the public mind, is to shew the pervading vices of parliament, for the remedy will be half obtained when the disease is made manifest. Corruption, negligence, and incapacity, are the evils under which we have long laboured, and for the prevention of which we have to provide. A sense of the nuisance is now beginning to prevail generally, and the agitation, by the provincial press, of the once abhorred and forbidden subject of reform, cheeringly indicates the movement of the public mind to that end. That it should have so long been tolerant, if not acquiescent, in the evil would be a matter of wonderment, were we not aware of the power of custom, and of that praise, which, once established, so long cleaves to all worthlessness by force of prescription.

There is a nation of savages who worship a shark as a god, and surely their devotion is only to be likened to the admiration formerly professed by Englishmen for their "matchless constitution." The savages possessed the advantage of adoring their greedy deity in an element bounding its powers of harming its worshippers, but our omnipotent shark, less conveniently placed, has, after a long series of practical demonstration of the attributes, rendered its voracity destructive of its reverence.

Art. VII.—1. *The Speech of Michael T. Sadler, Esq. M.P. on the State and Prospects of the Country; delivered by him at Whitby, on Tuesday, Sept. 15, 1829, at a Public Dinner given to him by the Merchants, Ship-owners and Ship-builders, of that place.* London. Seeley. pp. 35.

2. *The Condition of the Empire.* Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, for July 1829.

"THE monkeys in Exeter Change used to be confined in a "row of narrow cages, each of which had a pan in the centre "of its front for the tenant's food. When all the monkeys were "supplied with their messes, it was observable that scarcely any "one of them ate of his own pan. Each thrust his arm through "the bars, and robbed his right or left hand neighbour. Half "what was so seized was spilt and lost in the conveyance; and "while one monkey was so unprofitably engaged in plundering,

"his own pan was exposed to similar depredation. The mingled "knavery and absurdity was shockingly human."*

Take now the case which the opponents of Free Trade would put forward as most favourable to their cause; and see if it amounts to any thing but this monkey policy in the end. Assume, for instance, the case of the glove-maker. Gloves may be had, it shall be supposed, from a French maker for the value of two shillings a pair. An Englishman stands up and says, that he can make gloves of the same kind for three shillings; and therefore, for the sake of encouraging British commerce, it is expedient to pass a law to prohibit the introduction of French gloves at two shillings, in order that those who chuse to wear gloves may be obliged to take them from the Englishman at three.

Never mind what quantity of flourishes the supporters of the legerdemain may make to cover the performance. Let it be utterly indifferent to you, what names, sacred or profane, they invoke to give gravity to their proceedings. If they are poetical, think of the Rule of Three. If they quote scripture, take care of your pockets. Your money, which is your life, is at stake; therefore keep a cool head and a clear eye. The army of thimble-men from Doncaster is upon you; and there is no yeomanry at hand to clear the course. Trust no man that looks like a conjuror; be upon your guard also against those that do not. Beware of the quack doctors, who make long speeches; they will 'ravish you if they get you into their net.' Say like Mr. Sadler, that 'all men are liars;' and you will not be very far from being right. Believe nobody, nothing,—except that two and two make four. If an angel or an archbishop preach any thing contrary to this, give them no heed. If judges on the bench contradict it, tell them they sit there to make law and not arithmetic. You have money; and therefore every body is in a plot against you. There is something in your pockets; and you will be beset right and left, till they are cleaned out.

When you buy a pair of French gloves, it is clear that they are paid for in something. You have the substantial evidence that *you* did not get them for nothing; and so has every body else. They must have been paid for either with goods of English produce, or with goods of some kind (gold and silver included) which have been bought from abroad with goods of English produce, or with bills which are only an order for payment in one of the other ways a few days hence instead of to-day. Unless an Englishman has the art of getting

* Examiner, Oct. 4.

any thing for nothing, in one or other of these ways must they infallibly have been paid for. Here, then, are at all events two shillings accounted for out of the three; which are as fairly expended for the benefit of British producers and manufacturers of some kind, as they would be if the gloves were bought from a British glove-maker at the same price. They are paid for to the Frenchman, it may be, in Sheffield goods. But if the glove-maker procures a law that gloves shall not be bought from France, it is plain that Sheffield goods must stop. The glove-maker may gain employment and trade to the amount of two shillings; but it is equally plain that the Sheffield man must lose it.

So much for the part which consists of the *two* shillings. Next for the part which consists of the other *one*. And this, says the glove-maker, is to be a clear gain to British commerce, and it is a horrible wrong if it is deprived of it. Now mark the juggle; look sharply to the shuffling of the balls. If the wearer of gloves is to be forced to expend a shilling more upon the glove-maker, he must expend a shilling less upon somebody else. It may be that he would not have expended it at Sheffield, but at Birmingham; or that it would have been divided among fifty other places which it is impossible to assign by name. But still it is as clear as ever, that the shilling which it is proposed to make him expend *nolens volens* upon the glove-maker, must be taken from the custom of some other British manufacturers somehow and somewhere. There is no deception arising from the payments being made in money; if instead of shillings they were made with pecks of wheat, it would be just as true that the third peck which the glove-maker demands a law to put into his own pot, must be taken from the pudding of some British manufacturer, to whom it would otherwise have gone. Sift this; turn it over; see if it be true or not. Do not allow yourself to be tamely taken in, because the men who try to do it wear good clothes. Either it is true or it is not. If it is not true, let somebody show where it is false. Till then, take leave to account it correct.

Here, then, are the whole three shillings perfectly accounted for. It is shown to be a hocus-pocus and a fraud,—that states that any gain arises to British commerce or production in the aggregate from the prohibition of the commerce in French gloves, or that any aggregate loss is induced by its absence. The whole amounts only to a plan for robbing a Sheffield man or a Birmingham, who can make what people will voluntarily buy, for the benefit of the glover who cannot;—for clipping the commerce of some individual who has ingenuity and skill enough to command a market, to add it to him who is without.

But this is not all; there is another count in the indictment. The consumer, the unfortunate who is in the habit of wearing gloves, is to be the gratuitous loser of a shilling besides. If the shilling was to go to the benefit of commerce, he might wrap himself up in his patriotism and be consoled. If it was really to cause any increase in the safety or strength of the community of which he is a member,—if the thousandth part of a farthing of it was to appear in the shape of national wealth, security, or splendour,—he might lay aside the feelings of an injured purchaser of mittens, and exult in his fractional portion of the glory of those who have suffered for their country. But when it is to be taken from him with no object, no prospect, no hope, but that a clumsy and inefficient artisan shall be enabled to appropriate the custom of an intelligent and effective one,—his situation presents itself in all its nakedness, his courage sinks under the view, the feelings of humanity prevail, he drops a tear and wipes it on his three-shilling gloves, and sits down a melancholy monument of what it is to be 'the envy of surrounding nations and the wonder of the world.'

This is the examination of one single act; the next is to multiply the cases, as is the fact in nature. And here let your thoughts be upon monkeys, and the visions of your soul revert to Exeter Change. Suppose then that every individual in the community was a producer of some kind, and that every one had a 'protection' upon his particular trade. What would be the result, but that each would steal something out of his neighbour's box, with a general loss to be divided among themselves in their character of consumers, equal to what might have been saved by buying goods of all kinds where they were cheapest? It is the monkeys all over; and the monkeys are the better of the two. They are the original inventors, and the other but a stupid copy. It is enough to put a man out of conceit with his humanity;—to make him wish for a tail, or sigh for a depression of the frontal bone.

But it will be said that this is not an exact statement of the case;—that all men are not producers, but on the contrary there are large classes that produce nothing. And hereupon it will be attempted to infer, that the whole is a patriotic machine for drawing wealth from the unproductive, and giving it to the industrious. There might be some show of reason in this argument, *if the industrious classes were to gain by it.* But the industrious are in the aggregate to gain nothing,—all that is to be given to one of them is to be taken from another; and the unproductive, as they are called, are to be robbed for love. A great proportion,—a large and important share of the sum thus

stupidly thrown away,—must of necessity fall on the industrious; for though they do not consume all, they consume a great deal. And it is no remedy to *them*, that somebody else is to lose the rest. Besides this, the classes so unceremoniously voted unproductive, are in a very great measure composed of those who *have* produced. There is no reason in saying a man shall be protected while he is producing, but shall be robbed whenever he begins to enjoy. Men do not labour for the simple love of labour, but for the love of the enjoyment they may ultimately procure by it. No man in his senses would consent to an arrangement, by which he should be protected while he was a hard-working citizen, but should be exposed to all robberies whenever he had the impudence to think of retiring to live upon his savings. Yet this is the very theory of those who talk of robbing the unproductive with as much lightness of heart, as if men really produced and saved with no other view but that somebody else might take it from them.

It is clear, therefore, that what is really recommended, is to incur an assured loss in the aggregate; but men are exhorted to struggle and pull caps, for the chance of what they may individually get from others in the contest. That all the traders in a country, and all the inhabitants in general whether they trade or not, must lose by such a principle if the effects were evenly distributed, is as plain as in the case of a lottery; but they are to be cheered on by the probability that the distribution may not be even, and that they may be the lucky rogues who win. It is a political *little-go*, in which every body knows the concern to be ruinous in the main; but jolter-headed individuals are to be encouraged to throw again, by the vision of some paltry prize they are to catch at the expense of the remainder.

If a saving is to be made by the introduction of steam-coaches, no effectual opposition can be offered by the dealers in horses; because the public are sufficiently informed to know, that all they expend less upon coach-hire will be expended upon something else instead, and therefore the loss of business to horse-dealers will be balanced by an increase of business of exactly the same amount to somebody and somewhere, and they (the public) will gain the difference besides. They have a perfect comprehension that to put down steam-coaches by act of parliament, would only be enacting that a quantity of employment and profits should be taken from certain dealers, for the sake of giving to horse-dealers the same quantity of employment and profits *and no more*, with the further addition of the loss to the coach-riding public of the whole difference of coach-hire besides. They see distinctly that to propose such a thing would

be as great an absurdity and injustice, as to propose to enact that a carrier should not grease his wheels, for the sake of causing a greater quantity of horse-flesh to be charged to his customers. They are aware that such a piece of legislative dullness as this, would amount to setting up the principle that it was for the interest of every body that every thing should be done in the most bungling and round-about way possible; and that any pretence to increase national wealth or stave off national suffering by such processes, must be foolery or worse. All this they know, so long as none of the parties proposes to operate by the intervention of an exchange abroad. But let a single exchange intervene, and the question is too much for them. If the machine in which men are to ride for two shillings instead of three, can only be bought with Sheffield cutlery from France, —they are utterly unable to see, that the national profit by steam-riding—the ultimate advantage of employing an English cutler to effect the production of the cheap machine, instead of an English horse-dealer to supply the dear one—is the same as ever. In this case they are ready to join the horse-dealer in begging, first, that the employment may be taken from the Sheffield cutlers; secondly, that it may be taken from the persons at present employed by the expenditure of the shillings of which it is proposed to rob the coach-riding public; and thirdly, that they the public may be robbed of a shilling in their coach-riding, without advantage in the aggregate to any body. They can see that it would be absurd to put down the *Omnibus* on the ground that men rode cheaper in it; but they cannot see that if the Omnibus could only be got from France in exchange for Sheffield goods, the case would be unaltered. Was it rightly said, that John Bull is a man of one idea, or at most of two? And is there any reason why he should encourage himself in being a fool, for the benefit of those who pat him on the back that they may pick his pocket?

This may suffice for an introduction to the examination of the Whitby speech; which has been celebrated as containing an invincible statement of the reasons, why every monkey should be fed out of his neighbour's pan. That the reader may be fully acquainted with the circumstances in which the speech originated, he is informed, that on Tuesday, the 15th of September, 1829, a public dinner was given to the Member for Newark, "by the Merchants and Ship-owners of Whitby (Edward "Chapman, Esq. in the Chair) in testimony of their approbation "of his uniform and steady opposition to the pernicious and "ruinous system of policy" [*meaning the efforts of Mr. Huskisson and others towards putting an end to the system of feeding*

aforesaid], "under which the mercantile interests of England "are at present suffering;" and that the following pages contain the substance of the speech delivered on that occasion.

'Gentlemen, the ancient and genuine policy of this great country, [*of eating out of one another's pans*], like its constitution, was not, if I may so express myself, struck out at a heat. Dictated by necessity, and confirmed by experience, it was the work of successive generations,—generations of incomparably greater intellect [*as their mode of feeding testifies*], and, it is to be feared, of far more real patriotism, than the present. It was not suggested, perhaps, by hireling critics, or patronised by political pamphleteers,—but it had the deliberate sanction and suffrages of the most illustrious names that ever adorned England or the world,—such names as Bacon, as Locke, as Addison, whose authority gave it the signature of immortality,—men who brought to the consideration of the subject not only the broadest lights of reason, but the utmost warmth of benevolence, and who left nothing to be discovered, in the fundamental principles of human policy, to the witlings of the day, but the secret of their own conceited ignorance.'—p. 5.

No wise man burthens himself with the authority of antiquity. Either antiquity gave reasons for its opinions, or it did not. If it did, the fair way is to bring forward the reasons; and the writer who declines it, is suspected of not having them to bring. If it gave none, the very children in the schools know that the business of living men is to examine the works of the deceased and mend them.

'That policy, founded upon the certainty of the rich abundance of all things necessary to human existence within our own shores, and of the consequent duty and advantage of developing them, sought from foreign countries those commodities (happily for us, few and comparatively unimportant), which nature had denied to this; at the same time strictly protecting those branches of British industry which could not otherwise have been introduced amongst us, or preserved when established.—p. 5.

If the author were asked, how he came by his certainty of the rich abundance of all things necessary to existence within our shores, he must either refer to the fact that individuals are starving through want; or he must assert, that the want arose from the absence of proper developement, and that the way to develope, was for each to take from his neighbour, with a general loss to the community besides. In short what must be said is of this kind;—"Most beloved miniatures of men, you are lamentably pinched in the ribs; though there is a rich abundance of all things necessary to existence within your reach.' It is all for want of eating out

of one another's pans. You have deserted the wisdom of your ancestors; you have forsaken the ancient and genuine policy, which was struck out by generations of incomparably greater intellect than yourselves. They brought to the subject the broadest lights of reason, and the utmost warmth of benevolence, and left nothing to be discovered in the fundamental principles of policy, to the witling monkeys of the day, but the secret of their own ignorance." In some such way as this, must the author account for the discrepancy between men, or monkeys, being furnished with a rich abundance of all things necessary to existence, and still being starved.

'Now, it were most easy to show that, whatever reasons there might have been for the introduction of such a system (and they were such as will continue to operate in all countries where common sense prevails), such reasons were rendered infinitely more imperative by that course of events which has caused this country to be more heavily taxed than any other, and (thanks to the support of internal industry) long enabled it to dispense the most liberal reward to human labour of any nation upon earth. To allow British labour to be competed with by foreigners in our own market, then, is, in reference to our taxation, the most dishonest, and, in regard to our comforts, the most cruel policy that ever was ventured upon by any government in the world, to say nothing of its folly.'—p. 5.

This brings the question at once to the much vaunted pretext of taxation. Now let taxation be supposed as heavy as it may suit the opponent to imagine it;—let it, if it will gratify him, be doubled or trebled, or let every man keep the hundredth for himself and the remainder for the government;—*in what manner will that make it desirable or advantageous,* that gloves should be bought from an Englishman for three shillings, instead of from a Frenchman for two? Go over the whole statement of the case. Consider the two shillings that must be taken from the Sheffield cutler, the one shilling that must be taken from that other quarter in which it would have been expended if things had been left to take their own course, and the final and uncompensated loss of one pair of gloves in three to the consumer,—and then let any body point out if he can, in what way the presence of taxation to any possible extent, makes it desirable that this assured loss should be voluntarily incurred. Does it cause any profit to arise from forcibly taking two shillings worth of employment from the taxed cutler to bestow it on the taxed glove-maker? Or from taking the other shilling's worth from the various taxed personages on whom it would otherwise have been conferred? And last of all, does it in any shape make it advantageous or reasonable, that the taxed wearer of

gloves should be deprived of one pair of gloves in three? To put the parallel case, is the existence of taxation any reason why the citizens of London should not ride in an Omnibus? And would it be so, even though an Omnibus could only be procured by the exchange of Sheffield goods, from France? When the supporters of the monkey policy answer these questions, they may take some rank among the maligned generation of political economists. If they cannot, they will be in a fair way of being condemned by public ridicule, to the appropriate punishment of joining with other old women, in leading their apes in Tartarus.

'In behalf of the former system I have mentioned names; I will now make a still more important appeal, I mean, to facts. Reasonings, by whomsoever urged, may fail; experience never. Under that system of policy, and in spite of obstacles the most formidable, the nation increased its wealth, promoted its prosperity, consolidated its power, and extended its dominion. Depressions, there certainly did occur in the country; but these, which, towards the last, were plainly traceable to the introduction of parts of the absurd policy now adopted, were, comparatively speaking, slight and temporary, and above all, partial. If one interest suffered, the rest were in a condition to sustain it; the vibrations of the national balance soon subsided into the equipoise of settled and general prosperity. The history of the world exhibits not the nation whose advancement was so rapid, and whose prosperity seemed to promise such perpetuity.'—p. 6.

'Let us, therefore, now turn to the present condition of things amongst us. What now is the situation of the country? A retrogression in three or four short years, since the new theory has been in operation, of the most alarming nature, in whatever point of view it is considered. What is the great interest,—which the place,—in this heretofore happy empire, that is now prospering? Where is it that general distress is not now experienced, and impending ruin dreaded? What is the pursuit which is profitable to the employer, or which sustains in comfort the employed? Who shall say whether that mass of bodily suffering which the almost starving operatives now endure, or the mental and concealed anguish which many of their former employers experience, is the most heavy and heart-rending!'—p. 7.

This is what is said to those privileged to eat the Whitby dinner. Now hear the story of those outside. When the supporters of old abuses got the upper hand, their first operation was to double the national expenditure by borrowing, for twenty years together, as the expenditure of a spendthrift is doubled by mortgaging. When this came to an end, as come it must,—their next operation was to enact the prohibition of foreign commerce, with a view to raising the price of the produce of their own estates. They gave us the debt first, and the Corn-laws and Trade Restrictions to help to pay it. They have shut us up on a limited allowance of food; and then tell us to mend ourselves

by pillaging each other. When we complain, they harangue upon the misery after the forms of the last new book of Rhetoric Made Easy, and gravely tell us, it is all because we do not snatch from each other with sufficient alertness, and by reason of certain innovations and departures which have already been effected from the venerable custom of our predecessors.

Nobody denies either the general distress, or the impending ruin. The only question is, whether they are caused by the shutting up and pillaging each other, or by the want of it. It is easy to say to the sufferers, 'See here is a hard-hearted wretch—a political economist, if you ever heard of such a creature—who wants to starve you all to death. He wants to cut short every monkey's son of you, by all you used to take out of your neighbours pans. Attack him, bite him, pull him by the tail.' All this it is most easy to say; and it is not difficult to conceive what a storm of claws might be brought upon the hairy philosopher who had ventured the suggestion. But still the question reduces itself, to whether any thing is to be gained by stealing from each other, or not. If there is, then the symposiasts of Whitby are great philosophers.

'And first, if we turn our eyes to the agriculturists,—who, &c.—I say, turning to the agricultural operatives, what is their condition? The farmers of the kingdom are on the verge of ruin; many of them are already inextricably engulfed; poverty and distress pursue, and have already reached them. The labourers, in entire counties together, are in the deepest distress, and are almost universally pauperised; and their condition has had its full share in reducing the manufacturing operatives to a like, or even a worse situation.'—p. 7.

Is this too because the ship-owners of Whitby are not allowed to eat out of their neighbours pans? It is not even pretended that it is; and the reason given is too curious to be omitted. It is no other than that 'with tens of millions of acres of land 'wholly uncultivated, *millions of which are amongst the richest 'soils in the world*, with millions more, especially in Ireland, not 'half laboured; and with an incredible and increasing number of 'hands out of employment, and whom we must sustain, though 'we wholly lose their labour,' we are still of such a dense and unteachable capacity, that Jack will not go to Gill, and apply themselves to the multiplication of the public happiness which seems to be waiting only for their combination. And the means by which this strange piece of self-denial is brought about, is because 'we habitually employ the labourers of distant countries, 'while ours are idle; call their fields into cultivation while we 'neglect our own; furnish with capital foreign rivals in other

'branches of industry which they will assuredly employ against 'us, while we voluntarily diminish the national resources; and 'still our population is inadequately, and, relatively speaking, 'dearly fed.'

Now all this falls to the ground—*exigui pulveris jactu*, as gentlemen say in the House of Commons—the moment it is comprehended, that nothing can be procured from abroad without being accompanied by the expenditure of the same amount in the end upon native workmen, as if the article had been created with any given amount of waste and expense at home. This being once known, the whole sinks into that class of vegetable, which Swift denominated 'fudge.' It dwindles into the sophistry of men sitting down to eat a good dinner, and anxious to eat more, out of their neighbours pots. That 'millions of acres of the richest soils in the world remain uncultivated,' is a woeful attempt on the credulity of mankind. Has madness visited the agriculturists, that they refuse to take the harvests that are lying ready for their grasp? When were they known to omit taking any thing they could, either of their own or of their neighbours? Not a cabin-boy at Whitby but may have formed some dim conception, that if land is uncultivated, it is because it will not pay. His betters at the dinner will be ready to inform him, that the way to make it pay, is to find somebody from whom to take the difference by force.

'But, it appears, we are not to pause even here; the economists recommend perseverance in this policy [*not the policy of dining out of each other's pots, but the opposite*], and its still wider application. They deliberately advise the desertion or abandonment of agriculture, to the extent of putting three-sixths of our soil out of cultivation. Whither, then, must the dispossessed millions of wretched fugitives resort? To the manufacturing districts, certainly. They must become the rivals of the present operatives there, instead of remaining their steadiest customers, and that at a time when the goods already fabricated are so immense in quantity as to inundate the world, and so low in price as to starve the manufacturers. Political economists, I am well aware, have an answer for all this; it consists of a future promise; but the people of England have been long amused by promises from the same quarter, and have been cruelly deceived; and moreover, they have been reduced to such a condition by this miserable mismanagement, that they can no longer wait, &c.'—p. 8.

This leads to the demonstration—which is in fact nothing but a recapitulation of the former argument—that the Corn-laws are themselves the grossest instance of the impolicy condemned in the parable of the monkeys. When all and each of us pay twice as much for our daily bread as we need to do, it is clear that if we were relieved from this feudal slavery, we

should pay the difference to somebody else for *something*. The trading part of the community would therefore in the aggregate be just where they are; only we should have that something, which we are now gratuitously deprived of. Whatever was taken from the agriculturists who now rob us, would be given to the classes which would be employed by the expenditure of that of which we ceased to be robbed. What is meant by 'inundating the world,' is only that the goods now manufactured are more than we can sell while we are prohibited by act of parliament from receiving the only thing which we want and our customers have to pay in; and the story of our goods being 'low in price,' is referable to the same explanation. The 'fugitives,' and the 'wretchedness,' and the 'rivals,' are therefore in the main only a specimen of Swift's vegetable before alluded to. It may be quite true, that the change from robbing to not robbing, may have its inconveniences for the parties who suffer the translation. And therefore, upon their due representation of the facts, it is possible the public might give them time. But the inconvenience of such translation to the parties, can be no reason why the wrong should go on for ever. The great secret in English internal policy, is to get up a given quantity of wrong, and then set the wrong to cry out against the inconvenience of its own removal. It is true that great suffering might be the result to the 'wretched fugitives' who for fifteen years have favoured us with Corn-laws, if they were all turned over to seek employment elsewhere at once. But, in the first place, let their suffering be as great as it might, it is all only the consequence of their own previous injustice; for which the sufferers by that injustice are in no degree responsible. And in the next place, there is always the resource,—which nobody has yet contended against, though it is impossible to tell what may be the result of an obstinate resistance to amendment,—of making the alteration gradual. Because certain millions of agriculturists have been accustomed to live upon the rest of the community—and live miserably ill after all—it does by no means follow that the evil must be perpetuated. That it will be perpetuated as long as the others will endure it, is undoubted; and the extent and limit of this endurance, is a question which time will solve.

'Turning, then, to the manufacturing interests, we find that, respecting these, the most disheartening and prejudicial system has been adopted. We have legalized the constant introduction, under certain duties, of articles of foreign industry, which have, in many branches of business, necessarily interfered with home labour, and greatly diminished its recompense; and we have done this without even at-

tempting to obtain any countervailing advantages in behalf of our own operatives. Our silk-manufacturers, our shoemakers, our glovers, and very many others engaged in still more operose and profitable branches of employment, comprehending, in the whole, a great multitude of our industrious countrymen, have been subjected to the distressing rivalry of foreigners. That this has lessened the demand for home labour there can be little doubt; none whatever that it has greatly diminished its wages; indeed, I myself have heard those who were mainly instrumental in introducing the change, exult in the vastly greater cheapness of the goods, when fabricated, which that change has occasioned. I heard the exultation at the time with sorrow; I heard it with shame; when I recollected that those who uttered it made no lessening demands upon the public purse, which has still to be replenished in their behalf by the harder efforts of a suffering people. But the exultation, after all, was natural; their interests are adverse; as are those of a body unhappily too numerous, who are the avowed and persevering enemies of a protected internal industry.'—p.9.

It would be simple repetition, to go again over the proof, that the silk-manufacturers, the shoemakers, the glovers and all the rest, get nothing by restrictions but what they take from some other tradesman, with the gratuitous loss of the difference of price to the consumers besides. It is therefore totally untrue, that they or any of them are subjected to the rivalry of foreigners at all. They are subjected to the rivalry of their own countrymen, who can make what other people want, when *they* cannot; and their prayer is, that their countrymen in some part or other may be put down for their use and benefit, and the public lose the difference besides. The argument on taxation has also been shown to be unfounded; unless it can be shown where and how an increased capacity for paying taxes would arise out of the system of every man stealing from his neighbour. And if these positions are true, it follows, that the whole outcry about protecting internal industry, is the invention of men who want to feed out of their neighbours vessels;—that in fact internal industry cannot be protected, except by removing the thing called protection;—and that all that is done by the restrictions under the monkey system, is to prevent internal industry from exerting itself in directions where it would otherwise take place, and to saddle the consumers with a large loss as the price of this consummation.

The allusion to 'countervailing advantages,' leads to the examination of the fallacy of 'reciprocity.' If it is the part of rational creatures to buy gloves where they are cheapest, the rationality of doing this is not affected by the question whether a foreigner will be wise enough to do some equally rational thing in return. Supposing that France, for instance, should proclaim her immoveable attachment to the immemorial system of the monkey race;

nobody has shown the slightest reason why a *homo sapiens* in England should adhere to the same policy with respect to any thing he has the power to obtain from France. The assertion that there is any reciprocity to be waited for in the affair, is a weak invention of the enemy, who wants to be busy with our pots. It is an attempt to retard the result of having three pairs of gloves instead of two, by attaching it to the contingency of a Frenchman's having the wit to do a similar good office to himself. The benefit of ceasing to refuse a commerce that is gainful to ourselves with France, is not in any degree dependent on whether France has the sense to enter on some other commerce that is gainful to herself with us. If she does, there may be two benefits to us instead of one; but the existence of the one is not dependent on the existence of the other. Put the case that England insists on making gloves, and France cotton goods; and each at a loss. The common sense of ceasing to make gloves at a loss, is not at all affected by whether France has the sense to do the same with cotton goods.

'One thing has often struck me as to the policy of our projectors, namely, the address with which they manage to set the various interests of the country against each other; managing the successive depressions of each by appealing to the selfish feelings of the rest. Thus, I think, I well remember a certain individual holding forth to the Liverpool ship-owners, that they might probably be compensated for the loss of their protection by a similar withdrawal of that of the agriculturists; the granary of the empire might, partially at least, be placed, it was hoped, abroad; and then the ship-owners would, of course, share in transporting hither the constant supplies, (little chance for this, however, I ween, under the reciprocity system!)—but both ship-owners and agriculturists were to get other commodities cheaper by the free-trade system; silks, for instance; and the silk manufacturer, in his turn, was to be propitiated by the sacrifice of the throwster, &c.'—p. 10.

This is manifestly the argument that would be applied against the monkey reformer. 'Do not you see how cunningly he goes about to persuade *you* of the red hips, to give up your share out of your neighbour's pan; by pretending to persuade *him* of the blue nose, to do the same?' And there is no doubt that many of the pigmy race might think this marvellous good reason, and show their white teeth at political economists. But still there is no sensible man in cool possession of the facts, who does not see that it is one monkey trick to support another; and that nobody can possibly be the better for it, except the lucky rogue who may chance to fill his pouches in the scramble at the expense of all the rest.

'The object of these changes was, all the while, low prices (otherwise we pay little compliment to the sagacity of their promoters); and, after all, a more insane attempt than to effectuate that, could never have entered into the head of man, when it is considered that we have a fixed incumbrance or debt, to a vast amount, on which the cheapening of the value of property and of labour in the country which has to sustain it, operates as an enormous augmentation. The fundholders, the jobbers, the brokers of the community, may and do feel the advantages of these changes; some of these dictate the carrying them still further into effect; but it will be well for them, even with a view to their own permanent interests, to pause, or they will find the mischief they meditate "for others, will fall upon their own pate." Eight hundred millions of debt, and cheap prices, are not convertible terms, no more than are foreign competition and British comfort. Seen in the light of true political philosophy, all the different branches of industry in a community are united in the bonds of mutual interest as well as amity; and, if one be weaker than the rest, the others are willing to extend to it a helping hand; but the new system sees things in a different light; "Buy where you can buy cheapest" is the motto, though it is one which would wholly divest us of all our local duties and attachments, and even of patriotism itself.'—p. 10.

The unreasonableness of pretending to remedy eight hundred millions of debt by robbing one tradesman of employment to serve another, with a gratuitous loss to the consumer besides, has been exposed already. The 'true political philosophy' of the Whitby speech, means evidently the philosophy of Exeter Change. 'Buy where you can buy cheapest,' will carry the day after all; unless it can be shown what local duty or attachment directs the putting down a capable tradesman to raise up an incapable one, and what patriotism there is in consulting together to effect a general loss. The great fallacy is in the assertion—without a shadow of proof, and in the mere expectation that shallow people will find some jingle of verisimilitude in the mode of putting it—that the evil of having expended eight hundred millions for dishonest purposes, is to be remedied by making laws to enable one British tradesman to take the bread out of another's mouth.

'These, Gentlemen, are my general views on the subject; general, I may call them, for they embrace the interests and pursuits of every industrious class amongst us, including even the very humblest of them; and I rejoice to say, they are becoming universal among the operatives. The noble English maxim, "Live and let live," is reviving. Whether it regards the labourer at the plough, or the manufacturer at his loom, I have always felt, what I have somewhere expressed,

"Let those that till, and those that weave,
Still by their honest labours live.'

And I shall never exchange this feeling for the dry and unfeeling dogmas of political economy.'—p. 11.

It remains to be seen whether the operatives will be persuaded, that "Live and let live," means "Rob and let rob, and pay double for your bread;" or will prefer the dry and unfeeling dogmas of political economy, which tell them that every man should keep his own. The continual scorn which it pleases the defenders of ancient follies to pour out upon political economy, will be of prodigious use the moment the balance turns in favour of the people, and they see who have been their friends, and why the exercise of reason has been reviled.

The descriptions of 'the father of the cottage, who sits, idle, and distressed, brooding over the fate of those from whom his eyes are averted,'—and of 'the poor homeless female, shivering in the portico below the dazzling drawing-room,'—come with an ill grace from those who are engaged over their own dinners in endeavouring to secure the prohibition of the exchange of the produce of industry for food, and whose only recipe for the removal of the ills they state, consists in bidding the sufferers plunder from each other.

The eaters of the Whitby dinner are next informed, that 'thousands of the people in Lancashire are subsisting on fifteen-pence a head per week, and even that pittance is earned by extreme and long-protracted labour;' and that 'thousands in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield' are in the same condition. *And how should it be otherwise,* when the speaker and his friends have passed a law against foreign commerce, and forbidden the starving manufacturer to exchange his produce for food? A dinner was an ill-chosen time, to be mellifluous on such a subject.

Suppose now, that a hundred rats, instead of being mercifully killed in five minutes by the celebrated dog Billy, were caged up and supplied with a limited quantity of food, and encouraged to multiply till they starved each other by the subdivision of the allowance;—and say whether this picture, ugly and disgusting as it is, is not a representation of the condition in which the country has been placed by the influence of the monopolists. Imagine next a well-dressed man, with all the ensigns of respectability and good fellowship about him, declaiming on the misery of the sufferers with the remains of a tartlet in his mouth, and pointing out to the spectators the different forms and aspects of the process. "See that individual of the "softer sex, with thirteen helpless young ones dependent "on it for support. Their whole allowance is but fifteen "grains a day; and there are people who would ruin the

"whole rat-trap by letting in foreign corn. Observe the "'father of the cottage,' with his ribs clinging together "and no fur upon his back, brooding over the fate of his "suffering family, over whom his heart is yearning and breaking. "That poor creature with his ear bitten off, is from Congleton. "The insurrectionary cock-tail in the middle is from Macclesfield. "The Coventry rats are in a corner by themselves. From Rochdale, "Manchester, and Barnsley, they are all alike; there is not a pin "to chuse. Would to God my voice could reach them and be "listened to [here quote sundry texts of Scripture, and swallow "the remains of the tartlet]. Why do not they 'agitate for "bread?' Why do not they turn tooth and nail upon the "wretches who would murder them by letting in foreign produce?" The application may not be complimentary; but till it is shown in what way a starving people are to be fed by shutting out supplies and taking from each other, it is an exact representation of the politics of the Whitby speech.

One great truth however is undoubtedly evolved in it; and that is, that 'it is not Providence that is chargeable with the miseries of the people.' They have every thing that could tend to the extension of industry with scarcely a visible limit; if the laws could be got rid of by which industry is prohibited. They are surrounded by the ocean, which would truly be 'an inexhaustible mine of wealth,' if the owners of the land did not shut up the passage. There is no need for defying any man; there is not one that has the least desire to attribute the ill to Providence. It would be as just to attribute to it the sufferings of the rats. The proverb says, "God sends meat, and the devil sends cooks." And most devilishly they have cooked us, for our folly and stupidity in allowing them their way.

'Nor, secondly, is it the character or conduct of the inhabitants to which the present distress of the country is attributable.'—p. 17.

Granted;—with the exception of their proneness to be persuaded to combine for the general loss, in the hope of individual gain.

'Nor is it the number of our countrymen which has produced it. Fashionable as is this diabolical doctrine, for diabolical it is, inasmuch as it begins by affronting God, and issues in injuring man; it is, like many other fashionable notions, utterly false. It is the prerogative of God, saving the presence of our political economists, to decide this question; and he has decided it, in the superabundance of the means of human subsistence, which, as a nation, he has lavished upon us, placed within our reach, and solicited us to accept. Whether in reference to the resources of the country, or its means of profitable employment, if properly developed, there is not a sinew or an arm too

many in the empire, no nor elsewhere, any more than there is a superfluous spirit called into the realms of immortality by the Eternal God! Short indeed, and infernal, would be the remedy, were this revolting notion true. Deportation of every kind, murder in all its forms, indirect or otherwise, would be obvious and general benefits. Still, however, the promulgators of this notion, with the habitual selfishness of the system, pronouncing upon the redundancy of human being, invariably except themselves. The Christian advocates of this doctrine are not its personal converts;—whether as it respects life, or its propensities and feelings, they make no personal sacrifices. They are no Curtiuses,—but I see your indignation at the very mention of these notions; and, rather than on the dogmas of the political economists, we will still rest, as to this matter, upon the assurances of Him who "giveth food to all flesh; for his mercy endureth for ever."'—p. 18.

Compare the case with that of the rats, and see how all this 'sublime and beautiful' falls to the ground. The number of the sufferers is one element of the suffering; but it is entirely subordinate to the great cause of all, *videlicet* their being shut up. The people of England are prohibited from selling the produce of their labour; and are confined by act of parliament to a given quantity of food. If the terms of the act allow to 'veer and haul' a little, by admitting corn on certain terms during the existence of particular degrees of pressure,—it might as well be argued that a bird tied by the leg to a spiral spring is not confined, because on further efforts it can always gain another fraction of an inch. In this state of things the remedy is neither diabolical, nor infernal, nor revolting; for it is simply to take away the prohibition. It is quite true that under the pressure of the suffering, some men have been driven to indefensible propositions for keeping down the population, as one possible means of diminishing the immediate torture. There would be no wonder if the rats in similar circumstances proposed the same. But if they do, it is only a horror the more, to be laid to the charge of the devout persons who stand by to watch the process. It would be as pious, meritorious, and wise, to call upon 'Him who giveth food to all flesh,' in reference to the miserable animals whom man has determined to shut up and starve. It is a flagrant mistranslation to say that God has given food *to* all flesh; he has given it *for* all flesh, and *to* so many of them as can prevent man from stopping it by the way.

In his discussions on the circulating medium, it is curious to see how far the writer goes with reasonable and demonstrable notions on the subject, and still contrives to end in fallacy. Very few men of the political habits of the orator, ever arrive at knowing half so much of the principles of what he terms *monetary* value, as he does; he is a *rara avis* among

his kind. But by what accident does it suit him to forget, that if one government raised the value of money by returning to a gold currency, it was because another had committed a grand act of larceny by the issues of paper?—that if the fundholders had been robbed of forty millions by a heaven-born minister, the plain men who succeeded him did nothing but put an end to the progress of the robbery, by returning to an honest currency? It is clear, that as far as relates to the old fund-holders, they offered nothing in the shape of compensation for past robbery; their simple merit, when they make up their political accounts for heaven, must be limited to refusing to take more. And, as relates to the gains of new fund-holders, it has been proved and is ready to be demonstrated at any time, that if the gains and losses of all the fund-holders are lumped together, an 'equitable adjustment,' whenever the time may come for it, will be in favour of the fund-holders and not against them. There is no justice in calling out against the half of the act that was repentance, and concealing the half that was sin. As far as regards the effect on the holders of the circulating medium, it is plain that the value of some eight or nine millions was taken from the holders of the currency (which means every body), by the fraudulent issues of paper, and that a similar amount was given back to them by the return to honesty. This was not restitution with precision of persons; because many of the first sufferers were only to be come at by their successors. But it was a restitution as exact as the case admitted; and one infinitely better than no restitution at all. If the value of the taxes has been increased by the return of the currency to its just value (as may have happened on the supposition that ministers had the ingenuity to tax different articles *ad valorem* while the currency was being debased, and by a fixed nominal amount when it was returning to its proper value)—the part of sensible men is to call for a reduction of the taxes, but not to call for a debased currency as a means of reducing the taxes. Such a proceeding would only be matched by the conduct of the man, who set his house on fire to warm himself. There might be a certain degree of mischief arising on the return to an honest currency, from the perturbation of contracts; but the main and principal effect of this very perturbation of contracts, was to give an advantage to the same classes of people who had been the losers by the other. The nature of dishonesty is to produce suffering, both during its existence and at its removal; but it by no means follows that therefore it must exist for ever. If a surgeon can cure a broken leg without giving pain, he will undoubtedly deserve to be highly rewarded. But if he cannot, it does not follow that the leg must be let alone,

The remainder of the speech is principally aimed at endeavouring to obtain the suffrages of individuals, to the promotion of the general system of shutting us up like the rats, for the benefit of monopolists. No means are omitted, by which the ignorant and unthinking may be induced to believe their personal advantage implicated in the perpetuation of this discreditable policy. The engine of deception, as in the instances already specified, consists in the same kind of imperfect tracing of the connexion between causes and effects, which has led so many men astray in the pursuit of a perpetual motion;—in the hasty assumption that some desirable consequence is established and attained, without waiting to determine whether it may not be necessarily balanced by a contrary tendency arising out of its own existence, at some other point.

If these observations on the Coryphæus of the system of Exeter Change are unceremonious, it must be borne in mind that the author of the speech thought proper to set out with an unmeasured attack upon all and every body who in considering the same subject had come to a different conclusion from his own. If they are witlings, let him prove in sober sadness, that the monkey theory is right. If political economists are the bane of the country, let him at least back it by demonstrating that they are in the wrong. It is always wise, in selling the bear's skin beforehand, to make a decent reserve for the possibility of failure. The *Ursa Major* of a discontented and suffering public, is what is technically termed an ugly customer; and whoever goes forth to break a lance upon its hide, has no occasion to provide for adding the ridicule of ostentation to the misfortune of defeat.

Anterior to the Whitby speech in point of date, and only inferior to it in celebrity though the absence of the éclat which attends the personal exertions of the orator, is the paper cited in the title, on THE CONDITION OF THE EMPIRE. The condition of the empire is every body's concern; it is to all and each of us, what the condition of the rat-trap would be if we were the rats. Hear therefore how the 'genuine political economists' of the North proceed to deal with our distresses.

'The British empire at this moment possesses incalculable advantages beyond what was ever possessed by any other great nation: it possesses every thing requisite for commanding almost uninterrupted prosperity and happiness. Yet this empire is overwhelmed with suffering, and is admitted to be in danger of ruin.'—*Blackwood's Ed. Mag.* No. CLIV. p. 97.

This is the part which nobody doubts. Every body begins

with being right; and the way to go wrong, is to slip into it gently.

'Your Ministry and Legislature declare that they cannot account for this, they will attempt nothing in the way of remedy, and all they do enlarges the suffering and makes the ruin more certain. To make you sensible of the real causes, we cannot do better than give you the following infallible receipt for utterly ruining any great empire.'

'Do not act on vague generalities, and attempt to strike the whole mass at once; but adapt your measures to circumstances, and destroy in detail. The prosperity of the nation can only exist in that of the individual; and the prosperity of the individual can only exist in good profits on the employment of his capital, or good wages. Compel the individual to employ his capital without profit, or at a loss, or to labour for inadequate wages, and you will keep them in constant distress; you will drag every capitalist, in succession, through bankruptcy, and chain every workman to penury and want. By thus ruining the individual, you must inevitably triumph in your efforts to ruin the empire.'—p. 98.

This looks specious. It is true as far as it goes. But pray heaven there be not coming the monkey theory after all.

'Having made these self-evident truths your own, apply them in the first place to your agriculture. If you can only keep the prices of agricultural produce below remunerating ones, this will manifestly strip your landlords and farmers of profits and capital, and your husbandry labourers of the necessary means of subsistence. You cannot accomplish it by prohibiting your farmers from asking other than prices fixed by law, but you may do so in another manner. Open your market to the cheap produce of foreign countries; admit the corn, provisions, wool, seeds, tallow, &c. &c. of such countries, at prices which will not remunerate your own agriculturists; and this will be as effective as a law for fixing prices. Your land-owners, farmers, and husbandry labourers—probably half your population—will thus be strictly bound to constant loss and suffering.'

'Then apply the truths to your shipping interest. Place such foreign ships on an equality with your own, in your market, as can afford to take much lower freights; and it will inevitably bind this interest to constant loss and suffering.'

'In the same manner, apply the truths to all your manufactures and trades as far as possible. Admit into your market foreign silks, gloves, lace, shoes, &c. &c., at such prices as your own manufacturers cannot afford to take; and this must inevitably bind all the souls engaged in the fabrication of such articles, to constant loss and suffering.'

'If you, unhappily, have manufactures and trades which cannot be undersold by foreign opponents, it will be more difficult to restrict them, by direct means, to continual losing prices. But your measures against your agriculture, &c., by confining considerably more than half your population to unceasing distress, must indirectly go far

towards placing the remainder in the same condition. Providence has most wisely made it a law of nature, that the minority shall suffer with the majority. The distress of the majority must bind the minority to reduced trade, insufficient employment, stagnation, bad debts, and inadequate prices.'—p. 98.

It is the same. Christopher North is turned wild-beast showman; and after haranguing with due emphasis in favour of each brute of fang and claw, winds up with—"There you see the little "Tory Monkeys, male *and* female. Observe the way those "animals take their food; each eats out of its neighbour's pot. "By this means they double the common stock; a wonderful "provision of nature in those climates!" The puir body had ever a *deevil* of a stomach himself, for eating what other people are to pay for. It is enough to make a man sick, to see how these church-and-king men fill what they call their 'waims,' when somebody else is to find the means. Talk of a 'pockpudding'—a couple of honest yeomen might dine, out of what it takes one of these to 'refresh drooping nature,' after a relaxation of seven minutes and a half. Contrast the gluttony of these particular gormandizers, with the fare of the miserable monkeys they tell to fatten themselves by stealing from one another. Ask how many working men have been starved by corn laws, to get up the hotch-potch of Mr. Tickler, and how many women and children for the turtle of the Shepherd; how many industrious people drink water, that Mr. Theodore may have Vin de Grave, and Mullion champagne;—and say whether the people of Great Britain are not a good-natured race, to endure the laying in the wound thus of the knife that made it, in types which have nothing of the obscure, and parables which are any thing but dark sayings.

'Undertaking the humble toil which they [*the Economists and Philosophers*] disdain, we will look at the divisions of your population severally, and trace the distress of each to its cause, by means of the ignoble evidence of common-place demonstration. In the first place, why are your farmers distressed? Because they cannot obtain for their produce what will cover their outgoings. The last harvest was not a deficient one to any material extent except in wheat; and if wheat had been a full crop, they would still have been distressed, as was proved in the last year, by its cheapness. If your farmers could procure a certain addition to the prices of their various kinds of produce, they would enjoy prosperity. This is a fact which you cannot controvert.'—p. 99.

They would enjoy prosperity, till they discovered that they wanted more. If the community was fool enough to tax itself to pay them for growing corn on the sea-beach, they would

only want to be paid for growing it on a stone floor. What they mean by 'covering their outgoings,' is covering them on the worst land on which they may please to go, and giving them a profit for their pains. Suppose a manufacturer was to demand to be paid for making broad cloth out of the most worthless wool he chose to find convenient. It would only be a copy of the injustice which the agriculturists, by dint of the worst system of representation in Europe, have succeeded in thrusting down our throats. Every thing that is paid to them for what they call 'their outgoings,' must be taken from the industrious in some other trade or calling, with a gratuitous loss of equal amount to the consumer besides. The same for the ship-owners, and the *hoc genus omne* of the trades, the crafts, the mysteries, who have discovered the necessity of living on the public. There is some policy in the rural ordinance, which says a pauper shall wear a badge. Pay for the paupers in badges, while it is necessary; but not for the paupers in badges and in coaches too. Decline finding paupers in venison. Object utterly to discharging their bills at the London Tavern. Let five shillings a week be the boundary of your humanity; and let that be taken with a mark and a suit of parish blue.

The truth in plain terms is, that the moment a trader finds his occupation is not wanted, and that he can only live by robbing some other trader the demand for whose commodities is on the increase, he should draw in his horns and retire, as the wig-makers were obliged to do; and not go to parliament to ask to have men obliged to shave their heads, in order that his obsolete compounds may find a market. If this piece of common justice had been enforced from the beginning, the necessary transfers would have taken place from time to time by insensible gradations. As was the case with the wigs, fewer men would from year to year have been bred to the trade that nobody wanted, and more to some business which the country was disposed to pay for. As has been said before, the great art in all cases of fraud upon the public, is to get up a *quantum sufficit* of the wrong, and then set the abomination to defend itself. The abomination of wigs would have been supported in the same way, if there had been an aristocracy of wig-makers. On this point there is no difference between the morality of the compounder of caxons, and of the landed peer who stands up for the interests of his order. They would all shear us alike; except so far as there is a virtue in the community, to keep our polls from their discretion.

'It matters not what your currency, your harvests, or the prosperity of your manufacturing classes may be, your farmers cannot, under

your laws for the admission of foreign produce, obtain adequate prices. They are distressed by bad prices, and your laws prohibit them from gaining higher ones. You must admit that this is established fact, and not speculation.'—p. 100.

They are distressed because they chuse to grow what nobody wants from them, and demand to be paid for it. They are distressed because the laws allow them to take twenty shillings from the people, but do not allow them to take thirty. Like all others who live upon the public, their wants will keep pace with any laws that may be made for their encouragement. Tell the inhabitants of St. Giles's that a tax on bread shall be laid for their support, and the only consequence will be that they will soon demonstrate that they want three times more. The horse-leech and her two daughters, are no types of a caste that once obtains a legal right to live on the community. A country that should be inundated for the sake of breeding horse-leeches, —with a promise to supply as much blood as the accumulation of their numbers should demand,—would be the fitting representative of such a situation as we live in.

'In the next place, why are your shipowners distressed? Are over-trading, the currency, machinery, &c. the causes here? If the question be ridiculous, you compel us to put it. Your shipowners are distressed because they cannot obtain remunerating freights, and they cannot obtain such freights because you have placed them by law in these circumstances—in a considerable part of their trade, they must either accept losing freights, or incur the greater loss of abandoning it to foreigners, and suffering their ships to rot in port; the rate of freight fixed by law in this part of their trade must of necessity be the rate in their trade generally.'—p. 100.

The ship-owners are distressed (if they *are* distressed;—some people think when they have occasion to make new docks, they are *not* distressed), because they insist upon building ships that nobody wants to employ. Ship or wig, the theory and practice are the same. The community says, We do not want your wigs. 'But you *shall* have them,' says the peruke-maker, 'or else what is to become of *me?*' The community does not want their ships;—Is it intelligible? There are other British tradesmen, on whom the same amount is expended that would be expended on the ship-owners; and with this material advantage besides, that a difference equal to the difference of freight is saved to the consumers. The ship-owners want to have an act of parliament to take the employment and profits from these tradesmen and give them to themselves, and saddle the consumers with a loss equal to the difference of freight besides. What they complain of is, that "you have placed

them by law in these circumstances" that they cannot take what they would. Many other classes have precisely the same complaint against the law; as the new police can testify.

'And now why are your silk, glove, and lace manufacturers distressed? They cannot obtain prices which will yield profits to the master and necessaries to the workman. Why are their prices so bad? Because they cannot raise them to remunerating ones, without having their trade taken from them by foreigners. If the prices of the silk manufacturers were raised sixpence per yard, and those of the glove manufacturers were raised in the same proportion, you are well aware that foreigners would destroy the trade of both. As to the lace manufacturers, foreign blond lace has destroyed their trade already. Here is one cause of the distress; another is to be found in the fact which you cannot question, that the large import of foreign silks, gloves, and lace, destroys a vast mass of employment, and keeps the market constantly glutted. Your laws demonstrably prohibit these three manufactures from obtaining adequate prices, and take from them much of their trade.'—p. 100.

The demand for 'remunerating prices,' always means making people pay for something they do not want. It means robbing one tradesman who can make what people will voluntarily buy, to give the same amount of employment and profits to another that cannot; with a loss to the consumer equal to the difference of price besides. 'That the large import of foreign silks, gloves, and lace, destroys a vast mass of employment,'—instead of being a 'fact which you cannot question,' is an assertion of which the truth has been disproved. It destroys *no* employment in the long run. It only shifts the employment, from those who cannot make what any body wants to buy, to those who can;—with a saving to the consumers of the difference of price besides. What the laws demonstrably do, is to hinder all these classes from being robbed for the sake of giving half the produce to the others. What the laws demonstrably do, is to say, 'No man shall have the power of causing others to lose a shilling, on pretence that sixpence of it will find its way into his own pocket.'

'Several other interests are placed by your laws in similar circumstances. Looking at all who are dependent solely or principally on agriculture in the United Kingdom, including the landowners and their dependents, as well as the farmers and their servants, they must comprehend one-half the population. The Shipping Interest, Silk Trade, and other Interests, circumstanced as we have stated, cannot have less than two millions of souls dependent on them. Here, then, is the majority of your population;—here are twelve or fourteen millions of people, strictly bound by your laws to constant loss and suffering. These millions have had one-fourth, one-third, and, in very many cases,

the whole of their property destroyed by your laws; and they are prohibited by them from obtaining higher—taking into account the losses which bad seasons, &c. must for ever entail on the farmer and trader—than distress-prices. To ascribe their distress to over-trading, the corn law, and the thousand-and-one other causes which you plead, is an absurdity too gross for other ears than those of lunacy. It is not theory or speculative opinion, but it is a matter of arithmetical demonstration and a fact established by conclusive experiments, that your laws render it impossible for these millions to obtain prices and hold employment which will protect them from constant loss and suffering.'—p. 100.

This is adding up the amount of what every monkey used to take out of his neighbour's pan, and charging it as a common loss. The proposition urged is, that if there was a return to the venerable system, it would be a good to the community in general, and the majority of the population in particular would get rich. To which there are two answers;—first, that the community at large could not be benefited, but the contrary; secondly, that if half the population of monkeys *did* get rich, it must be taken out of the pans of the others,—which those others would be blameable to allow, if they can hinder it. The 'Interests,' always mean the interests which particular individuals or knots among the monkeys, have in what they can plunder from the others.

The argument about small notes has been alluded to already. It is imperiously necessary to skip and go on. The show-man becomes tiresome, and has nothing to produce but the same creatures over and over again.

'But you say the cheapness is so precious to your consumers. Mr. Huskisson speaks of a "British public" which benefits enormously from being thus dosed with cheap pennyworths. Where is this "British public?" Is it to be found amidst your landowners, farmers, and husbandry labourers? No. Does it exist amidst your shipowners, silk manufacturers, and makers of gloves and lace? Certainly not. Can it be discovered amidst your cotton, woollen, and iron manufacturers, or your producers of Colonial produce? Still, no. But there is your monied interest. The cheapness destroys the employment of capital, and reduces interest; the capitalist cannot invest his capital; the fundholder can only obtain an inadequate rate of interest, and he cannot employ his money more profitably. The mass of the British population demonstrably suffers severe distress from the cheapness, and no "British public" can be seen which benefits from it. Blind as you are, you see that it is a scourge to your consumers—and, of course, we need not say what it is to your producers.'—p. 107.

This again, is adding up what each monkey ceases to take out of his neighbours pans, and denying that there is any

monkey public that gains to the same amount. What they took, was their own gain; whether any body lost it or not, is what nobody can tell. And this leads to the real explanation, which is, that the very individuals who stickle for the right of taking from their neighbours, pay their quota in the end. It may not be positively certain, that they each without exception individually lose as much as they gain; but it is plain that this must be the case with by far the greatest part. It is a fallacy, that demands of Mr. Huskisson to prove, that each particular 'interest' to whose depredations he puts an end, is bettered by the process. If it is so, it is so much the better; and there is no doubt that it will happen in many cases. But still the proposition started with is not, that each of the pilferers will necessarily be the better, but that somebody else will be the better. The proposition is, that there is no general policy in pilfering. There may have been some of prodigious pouches, who contrived to be the gainers after all. But the proposition is, that for that very reason, they ought to be taken by the throat till they disgorge.

But as before, it is necessary to skip and go on. There cannot be fifty people in the country, incapable of carrying the monkey parallel through all that may be omitted.

'The grand principle of genuine political economy is—*National wealth and prosperity flow from the good profits and wages of the individual; therefore give these to the greatest number.* That of the savage counterfeit you follow is in reality—*National wealth and prosperity flow from the bad profits or wages of the individual; therefore give loss and hunger to the greatest number.* Could any thing be conceived more preposterous, than to attempt to produce general wealth and prosperity by making every business a losing and starving one? and yet this is precisely what you are doing.'—p. 115.

The obligation of the country to the defenders of abuse is infinite, for coming down from the high stilts of imagination and eloquence, and condescending to fight upon vulgar questions of arithmetic and common life. It is infinitely easier to meet them there, than when they contended for 'social order' and the like incomprehensibles. In the present case, for example, is it possible that any body can fail to see, that what they propose by their recipe, is to increase the profits and wages of one individual, by diminishing the profits and wages of some other? If the profits and wages in the trades which nobody wants, are to be increased by giving them a forced employment, it is clear that the profits and wages in some other trades will be diminished in a corresponding degree by the employment that is taken from them, and that there will be a loss

to the consuming public equal to the difference besides. That national wealth and prosperity flow from the good profits and wages of the individual, is in itself a great truth. But then these good profits and wages must arise from a positive increase of trade in the aggregate, which can only be the result of freedom; and not from robbing one man to serve another. The rate of profits and wages depends on the velocity with which trade on the whole is increasing or the contrary. In mathematical terms, it varies as the fluxion of the trade; and this again depends upon the progress that is making in pushing forward the whole scale of production, by obtaining an increased command over the first necessaries of life, and is not to be effected by shutting ourselves up in a rat-trap and rubbing our halfpence against each other. It is this which demonstrates the limited utility of the various palliatives, with which men amuse themselves instead of applying their efforts to the removal of the great evil which is the shutting up. Such, for example, are the proposed remedies of 'economy,' of 'clubs for reducing the price of the necessaries of life,' and of 'co-operative societies.' If the rats were to be advised to economize or to 'co-operate,' it is evident that so long as there was a law restricting the quantity of corn they should be allowed to consume, all that they could do by it would be to make their respective shares go a little further than before, and to cause the division to approach a little nearer to equality. But none of these inventions could cause a hundred rats to get fat upon the allowance of twenty-five. In so far as on their first application they produced a temporary alleviation of the misery of the classes whose shares had been smallest, they would tend to the production of a certain degree of increase in the population of rats in these classes. But as soon as this effect was accomplished, all things would go on as before; except that the palliative which had been applied already, could not be applied afresh. The secret of good living, with rats or men, consists in keeping open the connection with the power of procuring a continually increasing quantity of food; and whichever of them allow themselves to be cut off from it to please their betters, condemn themselves to starve for their amusement.

Finally, in order to support the monkey system,

'Promote religion [*of the kind which will make men servile*]—protect public morals [*among those who are to give and not to take*]—repress vice and infidelity [*by setting each man to rob his neighbour, and religion to hold the door*]—keep the different classes of the community in strict subordination to each other [*that slaves, white and black, may continue as they are*]—and cherish the principles, feelings, and habits, which give

stability, beauty, and happiness to society [*constituted on the basis that every man shall feed out of his neighbour's pot who can.*']—p. 118.

It is not easy to imagine what possible connection religion can have with the question whether monkeys are best fed out of each others pans, except as a blind. Somebody is to be persuaded, that it is pious to be plundered. Somebody is to be robbed by the intervention; and somebody else is to get fat. This is the *end-all* and *be-all* of the anti-liberals piety. They call upon God, that they may take from man. They take away our means of living on this earth; and offer us their bill on heaven, payable to bearer, in return.

Nobody believes that the system of plundering one tradesman to please another, can hold out much longer. It is right, however, to take all possible means to accelerate its fall. Wherever it has been tried—in England, in America, in France—there appears to be a general consent to come to an avowal of its folly. The means to hasten this, are, first, to endeavour to bring forward the manufacturers who are injured by the prohibition of the foreign trade. Thus in France, for example, the wine-growers are finding out, that they are the people who are depressed by the foolish attempt to produce iron and cotton goods, instead of buying them from foreigners with wine. In the next place, to impress on men in general, the high degree in which they are interested in the question in their character of consumers; and the certainty that if there is the least apparent doubt whether they are among the final gainers by the monkey system or not, the truth is that they are enormous losers. Finally, that the people should speak out, and not allow themselves to be beaten down by the sound and fury of their opponents. The system is only the monkey system after all, whatever may be the Babel of noises got up among its supporters. The government is willing; but wants the aid of the public voice. It rests mainly with the public, whether they will continue to be fed out of one another's pans, or not.

ART. VIII.—*The Picture of Australia: exhibiting New Holland, Van Diemen's Land, and all the Settlements, from the first at Sydney to the last at the Swan River.* London. 1829. Whittaker and Co.

NEW Holland is one of those countries about which a great deal has been written and very little is known. It is of course easy to state its distance from the other great continents of the world, to inform the reader in what degree of latitude [illegible]titude it is found, and to conjecture pretty nearly the

circumference of its vast and varied shores. With the aid of a few intelligent settlers, and clever navigators, a tolerably correct picture may be sketched of a small portion of the eastern coasts, with some few points, here and there, on the other parts of the shore; but beyond this our real knowledge does not extend, and if we proceed, our descriptions must be grounded in great measure on theory and conjecture. Information, however, is continually on the increase. The courage and enterprise of our countrymen are perpetually conducting them into the unexplored regions of this new world, and the occurrences of almost every day throw some new light upon its singularly mysterious recesses.

From Wilson's Promontory, the most southern point of New Holland, to Cape Howe, a distance of about two hundred miles, the shore is low, sandy and barren. Hills, however, are discoverable at a considerable distance inland; but of these, or the interjacent country, nothing whatever is known. The character of the coast still continues the same, or nearly so, from Cape Howe to Shoal Haven River, the only difference being, that the low, sandy beaches already noticed occasionally give place on this part of the coast to stony hills, or extensive swamps. Among these swamps, unfit for culture, and uninviting even to the savage, the mode may be studied by which in this extraordinary portion of the world, the earth encroaches upon the dominions of the ocean. Here a process, similar to that which bestowed Lower Egypt upon the children of Misraim, and which is alluded to by Herodotus and described by Volney, is now going on before our eyes. A small bay, or inlet of the sea, is first cut off from the great body of waters by a sand-bank thrown up by the action of the waves, and thus becomes a detached lagoon; the sun evaporating the enclosed waters, and plants springing up in the mud, the lagoon by degrees becomes a marsh. As the process of evaporation proceeds, the mud assumes greater consistency, vegetation becomes more active, rank jungles are formed, trees spring up, and at length the waters are excluded altogether, and man finds the soil firm enough for his footsteps.

From Shoal Haven River to Breaksea Spit, the shore is of a bolder and more varied character, consisting sometimes, as in the neighbourhood of Port Jackson, of a range of lofty, perpendicular cliffs, alternating with low, sandy beaches, backed by lagoons. In this line of coast there are numerous natural harbours, some of which are capable of receiving vessels of all sizes, while others are only adapted for smaller craft. For some

distance farther northward, the shore assumes a new aspect, the margin of the sea being covered with impenetrable forests of mangroves; but when we have passed Shoal Water Bay, and Broad Sound, the land swells into lofty hills, the roots of which run out in bold promontories into the Pacific. From this point to Cape York the curse of barrenness prevails upon the coast, there being, according to captain King, nothing like a river or spring of any consequence to be found in a space of seven hundred miles. Doubling Cape York, and following the vast sweep of the Gulf of Carpenteria, for upwards of nine hundred miles, we find a shore equally barren, and presenting to the eye nothing but vast sheets of blue mud or sand, with a back-ground of marsh, flooded in rainy weather and scorched to dust during droughts. This line of coast terminates at Cape Wesel, but little or no change takes place in the character of the soil. Even where a river exists, it is said to roll its fruitless waters over sterile plains; but this can only be true of the vicinity of the sea, for the thickly-wooded hills, discoverable in the distance, prove that the desert which stretches round this portion of the island is merely a narrow belt.

Proceeding onward from Cape Van Diemen to Northwest Cape, we still find low shores, burnt up during the dry season, inundated during the rains, and covered over, at intervals, by thick forests of mangroves, by vast beds of salt, or by saline plants. It is probable that the description given of this part of the coast by navigators resembles that which, according to Plutarch, in his Life of Theseus, ancient geographers were accustomed to give of all remote and little explored regions: "here, said they, in their maps, are nothing but impassable morasses, or trackless deserts." Four hundred miles, at least, of this coast, have only been seen at intervals from a distance out at sea; and the imaginations of those who thus glanced at it as they were driven along before the wind, being rather gloomy than cheerful, the land was at once pronounced to be unfertile and uninhabitable. Few countries, however, could be judged of correctly from such flying observations. In sailing along the shores of England or France we should frequently, were we to trust implicitly to the aspect of the coast, pronounce the soil to be eminently barren, while behind the bleak cliffs, vallies and plains of the greatest luxuriance and beauty are found.

From Northwest Cape to Cape Leewin the character of the [illegible] exception of the small portion surveyed by [illegible] appears to be little if at all known. The French

expedition under Baudin sailed along it, and bestowed names on a few islands and promontories, but added very little to our knowledge of the country; and captain King, imagining that the task had been performed by them, appears to have sailed coolly along the shore, without examining it at all. From lat. 31°, however, to Cape Leewin, the soil has been found so fertile, the air so balmy and refreshing, and the scenery so fine, that it has been proposed to bestow the name of Australian Hesperia upon the country; and, although this boyish piece of pedantry be ridiculous, it must be confessed that the character of the coast in the neighbourhood of the Swan River is exceedingly different from that which the older navigators attributed to the whole western coast of New Holland.

From Cape Leewin to Port Lincoln, the coast, if we can at all rely on the hasty and imperfect observations of those navigators by whom it has been examined, still presents a low and barren aspect to the ocean, excepting the five hundred miles immediately west of the Bight, which consist of one unbroken line of cliff, six hundred feet high, frowning over the ocean, and concealing completely the nature of the country behind it. Eastward of the Bight, the shore swells into high well-wooded hills, terminating at Wilson's Promontory, the point from which we set out.

In this hasty glance round the shores of this vast continent, or island, it will be perceived that nothing has been said of the embouchure of any large river. No river of any magnitude has in fact been found to pour its waters into the ocean on any side of the island; and the author of the Picture of Australia, who seems to place a little too much reliance on the reports of navigators, concludes from this circumstance that no such river exists. It should be remembered, however, that on the north-west coast, which has been only partially seen from a great distance, captain King found violent currents setting out from the land, and thence concluded very justly that he was passing the embouchures of some vast rivers. Subsequently a salt river of great magnitude has been discovered in the interior, but where it rises, or whither it flows, has not yet been determined. Whatever may become of the Lachlan and Macquarie, which are irrationally supposed to terminate in a marsh, it is utterly improbable that the vast body of waters which constitutes the newly-discovered stream should be dissipated in morasses. It is not easy, however, to understand upon what grounds Mr. Cunningham conjectures that this river must flow through nearly the whole length of New Holland, a probable length, considering the usual course of rivers, of not less than

six or seven thousand miles, and fall into the sea on the north-west coast, between Cape Baskerville and Cape Levegne, in lat. 17°. The course of the river, where captain Sturt, its discoverer, saw it, was towards the south-west; and, unless the nature of the country, which, however, is hitherto unknown, forbid it, the more probable inference would be, that it must fall into Spencer's Gulf, above Point Lowly. Mr. Cunningham says, indeed, that having had a long conversation with captain Sturt, he was induced to believe that, although it was flowing in a south-westerly direction where it was discovered, and as far as its course was observed by captain Sturt, it afterwards made a bend toward the north-west. But upon what grounds was he induced to form this opinion, which, by his own account of the matter, it is clear was not that of captain Sturt himself? "The result of this conversation was," says he, "to induce me to give it as my opinion," &c.—evidently insinuating that, on this point at least, his opinion differed altogether from that of the discoverer. He afterwards, indeed, alludes to his true reason for conducting the waters of the Darling to the north-west coast; which is simply a desire to support some particular theory which he has formed of the interior. But, as there exist no materials at all from which any rational theory can be formed, he might as well have given us a theory of the interior of the moon.

At present, however, as the interior is nearly unknown, and as the mouth of no great river has yet been discovered on any part of the coast, the most interesting inquiry appears to be, whether the new settlement near the Swan River, on the western shores of New Holland, possesses any real advantages over the colonies in New South Wales. The best mode of determining this point appears to be, to recapitulate concisely the characteristics of both sides of the island, and allow the comparison to be tacitly made by the reader himself. The "Australian Hesperia" of the Quarterly Review, extending from latitude 31° to latitude 34° 30′ south, is estimated to contain from five to six millions of acres, of which the greater part is supposed to be fit for the plough. On this tract of land it is calculated that at least a million of souls might find comfortable subsistence. It must be allowed, however, that the examination of the country by captain Stirling was rapidly and imperfectly performed, and that the language in which he describes it is particularly vague. "We found," says he, "the country in general rich and romantic, gained the summit of the first range of mountains, and had a bird's-eye view of an immense plain, which extended as far as the eye could reach to the northward,

southward, and westward. After ten days absence, we returned to the ship; we encountered no difficulty that was not easily removable (and therefore no difficulty); we were furnished with abundance of fresh provisions by our guns, and met with no obstruction from the natives." The Quarterly Review, through whose paper captain Stirling has laid his account before the public, appears desirous of throwing discredit upon the French account of this coast by saying that "captain Stirling describes the weather as very different from that which the French experienced;" which will not appear to be a very extraordinary circumstance, when it is added, that the former visited the country in the beginning of Autumn, and the latter in the beginning of Winter. There is usually, even in England, some little difference between September and December.

The climate of the New, or "Australian Hesperia," appears to be somewhat humid. The Summer winds are said to be invariably accompanied by rain, and the land and sea breezes create a moisture in the atmosphere, which renders the climate cool and agreeable. It is not added that it is thus also rendered salubrious. The same coolness and agreeableness are produced by the same means at Lima in Peru, in the Konkan, and in Malabar; but they are purchased with agues, fevers, and a hundred similar evils. It must, however, be allowed, that if this moisture be not particularly favourable to human life, it greatly promotes vegetation, and mainly contributes to the keeping up of that rich and romantic appearance, which captain Stirling so much admires. The gentle zephyrs which sport upon the shores of this Hesperian land appear to possess very powerful wings, for in the course of their summer gambols they have, in imitation of the whirlwind and the hurricane, lifted up the sand from the beach, and scattered it over the whole face of the hills, a circumstance which seems to have favoured the old opinion that this side of the island was a sterile waste. It appears, however, that having passed the limestone ridge, generally about three miles in breadth, which runs along the sea shore, we find a plain, the average breadth of which may be about thirty miles, extending to the foot of the mountain range, which runs almost parallel with the coast line.

Coal has not yet been found at the Swan River, but there appears to be the greatest probability that abundant mines of it exist there. Fresh water is plentiful; and upon the mountains trees of enormous magnitude were observed. But the advantages of this colony are thus briefly recapitulated by Mr. Fraser, the scientific companion of captain Stirling:—

'In giving my opinion of the land seen on the banks of the Swan River, I hesitate not in pronouncing it superior to any I ever saw in New South Wales, east of the Blue Mountains, not only in its local character, but in the many existing advantages which it holds out to settlers. These advantages I consider to be,

'First, the evident superiority of the soil.

'Secondly, the facility with which a settler can bring his farm into a state of immediate culture, in consequence of the open state of the country, which allows not a greater average than two trees to an acre.

'Thirdly, the general abundance of springs, producing water of the best quality, and the consequent permanent humidity of the soil; two advantages not existing on the eastern coast. And,

'Fourthly, the advantages of water-carriage to his door, and the non-existence of impediments to land-carriage.'

Let us now turn to the eastern shores of the island. New South Wales, which has been described by so many writers that we may be supposed to possess the materials for forming a just idea of it, has been divided into ten provinces, of which the most important is Cumberland. This province, which was the first settled, and contains the capital of New South Wales, extends about fifty miles along the shore, from the mouth of the Hawkesbury River to the commencement of the Illawarra forest. Its greatest breadth may be estimated at about forty miles. Although fertility be not the general characteristic of Cumberland, certain portions of it, as the banks of the Hawkesbury River, and the Cow Pasture Plains, are of extraordinary richness, and the general appearance of the country, rising into gentle hills, and studded with elegant villas, is luxuriant and picturesque. It has been our good fortune to be favoured with the valuable MS. Journal of Mr. Dawson, the late agent to the Australian Agricultural Company: a document full of interest and novelty, to which the present article will be largely indebted; and which, it is with pleasure we add, will ere long be given to the world. Of Cumberland Mr. Dawson says he found the country different in some degree from the idea he had previously formed of it from the published descriptions. It is not in general, he says, so picturesque and romantic as is imagined at home, though the scenery is sometimes very fine. The traveller has to go many miles through woods, even in the located districts, without seeing any traces of human habitations; and when he approaches a settled place, he most frequently discovers a house with a few straggling small buildings, in the midst of fifty or a hundred acres of cleared or partially cleared land, surrounded by interminable forests. Occasionally dwellings of more imposing exterior, with farms, out-houses, &c. as in England, are

met with, in fine situations, commanding views beyond the surrounding woodland; but very few of these are found twenty miles from Sydney. Where the soil is pretty good, it is lightly timbered, occasionally resembling a gentleman's park; but the traveller soon loses this idea on finding no mansion at the end of the scene. In fact he plods on all day from park to park, as it were, and lies down at night, with his horse tethered beside him, near some pool of water. He there strikes a light, and kindles a fire to boil his tea-kettle and fry his bacon. If he be rich enough he will of course have a sumpter horse and a tent; but if not, the hard ground and a blanket are his bed and covering. If it should rain, he strips off a sheet of bark from the nearest tree, and lies down under it, sheltered and secure. Even should he get wet, he scarcely ever takes cold, or experiences any other than a momentary inconvenience, which he forgets as soon as he puts himself in motion in the morning.

The province of Camden, which lies between the Cow Pasture and Wingee-Caribbee Rivers, extends indefinitely towards the south. The coast is covered with a thick forest; and a lofty chain of hills, called the Merrigong Range, running parallel with the shore, traverses the whole province. On both sides of these hills, but particularly on the eastern, a vast extent of level lands, called the Cow Pasture Plains, was formerly over-run by herds of wild cattle, which, having escaped from the farms of the early colonists, and betaken themselves to the woods, were discovered fifteen years afterwards on these plains, immensely increased in numbers. Settlements, however, have been at length formed in this district, and, in spite of the government, which has made every exertion to preserve them, the wild herds have almost vanished before the depredatory colonists. The Illawarra district, which forms the most extraordinary feature in the scenery of this province, commences about forty miles to the south of Sydney, and extends as far as Shoal Haven River. On the east, this vast and singular forest, which by its luxuriant tropical character, reminds the traveller of the woods of Gundwana or Orissa, is bounded by the ocean; and a high range of hills, rising abruptly from the sea, sweeps round its back from north to south, and terminates at the Shoal Haven River. In this forest, among numerous trees which science has not yet named, the cabbage palm towers to a vast height, and the red cedar abounds; and, to add to the tropical appearance of the scene, a thick jungle is every where found.

In Argyle, another of the southern provinces the limits of which have not yet been determined, the land is wild, lofty, and covered with deep snow during the winter months. Here the

kangaroo, the emu, the wild duck, and every other species of Australian game, are found in the greatest abundance. Extensive marshes, and immense barren flats, occupy the interior of Argyle, in which two large lakes, and the sources of numerous small streams have been discovered.

Westmoreland, which occupies the eastern slope of the Blue Mountains, extends northward from Argyle to the parallel of Broken Bay. The surface of this province is rough and irregular, but rich in scenery and not destitute of fertility.

The maritime province of Northumberland has been but partially explored; but, although the sea coast is far from indicating it, the interior, which is an elevated plateau like the interior of Upper Normandy, is said to be fertile and salubrious.

Of a portion of the province of Durham we are enabled, from the interesting manuscript journal of Mr. Dawson, to give a fuller and more satisfactory account than has yet been published.—The writer left Port Stephens on the 10th of November, that is, in the early part of the summer, and proceeded for a short distance by water. Landing in the evening, and encamping during the night in the woods,

'We proceeded,' he says, 'next morning, about four miles, through a rather poor but grassy country, alternating between low hills and flats, near the banks of the Karuah. After crossing the stream called Hawthorn's River, we found the country improve, until we arrived at the River Stroud, where it assumes a still superior aspect. The soil here is remarkably rich, lightly timbered, and adapted either for grazing or cultivation. It is also exceedingly well watered by various streams which fall into the Karuah.'

'Having crossed the Stroud, we proceeded northward, keeping as near the Karuah as the deep jungle on the west would permit, and at length came up to the edge of the stream near a conical hill, which the natives call Telligary. The distance from the Stroud to this hill and its connecting range may be about three miles, the country in the intermediate space being of various character, some portion being poorer, but the greater portion consisting of low undulating hills, lightly timbered with apple tree, the almost never failing sign of good land. For about a mile and a half further we followed the course of the Karuah, over several rich alluvial flats, or meadows, alternating with low forest hills of good quality. After crossing other rich meadows, and stony but grassy hills, well adapted for sheep walks, we reached a very beautiful little valley, watered by the Karuah, and two smaller streams, which there pour their tributary waters into that river. Here we encamped for the night. Our native guides, who had now, however, travelled beyond their experience, saw near our resting place some tracks of their wild brethren of the woods, and betrayed strong symptoms of fear. This is always the case when they approach strange tribes, savages always regarding

strangers in the same light as enemies. Great numbers of kangaroos were seen in this valley.

'From this spot we proceeded onward through rich meadow land, and crossed a ridge of low but very rich hills, on which I bestowed the name of Davis's Hills. The country around was very much broken, and many of the hills of considerable elevation, the herbage on their sides being very fine, and well adapted for sheep. Having passed these hills, we came suddenly upon a large tract of country thickly timbered and of inferior quality, over which the fire had recently spread. The fire had evidently been occasioned by the natives, whose footsteps were tracked over the burnt ground with intense interest, by our sable friends, who appeared greatly alarmed at the idea of coming in contact with them. On a sudden they stopped and crouched, like so many setters pointing at their game, making signs to me at the same time, and calling out softly, and with extraordinary animation, "Black fellow, massa! black fellow, massa!"

'At the same moment I saw a party of about twenty natives, at a short distance in front of us, squatted round a fire, over which they appeared to be roasting their food. As I was alone with my black guides at some distance ahead of our party, I made signs to the latter to halt, lest the strangers should run off through fear, before I could approach them. The two blacks who accompanied me reluctantly consented to advance behind my horse, until they saw no signs of opposition from the tribe, when they came forward with their muskets, holding up their hands in token of peace, at the same time talking loudly in their own language, which was answered in the same tone by the strangers.

'When we had approached to within about thirty yards of them, they suddenly appeared to be alarmed, and running to a tree near the fire, where they had placed their spears, they snatched up their arms, and put themselves in a warlike attitude, pointing their weapons at me, as if intending to throw immediately. I now ordered my friends to fire upon them, if they intended to hurt us; and I instantly cocked my pistols to do the same. On calling out hastily to them, however, in a threatening tone, in their own language, they threw down their spears, and ran off to a bush close by, where they all concealed themselves, except two, who approached us in a friendly attitude. When I saw their design, I immediately advanced to meet them. We shook hands cordially; and, in token of friendship, I gave them such things as I considered most useful to them, particularly tomahawks. In return they presented some of their roasted kangaroo to the guides, who seemed greatly to enjoy the repast, as well as the conversation that ensued, which was a long one. Those who had run away, could not, however, be induced to return, though strongly intreated by their two companions.

'After leaving the [illegible] led over a fine grassy forest country, consisting [illegible] high ranges on the right, while on t[illegible] ckly timbered

flat of inferior soil. Through these forests we made our way with considerable difficulty, and afterwards emerged on a fine plain, covered with tender grass.'

Mr. Dawson found the land in the immediate vicinity of the Karuah, the course of which he was still pursuing, to be a fine grassy plain, which as it receded from the stream swelled up into gently undulating hills, thinly covered with trees. "The scenery," he says, "was here beautiful, and resembled a gentleman's ornamented grounds in England." Kangaroos were seen in great numbers, and one, weighing upwards of one hundred and fifty pounds, was killed. Rich grassy plains, and low hills covered with trees, were discovered as far as the eye could reach; and the vallies between the ranges were watered by numerous beautiful streams.

During the fifth day's journey the party discovered a fine river, which they called the Avon:

'We crossed it,' says Mr. Dawson, 'at a fording-place, and encamped on the other side, on the verge of an extensive and exceedingly rich plain. The waters of the Avon are excellent, and abound with fish, chiefly perch, which we caught easily with bent pins baited with grasshoppers. We here saw some wild ducks. Kangaroos, too, were feeding in the meadows in considerable flocks, unusually tame, and of a larger size than common. Our native companions being excellent shots, and keen sportsmen in every other respect, we were never without duck, pigeon, quail, kangaroo, or fish. We had five natives. Of these three led our packhorses, a fourth wheeled the perambulator, and the fifth led the kangaroo dogs, and looked out the game, which he did most dexterously and with signs of pleasure and animation not to be described.'

These brief testimonies of Mr. Dawson in favour of the natives, tend strongly to shake the opinion vulgarly entertained of their intellect and character, especially as they come from a person of much natural sagacity, and whose powers of observation had been considerably increased by experience.

The greater number of those writers who, in their reasonings on human nature, have had occasion to allude to the aboriginal inhabitants of Australia, appear to have delighted in representing them as the last link in the chain of humanity.

M. Bory de St. Vincent, who delivers his opinions in a very decisive tone, appears to dwell with peculiar satisfaction on the disgusting picture of these poor savages which his fancy has produced. Their retreating forehead, their distended nostrils, their hideously prominent lips, which constitute a snout, give them, in his opinion, a striking the mandril ape; and nature having refused

point of resemblance which wrinkles and a peculiar colour would furnish, they have been at the pains to supply the defect by art. Their eye-brows are thick and projecting; their mustachios thickest on the middle of the lip; their hair is black, but neither crisp nor woolly, generally falling in large masses, something resembling curls. It never, he says, grows very long. The beard seems to be scanty, though the whiskers are bushy enough. This writer allows, however, that they possess fine dark eyes not expressive of ferocity. The ear, though large, is well formed. The body is stout, and well proportioned; but the arms, thighs, and legs, both in men and women, are unnaturally slender. They are accordingly weak, in comparison with Europeans. The women are not much wider across the loins than the men; though their breasts, which grow long with age, are at first large, firm, and hemispherical.

This description of their physical form, however, is much nearer the truth than that which follows of their moral condition. It is here that the genuine resemblance to the brute is found. Aristotle imagined that man could not exist in total ignorance of the social state; but M. Bory de St. Vincent is of a quite different opinion. Here, he says, are human beings without religion, without laws, without arts, living in pairs, entirely ignorant of the first principles of society. To add still more to their brutality, they are utterly destitute of modesty, have no clothing, no habitation, not even a tent to defend their bodies against the inclemency of the seasons, to which they expose themselves with the most stupid resignation. Nature itself seems to have condemned them to perpetual wretchedness, having bestowed upon them a country which produces no eatable fruit, no nutritive root, no animal which can be domesticated.

Virey, in his "Histoire Naturelle du Genre Humain," presents us with a still more frightful picture of the poor Australians. Agreeing with his old enemy Bory de St. Vincent in describing them as resembling monkeys, he adds that they have woolly hair, small eyes, haggard looks, cocked-up noses, enormous beastly mouths, and round bellies like an alderman. The women, who, he says, have ugly hanging breasts, are re- [illegible] for their extreme lasciviousness, even from their [illegible] ears. He is more generous, however, in some re- [illegible] his rival declaimer; for, having denounced these [illegible] the lowest and most brutal of the human race, [illegible] them a few of the comforts of the state of [illegible] the bow a [illegible], and great skill in the [illegible] ty, howe [illegible] rried him too far; for,

however skilful the Australian may be in the chase, he has not yet been found in possession of the bow and arrow.

M. Lesson, who is in general a better-informed writer than the preceding, agrees with Bory de St. Vincent in describing these miserable negroes as buried in the most profound ignorance and wretchedness, and in a state of moral degradation which almost places them on a level with the brute. He does not, however, assert that they live like the inferior animals in pairs, ignorant of all ideas of society; but remarks that they are collected into small tribes, which have no communication with each other. It is difficult to understand precisely what he means by "communication." These little tribes are sometimes at peace, and sometimes at war, with each other; and this, we imagine, is to have some kind of communication. Besides, it is ascertained that many of these tribes speak the same language; and that persons living in the vicinity of each other, and speaking the same language, should have no manner of communication, is difficult to be conceived.

To make out the case against these savages completely, M. Lesson observes that of all the social habits of their white neighbours they only adopt such as are vicious and degrading; for example, the habit of drinking. But is not this the case with the poor and the miserable, even in the most polished countries of Europe? If we blame these wild men for not adopting virtues of which we fear they catch but few glimpses among the colonists, what are we to say of the canaille of Europe, who, amid all the blaze of science and civilization, refuse to be philosophers, and remain obstinately and blindly attached to vice and misery? According to this mode of reasoning the body of every nation in Europe are still savages, ignorance and vice being every where more prevalent than knowledge and virtue. The pleasures of the senses are the most intelligible of all pleasures; and in the hands of a man of acapacity for legislation the love of the Australian for these pleasures might be converted into a means of civilizing him.

But the most absurd accusation of all is to come. M. Lesson charges these poor creatures with immodesty, because they go entirely naked without shame. But were our first parents immodest in Paradise? Are our children immodest, because, if not prevented, they would run about, as they do in Hindoostan, in the same state? The immodesty is in the writer's own mind. The connexion between the idea of modesty and the idea of clothing is arbitrary; and if the naked savage perform no indecent action, he may be regarded as at least equal in point of modesty to a Parisian whether in breec

petticoats. Besides, it is well known that among many nations highly civilized, nakedness is sometimes regarded as a sign of purity. The ascetics of Hindoostan, who profess an extraordinary degree of virtue, go entirely unclad. The ancient Greeks represented many of their Gods and Goddesses naked; and civilized ladies, of unimpeachable virtue, view these statues without a blush. To a truly modest mind, as Livia finely remarked to Augustus, a naked human being, whether male or female, is but a statue.

To contrast, in some measure, with the accounts of the above writers, with whom Mr. Malthus exactly agrees, we shall now present the reader with Mr. Dawson's description of the manners and character of these people. On many points he concurs with the writers whose opinions we have been detailing. He observes, for example, that both in men and women the arms, the thighs and the legs are too slender for the body; but he saw no corpulent persons in the country. The forehead was always retreating; the eye-brows bushy; the eyes black and piercing, but deep sunken. The nose, however, instead of being cocked up, as M. Virey describes it, is most frequently aquiline, though it is sometimes found artificially flattened. The hair of the head is always, as it is well described by Péron, long and lank; but with some individuals it is finer, with others coarser, as in Europe. The hair of the children is generally soft and fine, like their skins. M. Lacépede gravely asserts that the Negroes are white when first born, and only become black gradually as the air operates upon their complexions. The Australian when first born is of a bright copper-colour, and if he afterwards grows darker, the change is rather attributable to the oil, soot, and ochre, with which he incessantly daubs himself, than to the effects of climate. The beard is short and curly, but very thick. As this appendage, however, is rather regarded as a nuisance than an ornament, the Australian contrives with a burning stick to shave himself, on particular occasions. When he is fortunate enough to procure a European to operate with a razor upon his chin, he conceives himself, like the Turcoman chief in Hajjî Baba, to be in possession of supreme felicity, and grins from ear to ear with inexpressible gratitude. In fact had M. Lesson but once beheld one of these chocolate-coloured Australians under the hands of a skilful barber, he would no longer have despaired of their civiliza-[illegible] The cheek bones are high, as in the Tartar race, and the [illegible] has a square cast, like that of the Mongols.

[illegible] w appear to have made but little progress in the [illegible] are not, as [illegible] de St. Vincent imagines,

insensible to the advantages of a comfortable hut; but on the contrary, whenever the inclemency of the weather renders shelter desirable, they erect very neat little dwellings with poles and twigs, the door of which is always on the lee side. On that side also the fire is kindled, that the wind may bear the smoke away from the hut. They are, moreover, extremely particular in the choice of their food; never eat any thing raw or tainted; and select the purest water to drink. They are, however, a voracious people; generally drink ardent spirits, in the neighbourhood of the colonies; and, consequently perhaps, are remarkably short-lived.

The women, as among all other nations, are smaller than the men. M. Lesson asserts that they are still uglier and more disgusting; but this is not the fact. On the contrary, among the young women, Mr. Dawson saw many that were very pretty, and, except that their limbs were somewhat too slender, particularly well formed. Their bosoms were full and handsome, their waists small, and the breadth across the loins corresponding with the developement of the form above.

Instead of the extraordinary lasciviousness attributed to them by M. Virey, the women of Australia exhibit a remarkable fidelity to their husbands, and, as might be inferred from that circumstance, are fond and affectionate mothers. Adultery is punished with excessive severity. The first act of courtship, savage as it seems, is generally a mere ceremony, to which the women submit not unwillingly. The savage has no time for long courtship, and knocks his mistress down, and carries her off by force, that her virtue may appear unimpeachable, and her resistance great. After this cruel ceremony, she is not generally ill-treated. Mr. Dawson, in fact, observes that the Australians seldom or never make use of any thing which is given to them, without sharing it to the last morsel with their wives. Accordingly, when the husband dies, he is long and deeply lamented by his wife, who would not, in such a state of society, affect or feel grief for a tyrant.

Having made these general remarks, we shall present the reader with an extract or two from Mr. Dawson's Journal, which contains more valuable information on this subject than any printed book with which we are acquainted.

'The natives,' says the Journal, 'are naturally a mild and harmless race of savages, and where any mischief has been done by them, it has generally arisen, I believe, from the bad conduct of their white neighbours. I have, perhaps, had more intercourse with these people, short as my residence has been here, and more favourable opportunities of seeing what they are, than any other person in the colony.

My object has always been to conciliate them, to give them an interest in cultivating our friendship, and to afford them protection against injuries and insults. They have commonly been treated, in distant parts of the colony, as if they had been dogs, and been shot by convict servants for the most trifling offences. There has, perhaps, been more of this done near this establishment, and on the banks of the two rivers which empty themselves into the harbour, than in any other parts of the colony. The speculators in timber formerly obtained licences from the governor to cut cedar and blue gum for exportation, on lands not located. As much of these kinds of timber was discovered in this quarter, parties of sawyers and fellers were sent hither to procure them. These persons are generally desperadoes, emancipists as they are called; and sometimes convicts are mingled with them, commanded by an overseer, who is generally a fit leader for this kind of banditti. These persons, who are the first to come in contact with the natives, conciliate them, as long as they can make them subservient to their wishes; but they soon contrive to offend them, by striking them, shooting them, or taking away their wives; and the consequences are just such as might be expected. These wild men lie in ambush, and spear their oppressors when they can; and the result generally is, the flight of the whites to another part of the country.

'When I arrived at Port Stephens, the natives frequently complained to me, that the whites had shot their relations and friends, and showed me many orphans whose parents had thus fallen near this spot. They pointed out one white man, on his coming to beg some provisions for his party on the river Karuah, who, they said, had killed ten, and the wretch did not deny it, but said he would kill them whenever he could.

'Having, from my first landing here, done every thing in my power to prove to these poor natives that I intended to be their friend and protector, a growing confidence, which is now complete, has been the result. During a short residence at Port Stephens, previous to the arrival of the servants of the establishment, I was visited by a considerable tribe of natives, who were very desirous of being on friendly terms with us. I encouraged this disposition, by presenting them with such food as we could spare, and also a quantity of tobacco, of which they are particularly fond. I also gave to each man a tomahawk (or mago, as they call it), which they prize above all earthly things. They are likewise very fond of biscuit, bread, or flour, which they knead and bake in the ashes, as they see our people do. But the article of food which appeared most delicious to them, was the boiled meal of Indian corn; and, next to that, corn roasted in the ashes, like chesnuts. Of sugar too, as well as of every thing sweet, they are inordinately fond; and one of their greatest treats is to get an Indian bag, which has contained sugar. This they cut in pieces, and boil in water, which they then drink, until they sometimes become intoxicated, or blown out, like an ox in clover, and can drink no more.

'Having discovered what things were most to their taste, I informed them, on setting out for Sydney, that I should soon return in a *corbon* (large) ship, with a *murry* (great) number of white people, and *murry tousend* things for them to eat. Upon this they set up a great shout, and expressed the same kind of boisterous pleasure as school-boys do, when a holiday, or any very agreeable thing, is promised them by the master. They promised to get—"Murry tousend bark. O plenty black fellow, massa, got plenty bark. Tree, four, pive nangry (three, four, five days) make plenty bark for white fellow, massa. You come back soon—we look out for corbon ship, on corbon water (the sea). We tee (see) massa, we look out, we get it bark!" After this they chattered among themselves, laughing incessantly, and appearing overjoyed at what was to come. I then gave them a sugar bag, with some sugar, and an iron pot to boil it in. These they bore off in triumph to their camp, a short distance from my tent; and when the delicious beverage was prepared, they sent to inform me, that, with my permission, they would perform a corrabaree, or dance. Of course I consented, and they proceeded to make an immense fire with dried wood, and then set their sugar-pot by the side of it. After this I observed that they all retired to their camp for a short time, and when they returned, I noticed that their bodies were painted in different parts with pipe-clay, in a very curious and even handsome manner. They had chalked straight lines from the ankle up the outside of the thighs, which made them appear by fire-light as if dressed in Hussar pantaloons. Their faces were painted with red ochre, and their breasts with serpentine lines, interspersed with dots. They were perfectly naked, as they always are, and in this state they began to dance.

'A man, and one or two women, act as musicians, striking two sticks together, and singing one of their rude songs. The dance is exceedingly pretty and amusing; but the kind of motion of the limbs is such as no European could imitate. It resembles that of one of those puppet harlequins sold to children at fairs, more than any thing else. They sometimes change places in a confused manner, and then file off in pairs; after which they return with increased ardour in a phalanx, four or five deep, keeping up the harlequin-like motion altogether, in the best time possible, and making a noise with their lips like—"proo, proo, proo," which then changes to grunting like the kangaroo, of whose voice this is an imitation. It is not unlike that of a pig. Their eyes were all turned towards me, and when I laughed, and appeared much pleased, they quickened their motions. At length, when they were tired, they turned their backs, and disunited with a loud shout, which gradually turned into a hearty laugh.

'During the dance, I observed the women standing in a circle by themselves, practising a curious kind of motion with their legs. The calves of the legs are brought sharply in contact, and produce a sound like that of the clappers which are used in gardens to frighten away birds, only less loud. On inquiring why they did not dance with the men, I could get no other answer than that they never did.

'The natives are the best-natured people in the world, and would never hurt a white man if treated with civility and kindness. I would trust myself any where with them, and with my own blacks, as I call them by my side, I should fear no enemy I could meet with in the bush. They are excellent shots, and I often lend them a musket to shoot kangaroos, which is always taken care of and returned. When away from the settlements they appear to have no settled place of residence, although they have a district of country which they call their own, and in some part of which they are always to be found. There is not as far as I can learn, any king or chief among them. They have certain customs and ceremonies which appear to be common to all the tribes, and they meet in large bodies to inflict punishments on members who offend against certain rules, but I could never discover the authority which calls them together, or regulates the measure of punishment.

'In general, the culprit, whatever be his offence, is compelled to stand for a certain time, with a target in his hand, and defend himself from the spear of whoever among the assembled multitude chooses to throw at him. They are so dexterous that accidents seldom happen; though the criminal is sometimes killed.

'Of their wars and the motives which lead to them, little is known. One tribe receives, or supposes it receives, injury from another. A challenge is sent, but from what authority, or of what kind, no one appears to know. If I inquire, they will not inform me. They meet, however, on an appointed day. At first a good deal of parleying takes place in tones of defiance. They menace each other with their spears, and by flourishing their short clubs or waddys, stamping all the while with their feet. Then they retire for a moment, and again come to close quarters, pushing each other about, their tones of defiance becoming more violent, till they are at last worked up to a state of fury. This being the proper moment for beginning they roar out the word "*worr! worr! worr!*" (dwelling with deep emphasis on the *r*) and fall-to with their waddys upon each other's head, dealing about blows that would fell an ox, until two or three individuals fall, or are disabled, when the victorious party utter a terrible shout or yell. Sometimes after hard fighting they retire a little, flourish their clubs in the air with loud menaces and violent gestures, and then they fall-to again until they are tired, when they generally disperse with their heads broken or bleeding. They seldom kill each other. Their spears are not used upon such occasions, although they carry them to the fight, and menace each other with them. Their skulls are found to be much thicker than those of Europeans; and were not this the case, they would be crushed by the first blow of such a weapon as the waddy.

'The women, who frequently suffer from the violence of their husbands temper, perform all the drudgery of the family, as is the case among all savages. They bring home the fire-wood; make the nets for fishing; and carry every thing which is borne about with the tribe except their instruments of war. They make string out of bark with astonishing facility, and as good as you can get in England, by twisting

and rolling it on the thigh in a curious manner with the palm of the hand. With this they make nets, larger than a cabbage net, of curious workmanship, the meshes being almost as small as those of a purse, and not a knot being any where to be found in them, except at the finishing. These nets are suspended to a string tied round their foreheads, and hanging down their backs, serve as work-bags, or reticules. These contain all the little articles they carry with them, such as fishing-hooks, made from oyster-shells; prepared bark for string, and gum for gluing their war and fishing spears; and sometimes oysters and fish, when they move from the shore to the interior. With this net, and frequently a child astride on their shoulders, they move off with the men, generally in parties. They are remarkably fond of their children, and if their parents die, the children are adopted by the unmarried men and women, and are taken the greatest care of. They are exceedingly kind and generous to each other, although their women work like slaves when it is necessary. If I give tobacco, or anything else to one of these men, he shares it unasked with the first person he meets. When in company with others around a fire, a man never eats anything given to him, till he has first given a part of it to his wife, or the other women near him.

The following is deeply interesting :—

'On reaching a place where I had established some sawyers, about four miles from the harbour, I found that two of the wives of our imported servants had eloped with two emancipated convicts; that their husbands, accompanied by a constable, had been in search of them, but in vain; that in returning home with some natives, who also assisted in the search, the constable had either accidentally, or by design, killed the principal black of all the tribes in the vicinity. The sawyers appeared dreadfully alarmed, saying that vengeance would certainly be taken; that as they were at the outposts, they would be the first to be speared; and that they must immediately be furnished with fire-arms to protect themselves. To this, however, I did not agree, as I believed my influence over the natives, and the power I possessed to send off the offender, would satisfy them, and preserve the peace.

'The two natives who accompanied me stood mute on hearing the news. Their features betrayed no unusual concern, and they said not a word till we took our departure for a station where I had established a farm. After leaving the sawyers I began by saying I was sorry that poor Tong had been killed; that I had liked him and all black fellows much; that I had sent two white fellows off to be hanged, for killing little Tommy of the Myall; and that I would have the constable hanged too. This seemed to satisfy them in some measure, and we at length arrived at the farm. Their cheerfulness, however, had fled, and they sat down by the fire in the hut, sad and pensive, expressing no anxiety to eat, although before they had heard the news they had been longing for their dinner. They spoke not a word except when spoken to. I anxiously watched their motions and appearance, although I had no apprehension of danger from them. In a short

time two others, whom I had made constables, came in with sorrowful countenances; and I began to converse with them about what had happened. When I had done speaking they shook their heads in a sorrowful way, and then went up to the other two natives, and began to converse with them.

'On my arrival at the spot where the accident or crime had taken place, I found that as soon as the death of Tong had been made known to his countrymen, they all crowded to the place. They tied a handkerchief over the wounds in his head, which had been shattered to pieces, and then two natives carried him off upon their shoulders, the whole multitude following, and crying and howling most piteously. They were moving on in this way, in the most regular and decent order possible, when the surgeon and my nephew arrived to examine the body. This would not have been permitted to any other white people, as they never allow the bodies of the dead to be seen if they can avoid it. Respect for us, however, induced them to put down the body after a little explanation, but the examination appeared to excite a good deal of uneasiness, and called forth a few wild and plaintive expressions from one of the natives before mentioned, "Bail (not) dat, massa, bail dat, black fellow no like it." The surgeon left them as quickly as possible, not wishing to hurt their prejudices.

'Before my return all the natives, except about eight, who had always been employed about my tent, had left the settlement. On expressing to them my surprise that their friends had left us, they replied "Bail dat, massa, they come back again by and by. They go udder side harbour to get pipe-clay. They cry murry long time—put on pipe-clay—then come back;" and so they did. What became of the body of the deceased no white person knew, for they carefully concealed the place of interment. The oldest man of the tribe made his appearance one day, after a week's absence; and having welcomed him, I inquired why he had staid so long away. He made no answer; but one of my native domestics whispered, "Dat make it house for black fellow dat die:" meaning that he had been preparing and earthing up the grave of the deceased, whose name has never been mentioned since his death. They make their graves where they can, in a soft, sandy, soil, where they dig with their hands to a considerable depth, and as near to the birth-place of the deceased as possible.

'After a week's absence they returned in their canoes from the opposite side of the harbour, a few at a time. The women were plastered over the head, face, and breast, with pipe-clay, and those who were nearly related to the deceased were covered over with it as far as the hip bones. Their appearance was frightful, and represented the extreme of wretchedness and despair. When any of the women met me, particularly the old ones, they held up their hands, shook their heads in token of grief, and appeared to express an affection for me. I condoled with them and I always thought that we parted mutually satisfied with each other. When I inquired after the deceased's wife and son, a boy about eighteen months old, the answer was, that she was gone to the Bungwall Ground, to patter (eat) Bungwall, and to mourn; that she would return one day, but not yet. It is not usual

for them soon to return to the place where any near and dear relation has died. Bungwall is fern root, which they roast in the ashes, pound to a paste between two stones, and are very fond of. It appears to be nutritious. On inquiring for the deceased's mother, and younger son, about six years old, I was told she would soon be here, when she would come and see me. A few days ago (this account was written on the spot) I saw a miserable object coming up the hill towards my tent, pipe-clayed all over, resting at intervals, and leaning against the trees, as if too weak to come on. While I was surveying this object at a distance, the little boy came running towards me, exclaiming with all the eagerness and vivacity of a boy—"Mamma come, massa! dere mamma! look massa! you see?"—"Yes, George," said I, "I do see," and I immediately went to her. As soon as she saw me, she held up her hands, with her body bent half forward, and wept till the tears overflowed her white-washed cheeks, in streams of unaffected grief, I did every thing in my power to assuage her sorrow, and gave her a home at the farm.'

When the work from which the above extracts have been made, shall appear, the public will possess the materials for forming a just opinion on the natives of Australia. There is enough already to demonstrate the fallacy of the accounts of those whom caprice or interest has led to traduce their fellow man. The time has been, when some liberal Roman wrote thus of the inhabitants of Britain.

ART. IX.—*De Keapman fen Venetien in Julius Cesar, twa Toneelstikken fen Willem Shakspeare vut it Ingels foarfrieske trog* R. Posthumus. Drukt to Grinz, bij J. Oomkens. 1829.

The Merchant of Venice and Julius Cæsar, two plays of William Shakspeare, out of English Frisianized by R. Posthumus. Groningen. 1829.

2. *De Lapekoer fen Gabe Skroor.* Demter foar ien fen Gabes folk by J. Delange (no date, but the last edition is of 1829.)

The Remnant Basket of Gabe Skroor. Deventer for one of Gabes folks. J. Delange.

IN the Anglo-Saxon period of our history, so close was the resemblance between the English and the Frisian languages, that the first teachers of Christianity among the Frieslanders were priests who visited them from our island, and who found no difficulty in making themselves intelligible. The ancient Frisian tongue though modified and changed by time, has been preserved to a great extent even to the present day, in the open country of Friesland. It has been now and then the subject of inquiry among philologists. More than a century and a half ago, it excited especially the attention of Franciscus Junius, who spent some years in the country for the purpose of studying it more attentively, and who left the result of his investigations

with the rest of his valuable MSS. to the Bodleian library; it has occupied the researches of Professor Rask of Copenhagen who has published a Frisian Grammar, and has been collecting materials for a Frisian Dictionary; and of late a great accession of patriotic zeal has led to the creation of a society in Friesland, one of whose prominent objects is the cultivation of the national or rather provincial idiom, which has within a short time received the interesting contributions whose titles are the head of this article, and which may be considered excellent representatives of the present situation of a language, whose affinities with our own are still very remarkable; though ten centuries have been necessarily producing a greater and a greater alienation.

The old Frisian language is only to be discovered at different, distinct, and distant epochs, between which there is hardly any thing like a link of union. Probably the most ancient document left, was the Frisian hymns, of which Junius appears by his MSS. to have made so much use in the composition of his unpublished dictionary. They formed a part of the Junian collection in the Bodleian, but, according to a memorandum in the Catalogue, they were stolen from the library more than a century ago, and so little attention has been given to the subject, that the theft never, perhaps, excited an inquiry till very lately, when the works of the renowned linguist have become an object of some curiosity. The dictionary has preserved a considerable number of extracts, though perhaps scarcely enough to enable the most diligent inquirer to form a very accurate notion of the then state of the language of Friesland; nor is it quite certain there is evidence enough to decide that the Carmina Frisica were really written in the spoken tongue of that country. Those who have studied the Gothic dialects whether in their Teutonic or their Scandinavian form, know how difficult it is to affix to many of them their precise locality. An undetermined orthography adds not a little to the perplexity of the examination, and the narrow extent over which a language is spoken instead of diminishing, only increases the difficulty, as fewer authorities combine to mark the common standard. Even in the time of Fr. Junius, the orthography was so little fixed, that the writings of their living authors are found with very different modes of spelling; and in our days the two books which are taken as the immediate subject of this article, and which emanate from the two individuals who must undoubtedly be considered as the greatest living authorities, represent an orthography so unlike, as frequently to cause considerable embarrassment to the reader who is unacquainted with the systems of both.

In a large part of ancient Friesland the language has left no traces behind it in the present day. In East Friesland it has been superseded by the Low German, or *Platt-teutsch*, and in Groningen by the common Dutch, modified by a few provincial idioms of Frisian character, however, such as the common form of address *Yow* for the Frisian *Jo*, the Dutch *Gij* or the English *You*. Of the language of East Friesland many records remain, and the writings and reprints of Wiarda, a very indefatigable philologist, who died a few years ago, have given considerable extension to the knowledge of the East Frisian tongue. His Asega book, especially, was a valuable contribution to our acquaintance with the language and the laws of Friesland; and from the whole of his publications, taken together, a pretty correct estimate may be formed of the language used in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Its close resemblance to English may be judged of from any sentence taken at random, as for example :—

Thit rjucht skref God selva use Hera; tha' thet was thet
This law (right) wrote God himself our Lord; then that was that
Moyses latte thet israhelitske folk thruch thene rada se and of there wilda
Moses led the Israelitish folk through the red sea and on the wild
wostene and se komon to tha' berge ther is beheten Synay. Tha'
wastes and they came to the mountain that is called Sinai. Then
festade Moyses twia fiuvertich dega and nachta; therefter jef God him
fasted Moses two and forty days and nights; thereafter gave God him
twa' stenena tefla ther hi on eskrivin hede tha' tian bodo, tha skolde
two stone tables there he on written had the ten laws that should
hi' lera tha israheliska folke.'
he teach the Israelitish folk.

In the Junian collection of the Bodleian is a volume printed about 1460 at the convent of Anjum, containing the Laws of Friesland, by Hidde fen Cammingha.* The Cammingha family is one of such antiquity, that an old proverb says of them, "The Cams were with Noah in the ark." This volume, which contains a great many annotations and collections, in the handwriting of Junius, is probably the oldest undoubted specimen of the language of Friesland Proper, and certainly shows the closest resemblance to that of Eastern Friesland.

Between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century scarcely any thing is found to show the march of the language towards the situation in which it was left by Gysbert Japicx, who died in 1666; the greatest of Frisian

* It Rjuecht-boeck fen alre fryja Freezena freeska Landrjuecht droekt in 't kleaster by Jr. Hidde fen Cammingha Parochyaan om it jier 1460.

poets, and by far the most popular writer of the Frisian tongue. Whether or not he introduced a new orthography, or adopted that which had obtained currency in his time, we have no means of knowing, but the difference in the manner of spelling gives a very changed appearance to the language, and seems to show more extensive modifications than the progress of two centuries would have probably brought with them. It is very likely, however, that even in Japicx's time the idiom was little used in social correspondence, as it was certainly little employed for literary compositions. With no established standard, or recognized mode of spelling, the few persons who wrote in the Frisian followed therefore their own caprices. Gysbert Japicx was a school-master at Bolsward; and his fame as a writer led Fr. Junius to visit and to dwell with him for some time. The subjects of his poetry are not very ambitious or sublime. His is

> 'the talk
> Man holds with common man in the daily walk
> Of the mind's business.'

And his is a gentle and a joyous humanity—living in an atmosphere of peace and friendship—springing up to the sounds of gladness, and echoing them back with vigorous eloquence. He was a good and a happy man,—whose religion, though serious, was cheerful,—whose wit, though playful, was chaste,—and who was not "led astray" by that "light from heaven" which he has described in one strangely concatenated word: the

> 'Gaest-glanz-hymmel-silligh-fjoer.'

It would seem as if it were destined that every two hundred years there should be a Frisian revival. The thirteenth century gave the Frisian hymns and many of the most interesting of the Frisian laws,—and then there is a dreary vacancy for two centuries,—after which the Cammingha volume appears. Two other centuries pass, producing nothing; and then Gysbert Japicx appears on the stage himself, creating an era. He is no sooner dead, than the language seems abandoned and forgotten, till the nineteenth century ushers in a number of new candidates, who appear likely to obtain for the Frisian tongue an attention to which it is undoubtedly entitled, and which it has seldom received.

The appearance of the Translation of the Merchant of Venice and Julius Cæsar is really a very interesting event in the history of Frisian literature. It is the work of Mr. Posthumus, a clergyman of the Reformed religion, living at Waaxens, a small village in the neighbourhood of Leeuwarden, where almost shut out from literary intercourse with the world, he has acquired so

profound and thorough a knowledge of our language, as to have given a version of our *Oergreate Sjonger*, surpassed in correctness by none that has ever appeared. In the Julius Cæsar the versification of the original is preserved,—not so in the Merchant of Venice,—a circumstance to be regretted, as Mr. Posthumus has undoubtedly proved his capability to adapt the Frisian to the English rhythms. In glancing over the version, no one error, in the right understanding of the original, has been observed. As a specimen of the language, we will give a passage from each of the plays. The beautiful description of mercy—'The quality of mercy is not strained,' is thus rendered:—

'Port. Genade wirt naat uut de minske wrongen, jae dript az de mijlde rein uut de loft op de pleats oender her. Jae iz ien doebbel lok. Jae makket him lokkig, dij jouwt, in him, dij krijt. Jae iz it machtigste ijn de machtigste. Jae stiet de keuning op sijn troon moaier az sijn kroon. Sijn schepter wijst it geweld fen wrâdske macht oon, de eigenschip fen ontsjoch in majesteit, werijn de schrik in freese foar keuningen sit. Mar genade giet dit schepterswaaien to boppe; jae sit op her troon ijn de herten fen keuningen; jae iz ien eigenschip fen God sels. In ierdske macht lijkket dan it measte op Gods macht, az genade mei rjuechtfirdigens pearet. Dearom, howol dijn pleit rjuechtfirdig iz, betink, Jood, dat nei de gong fen it rjuecht nin ien fen uus behâden wirde kin. Wij bidde om genade: in dat selle bidden leert uus alle om de dieden fen genade mei genade to foarjilden.'

From Julius Cæsar we give the commencement of the 2nd Scene of the 2nd Act. It will be found admirable in every respect.

'*Tonger in bliksim.* Cesar *komt ir ijn sijn nachtklean oon.*

Ces. Hijmmel, nog ierde, wiern' tonacht ijn rest.
Calphurnia roap trijeris ijn 'e sliep:
„Hui! Help! Jae moardje Cesar." Iz hier ien?
Ien slaaf komt ir oon.

Slaaf. Mijn heer!

Ces. Siz oon de presters, dat jae oafferje, in
Bring mij her miening, ho 't trijbelje sil.

Slaaf. Mijn heer! ik sil it dwaan.
(*Hij giet hinne.*

Calphurnia *komt ir oon.*

Calph. Wat mien jo, Cesar? Tink jo uut to gean?
Jo sette joed jou foet naat boetten door!

Ces. Cesar sil uut. De dingen, dij mij nou

So drijge, sægen' nooit oors az mijn reg:
Jae rinn' wei, az jae Cesars aansicht sjean'.
Calph. Cesar! ik ljeauwde nooit ijn foargespins,
Mar 't makket mij nou bang. Hier 'z ien oon hoes,
Dij boetten dat, wat wij heard habbe in sjoen,
Oerfremde wonders uus foartelt, dij 'e wacht
Sæg. Ien lieuwinn' jonge op de striette, in eak
Gappene græven, joene' her deaden oer.
Moedgreate in gleaune fjuechtljue, bij elkoar
Op rijggels ijn de wolkén set, so az 't
Heart ijn de slag, habb' dear so slein, dat sels
It bloed deldript iz op it Capitool:
It fjuechtgeraas trograttele de loft,
In hijnzers wrinsgen', in ljue, dij dear ijn
It stearren laaien', suchten' swier, in trog
De strietten habbe schijnsils schriemd in goeld.
O Cesar! dizze dingen geane fier
Boetten alle oenderfijnninge. In 'k frees her.
Ces. Wa kin 't ontrinne, wat barre sil nei
De wille fen uus Goden, great ijn macht?
Cesar sil dogs uutgean: Want dit foarsiz
Jilt al de wråd neat minder az Cesar.
Calph. Az bidlers stearr', dan wirt nin stirtstier sjoen.
Mar 'e Goden sels foarsizze prinsen' dead.
Ces. Altijd stearr' bange ljue jamk foar her dead:
Mar tijge mannen prieuwe 'e dead mar iens.
Fen al de wonders, dij ik ooit hab heard,
Iz 't mij it fremdst', dat mannen freese kinn',
Dear jae sjogg', dat de dead, it ein, dat men
Naat kin ontkomme, komme sil, az hij
Sil in wol komme.'

But as a means of verbal comparison between the present state of the English and Frisian idioms we extract a verse from the dedication to Dr. Bowring; it is certainly a very striking example of affinity.

Lijk az Gods sinne swiet uus wråd oerschijnt,
Like as God's sun sweetly our world o'ershines,
Her warmtme in ljeacht in groed in libben schinkt;
Her warmth and light and growth and life sends;
Lijk az de mijlde rein elke eker fijnt:
Like as the mild rain each acre finds:
So dogt eak dat, wat ijn uus, minsken, tinkt.
So does eke that, what in us, men, thinks.
Dij sprankel fen Gods fjoer, ijn uus lein, jouwt
That sparkle of God's fire, in us laid, gives
Oeral eak ljeacht in *freugde* oon Adams team,
O'erall eke light and *joy* on Adam's train

Wer dij wenn't, hulken, oaf paleisen bouwt,
Where they dwelt, hulk (cottage) or palaces build,
In fen wat folk hij iz, ho hij him neam.
And of what folk he is, how he him (self) names.

Of this verse it will be observed, that of fifty-two words fifty-one are still preserved, and very slightly changed in the English language, while only one *(Freugde)* has been superseded by a word of Norman origin.

And for the sake of the liberal and generous sentiments they breathe, the following verses are transferred to these pages in an English form.

To Anglo-saxon blood so near allied *
The Frisian with your reverence, reverence brings
To your great Alfred; sharing in your pride,
When Cædmon, Shakspeare, or when Milton sings;
Their songs sound sweetly, as when Gysbert's strains
Are sung by thee! whose verse midst English friends,
For foreign hymns a welcoming audit gains;
And Friesland's genius with thine England's blends.

Thou hast seen Friesland—Friesland hast thou known,
Who hast seen many a land, used many a tongue;
All have their faults and virtues; we our own;
Yet know to good the Frisian heart is strung.
And Friesland sheds its rays of glory bright,
Has had—has still, how many a noble name!
Names that have shone like stars thro' mist and night,
Sacred to memory's records and to fame.

Thou hast seen this—see here thy Shakspeare stand,
Uttering in Frisian words his tuneful thought;

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* De Fries, dij de Angel-Saks so nei ijn 't bloed
Besibd iz, eer't mei jou de oergreate foarst,
Jou ALFRED; CÆDMONS, SHAKSPEARES, MILTONS, loed
Klinkt swiet bij uus, lijkke az 't loed uut de boarst
Fen uus ijnljeave GIJSBERT 't ear ijnrint
Fen jou, mijn NOWRING! dij oon 't Ingels' folk,
Oors, az wa 't eigen mooi mar prijs't, besind,
Uus Frieslanz wit in kinst foarkleanje az tolk.

Dat Frieslan habb' jo sjoen in 't kinnen leerd:
Jo, dij rju naasjes sægen', talen sprekk',
Witt', dat de Fries sijn goed heeg acht't in eer't,
Howol naat blijn foar eigen lek in brek.
Ja, Frieslanz stip joeg eak sijn ljeacht al mei
Oon ooren: 't Hie, 't het jiett' sijn greate lie,
Dij mist in nacht foardreauwen, in drieuw' wei.
Wa 't dan eak naat woll' sjean, wat Frieslan die,

Jo, dij dit sjoch, sjean' hier jou SHAKSPEARE stean,
In hear him sjongen mei ien Frieske tong':

Stretch to a Frisian brother, friendship's hand,
  Oh, as a stranger pass thy Shakspeare not.
While courtly cunning, and state treachery
  Divide and murder nations—O may art,
May science, blend mankind in unity,
  And glad with light and favor every heart.

Nothing can be better in the way of translation than many of Mr. Posthumus's verses from Pope's Universal Prayer, with which his volume closes; as for example:—

Jo habb' jiett' me ijn dizz' nacht 't eak joon
  It goe uut 't kwea to sjean:
Jo habb' natuur oon 't needlot boon:
  In litte uus will' betjean.

* * * *

Gong ik rjuechtuut, jouw jou genaad',
  Opdat 'k dat paad hâd ijn!
O leer mijn hert! bin 't op 't kroem paad,
  Dat ik 't rjuecht paad wer fijn.

* * * *

Joed wez mijn diel in brea in rest!
  Oaf al, wat jo oors kin jaan,
Goed, oaf tjoed, foar me iz, wit jo best:
  Jouw, dat 'k jou will' mei dwaan!*

The *Lapekoer* is the joint production of the two brothers, Halbertsma, one a minister at Deventer, the other a medical man at Grouw in Friesland. It is, as it professes to be, a sort of upgathering of scraps, both of prose and of poetry, and independently of its interest as a specimen of language, has real literary merit. But it was rather to give some examples of the present state of the Frisian tongue, than to criticise the works

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Jo sjean' him hier, uus broer, ijn Frieske klean.
'k Winsk, dat jo naat az fremde' him foarbijgong'!
Wijlst de ijnsloegslimme steatskinst, hoafske list,
De folken schiede in moardje: Mei de kinst
Mei wittenschip, dij folken ien't, naat twist't,
Uus all' foarmeitse mei her ljeacht in ginst!

* Yet gave me in this dark estate
  To see the good from ill,
And, binding nature fast in fate,
  Left free the human will.

* * * *

If I am right thy grace impart
  Still in the right to stay;
If I am wrong, O teach my heart
  To find that better way.

* * * *

This day be bread and peace my lot,
  All else beneath the sun,
Thou know'st if best bestowed or not,
  And may thy will be done.

of those who employ it, that these few pages have been dedicated to the subject. And any one piece will serve to show the yet strong resemblance between the English and the Frisian; take, for instance,

N A C H T.

Stjerren blinke, wyntjes swye,
  In natuur leit yn'e slom.
't Is de stille nacht fen 't fryen;
  Kom, myn ljeave famke, kom!
Lit uus hôan oon hôan hjir sitte,
  Foar nin loerende eagen bang;
Lit uus wrôads fortriet forjitte.
  Ljeafde wit hjir fen nin twang.

Jippe stilte is om uus hinne,
  In it fjild leit yn de dou:
'k Hjer it fluusterjen allinne,
  "Yvig, yvig, ljeafde in trou!"
Ingels yn dit heilig tjuster
  Flodderwjokje om uus ta;
Sizze fen uus lok forwonderd,
  "Wear is 't yn de hymel sa?" *

The Frisians are certainly not a numerous race, yet their connection with and affinity to the better portion of the English people gives to all that concerns them a particular interest. Their Anglo-Saxon parentage is a topic of frequent satisfaction among them, and any evidence of similar feelings on the part of England and Englishmen, has been welcomed by them with a cordial delight. No labours of literature are so fruitful,—none so benevolent as those which spread the sentiments of mutual esteem and mutual respect among nations. He who elevates the general intellectual standard, elevates and improves

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* NIGHT.

Stars are twinkling, zephyrs moving,
  Nature is in slumbers laid;
Quiet night 's the time for loving,
  Come, O come, my gentle maid!
Side by side delighted sitting,
  Tho' intrusive eyes may see,
All the world's concerns forgetting,
  Ours—are lôve and libêrty.

Solemn stillness earth possessing,
  Shakes her dews o'er flower and tree,
Nought is heard but gentle blessing,
  "Everlasting constancy."
In the sacred darkness fluttering,
  Angel wings around us move,
List! and hear them sweetly uttering,
  "'Twas in heaven they learnt to love."

himself by the effort. In pursuing what is good and wise in another land, we are touched and dignified by the very infection of goodness and wisdom. And to explore other lands in the pursuit of objects to honour and to love, is, indeed, to engage in a voyage of discovery, to which, if some disappointment may sometimes attach, it will always offer abundant resources of encouragement and of reward.

ART. X.—1. *A Treatise on Fever, &c.* By Southwood Smith, M.D. &c. London. 1829.

2. *Pathological Observations on Continued Fever, Ague, &c. Part II.* By William Stoker, M.D. &c. Dublin. 1829.

A CARELESS manipulation in the prosecution of an analysis may adulterate a long and laborious investigation, but the disappointment occasioned by such a failure can only be measured, when we know the practical consequences of the genuine result. In studying the laws of dead matter, an ungrounded conclusion will seldom endanger life, or induce sickness; in ascertaining the weights and distances of the heavenly bodies, the discrepancy of a few grains or inches can never be a fatal error. Mind may be analyzed according to the taste of the metaphysician, and dissected into five or fifty rudimental principles; stars may be weighed by avoirdupois or apothecaries weight, as it may suit the fancy of the astronomer; and the world may stand for ever marshalled into two or more conflicting sects on any abstract question of theoretic science, without involving in their differences the welfare of a single interest, or the safety of a solitary individual. But in medicine nothing can be more desirable than unanimity; nothing more destructive than partial and opposing views. In a science, having for its objects the prevention of disease, and the preservation of health —of all desired objects the most desirable—the simplest theory cannot be indulged in without bringing into stake a thousand lives. A random step upon such sacred ground must lead to danger, may lead to death. The lives of our fellow-creatures are the *materiel* we experiment upon, their happiness or misery is the issue to which every experiment must tend. A faithless rule, or a fanciful remedy, in the hands of a loose and inaccurate practitioner, may prove the cause of more real evil than a wide and woeful pestilence. Reasoning therefore in such a science should be conducted on the most rigid principles, and the chaste prose of sober truth should never be adulterated with the meretricious poetry of drunken fancy.

An examination of the two works at the head of this Article has insensibly led to this admonitory strain. Written by talented members of the same profession, devoted to the same subject, and constructed out of distinct experiences, which from their variety and extent lay claim to equal consideration, they are, nevertheless, seldom agreed on any point, save that of taking different views of the same subject. How writers of the same standing and of the same day, cultivators of the same science within the same kingdom, and attendants upon the same disease, should observe so differently, and infer so oppositely, must appear strange to any one who has never been behind the scenes, and who is unacquainted with the sources of such discrepancy. Of all diseases fever is the most uncertain in its external character. It may appear in a thousand different aspects, and originate a thousand different sentiments. It is modified by age, by constitution, and by temperament; by internal mechanism and external form; by moral character and physical condition; by climate, latitude, and origin. It varies in solitary cases, and in sweeping epidemics; in town and country; in thinly-populated districts and crowded cities. This year it may be characterized by mental depression and corporeal debility; in the next it may be distinguished for general excitement and topical disease. To-day it may require bleeding, and to-morrow wine. In the same individual, at different periods, it may wear very different physiognomies; while, in different individuals, at the same period, it may be peculiar only by exhibiting the same symptoms.

In this capriciousness of external character may be discovered one reason why, by some, fever is regarded as a disease essentially active, by others as an affection of debility: why one maintains that it is an effort of nature to relieve the system of some noxious humour, while another holds it to be one of the most frightfully fatal maladies to which flesh is heir: why this pathologist considers it as a local inflammation, producing general symptoms; that as a constitutional disease, implicating generally and alike every texture and organ: why one physician nurses it with wine and bark, while another starves it with purging and depletion: why every province has its own theory, why every town has its own practice.

But it may be asked, can the source of all our wide and woeful differences be found in this single cause? Do they exclusively originate in the multiformity of the disease itself; or may they not partly arise from the imperfection of our own conceptions as to what fever essentially is, and how fever should be studied, to be studied with success? These are most important

questions, involving the very essence of this important subject; and should we, during their investigation, be compelled to differ from great and grave authorities, we trust that love of truth,—the common and centre spirit of all our inquiries,—shall be to us what we regard it with relation to them, an acknowledged and sufficient passport.

'The degree in which the science of mind is neglected in our age—and country, may it not be justly added? especially in our profession—that science upon the knowledge of which the conduct of every individual mind is so dependent—is truly deplorable. Medicine is an inductive science, the cultivator of which is peculiarly exposed to the danger of making hasty assumptions and of resting in partial views, yet it is not deemed necessary that he should be at all disciplined in the art of induction, or should be cautioned against any sources of fallacy in the practice of making inferences. All the partial and imperfect views of fever which have now been brought before the eye of the reader, originate in one or other of the following errors, obvious as they all are: either that of assuming as a fact what is merely a conjecture; or that of assigning to the genus what belongs only to the species; or that of characterising the disease by what appertains only to a stage; or that of mistaking the effect for the cause. On careful examination it will appear that one or other of these errors, which are as serious as they are palpable, has vitiated in a greater or less degree every generalization of fever that has hitherto been attempted.

'Thus the believers in debility derive their notion of the whole disease from the phenomena which occur in the first and the last stages only: in these, it is true, they may find abundant evidence of debility: but then they overlook the intermediate stage in which there are generally the most unequivocal indications of increased sensibility in the nervous, and increased action in the vascular systems: in this manner they characterise the disease by what appertains only to certain stages of it. Again, when they contend that debility is not only the essence of fever in general, but is really characteristic of every type of it, they affirm what is indisputable of fevers in particular seasons, in particular climates, or in particular constitutions; but beyond this their generalization cannot be extended: in this manner they assign to the genus what belongs only to the species. And when Cullen goes on to affirm that the proximate cause of all the morbid phenomena is a "spasm of the extreme vessels," he commits the additional and more palpable, but not less common error, of assigning as an undoubted fact, as a real and ascertained occurrence, what is only a conjecture, and for which there is not, and for which he does not even attempt to adduce, the shadow of evidence.

'Precisely similar to this is the error of those who for the most part belong to the same school, and who attribute the essence of fever to a morbid condition of the blood. The blood may be diseased in fever, but if it be so, these writers do not know it, or at least they do not

adduce any evidence that they are in possession of such knowledge: they do not appear so much as to have questioned chemistry; at all events, it is certain that they have hitherto received no satisfactory answer. There is no evidence on record that the alleged deterioration of the blood takes place in every type and every degree of fever: and if there were it would still be but one event among many, and one that occurs late in the series, and therefore could possibly be nothing more than an effect.

In like manner those who maintain that inflammation of the brain is the sole cause of fever, assume as an established and admitted fact the universal and invariable existence of inflammation of the brain in this disease. Inflammation of the brain, without doubt, is demonstrable of many individual cases, and of some whole types: but beyond this there is no proof that the generalization can be carried: the evidence indeed in regard to many cases is entirely against the assumption, and is as complete as negative evidence can well be: consequently it must be admitted that even this hypothesis, in the present state of our knowledge, is founded on the error of assigning to the whole genus what belongs only to particular species: and it would be trifling with the reader to attempt to prove, that this is still more certainly and strikingly true with regard to inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach and intestines—an affection which in innumerable cases in which its existence is certain, clearly appears on the slightest examination of the succession of events, to be an effect and not a cause.

'No comprehensive view can be taken of fever, no just conclusion can be arrived at relative to its nature and seat until it be studied with a consciousness of the liability to such errors and a vigilant endeavour to avoid them. The present investigation has been undertaken with a deep consciousness of the danger and a watchful and unremitting care to avoid it. Even if the effort prove to be without success, the example can scarcely remain without use.

'The frequent and formidable disease on the investigation of which we are entering, cannot be understood until clear and exact answers are obtained to the following inquiries. 1. What is the series of phenomena which constitutes fever? 2. What are the particular phenomena which are common to all its varieties and combinations? 3. What is the order in which these phenomena occur in the series? 4. What are the organs, and what their states, upon which these phenomena depend? 5. What are the external signs of these internal states, or what are the indications by which their existence may be known? 6 What is the external noxious agent or agents, or the exciting cause or causes of the disease? 7. What is the particular remedy, or the particular combination of remedies which is best adapted to each state of each organ? When these questions can be clearly and perfectly answered, and not till then, we shall know the disease and its treatment. In order to make any real progress in this knowledge we must therefore prosecute these inquiries. It appears to me that we are already in possession of ascertained facts, adequate

to answer with a high degree of certainty, though perhaps not with absolute certainty, several of these questions. In keeping these inquiries steadily before our view in our investigation there will be this great advantage, that it will enable us clearly to perceive what we really know and what still remains to be ascertained.—pp. 30—34.

So writes Dr. Smith, and we heartily concur with every sentiment expressed. A fairer opportunity than the present could be seldom found for showing how sadly regardless the generality of medical writers are of the science of reasoning, and how frequently their inferences are drawn from premises in themselves equivocal, and which, moreover, are imperfectly understood. That specific fever is "one and indivisible" can, in our opinion, be as indisputably demonstrated as the simplest problem in Euclid's Mathematics, and that our jarring systems as to its essence, seat, and cure do not arise exclusively out of the wayward fickleness of its external signs it is easy to prove. There is no doubt but that it wears a thousand varieties of aspect; that it is modified by climate, constitution, and treatment; that during one and the same attack it may be weak and strong; that in one and the same person, at different periods of its progress, it may be marked by nothing but torpor, or be remarkable for nothing but activity. All this is true; all this not unfrequently occurs. But this playfulness of form is a mere matter of degree. In all cases the seat and sort of mischief are unchangeably the same; the same internal action is going on; the same external contour of feature may be ever recognized. A stroke more or a stroke less may impart an individual peculiarity to a portrait, which had been previously a faithful resemblance; even a hair's-breadth deviation of the pencil from the path which it ought to traverse may constitute a characteristic deformity. And hence it is, that one and the same painting, in the hands of a skilful artist, can assume five thousand modifications of countenance, ten times five thousand varieties of likeness, without losing or receiving a single feature, without even materially altering the original outline. Now that which may be easily done by a limner's pencil working upon canvass, is daily wrought by the hand of Nature upon the constitution. Fever, viewed as a unique and generic disease, wears certain features which are as constant and as characteristic as are those composing the original portrait of the painter. In the first place, the nervous system is always deranged;—the mind is dull, heavy, and confused. In the second place, the functions of the heart and lungs are always disordered;—the pulse is altered, either in strength or frequency, or both, and the respiration is either

quick and imperfect, or slow and laboured. In the third place, the secretions are diseased;—the stools are offensive, the urine is either limpid or turbid, the skin is dry, the saliva is viscid, the heat is irregular—sometimes low, more frequently high, the appetite is defective, the thirst is ardent. In every pure case of fever these phenomena are as steady and as sure as are the ordinary features in the artist's portrait. They may be variously proportioned, both in intensity and number, just as the limner's colours may be modified. In one case the brain may be more affected than the heart; in another the lungs may suffer more than either, In one instance the functions of the intestines may be especially deranged; in another the prevailing symptoms may pertain to the head. One constitution may be weak; another may be strong. In one case the morbid cause may be active, in another it may be moderate; in the selfsame case we may have the nervous, sanguiferous, and digestive organs successively attacked, so that the fever which began as cerebral and acute, may terminate as abdominal and typhous. Within the precincts of a short article it is impracticable to detail every modifying cause of fever; the preceding are merely a specimen of the many which might be adduced; but, as the present purpose is to canvass general principles rather than minute particulars, this specimen will be quite sufficient for all the ends of argument.

It follows, then, from the preceding observations, that there are certain general symptoms characteristic of febrile action; that these symptoms are essential to the presence of fever; that accidental circumstances may modify their original character to a very multifarious extent, but that they still remain substantially the same; and that, like a well delineated portrait, which may be transformed by the introduction of a few trifling alterations into endless resemblances, fever may present a multitude of aspects, and yet possess the same rudimentally essential character. Ignorance of or inattention to this view of the subject, we believe to be the fruitful source of all our differences respecting this disease. The original portrait is overlooked or lost amid the confusing transformations to which it has been subjected; and what was nothing but a mere creature of circumstance and degree is embodied with the consequence of an original and independent entity. Modes are thus converted into substances, types into species, and epidemics into genera. An entire and indivisible disease is broken down into as many distinct maladies as there are shades in the intensity of the exciting cause, in the strength of the patient's constitution, or in the activity of the internal mischief. To know all these

variations in the form of fever is highly important; just as important to the physician as it is to the limner to know what effects different proportions of light and shade can work upon his original portrait. A perfect understanding of the former is as necessary to a successful practitioner, as that of the latter is to a successful painter; and the general eminence of either will not be widely disproportioned from the degree of success which has been attained in this department. But, between a knowledge of these varieties, as abstract forms of disease, and a knowledge of them, as aberrations from one common malady, there is an inestimable difference. Two cases of fever may be vastly different in external sign, and yet be identified in essence; just as two portraits may be vastly different in general expression, yet have individual features strikingly alike. The elements of both may be symptomatologically, pathologically, and in every sense the same, and the *pathognomonia,* or individual peculiarities of each, may be found only in the proportion which one element bears to another; and it were surely a sad confounding of all order to mistake such matters of degree for essential distinctions, and because of a few shadowy differences to discover no similarity of substance.

A man, in previously good health and spirits, is seized with the common continued fever of this country. He shivers and feels cold, sensations of heat succeed, his mind is dull, his strength is impaired. Severe pain is now complained of in the head or chest, his pulse is full and strong, his skin is warm, his thirst is ardent. A few days are allowed to pass before he is again seen, and the following symptoms are present; the head-ache is now dull, and accompanied with a sense of confusion and vertigo, his mind is always torpid and occasionally confused, his pulse is quick and easily compressed, he sleeps badly, his thirst is less ardent, his teeth, lips, and tongue are covered with black and putrid matter, and his strength is much reduced. Allow this state of disease to proceed for a few days further, and then we shall find that no complaint of any kind is acknowledged; his pulse is fluttering and weak, his mind is alienated and noisy, his stools and urine are passed unconsciously, his debility is so extreme that he is unable even to turn in bed, his muscles are much convulsed, his hand trembles, and he lies prostrate and helpless in the bed. Now, in this case, which is a very fair and ordinary example of continued fever in London, there are three very distinct periods, each characterized by symptoms peculiarly its own. In the first there is obvious excitement, combined with considerable activity; in the last there is nothing discoverable but weakness

and want of strength; and in the intervening period there is a confused intermixture of both. Suppose that three practitioners were called in at different periods to attend these three stages of disease, a single period being allotted to the care of each, is it likely that any two of them would agree, either as to the type of the fever, or as to the plan to be adopted in its cure? To one it would appear principally strength, to another principally debility, and to the third a perplexing compound of strength and debility. The old fable of the Cameleon would certainly be played over again, and while each rested confident in the accuracy of his own conclusion, all would be, were they to judge exclusively of a single stage, misled by a partial view. Wine would be recommended by one party, bleeding by another, and the third might find equally strong objections to either. It is not insinuated that any one of these parties would be wrong in differing from his neighbour; on the contrary the symptoms justify them in drawing very different conclusions, and the treatment adapted to the first stage would be as destructive to the last, as that of the last stage could be to the first. What is advocated is, that the leading error, into which most writers upon this disease are betrayed, consists not so much in drawing false conclusions from the cases which are before them, as in generalizing these conclusions so as to adapt them to any and every case which may occur. A conclusion may be logical enough in its construction, and might be useful enough in its application to practice were its application confined to that form of cases out of which it was constructed; but, by straining it to suit fever of every country and every stage, it becomes over drawn and is of suspicious applicability to even any case.

Here then, out of a single instance of fever can we manufacture Brunonians and Clutterbuckists, Systematists and Localists, Bleeders and Stimulators, and every opposing heresy which has crept into this department of medicine; and what this history teaches as a single case it may also teach as the prototype of entire epidemics. Fever is more active at some seasons, in some countries, and in some constitutions, than others. We have seen it where the lancet, even at its commencement, could not be employed with safety; where mental anxiety and corporeal depression were coeval and coequal, and where the strength was materially affected by an active purge. But such cases, at least in England, pertain to the rarest form of this disease. It is more frequently observed, if the early symptoms have been witnessed, that they indicate a greater or less degree of action, and that debility of any consequence does not betray itself until

after the decrease or subsidence of this activity, and that then debility appears in a tolerably direct ratio to the degree of the preceding action. The train of inferences, therefore, which may be deduced from this case as a solitary illustration of fever, will equally result from it as exemplifying in its various stages the various epidemics and constitutions of this pestilence. And we have preferred a single case, consisting of three stages, as illustrative of the principal types of fever, in preference to three or more separate cases, drawn from three or more distinct epidemics, that we may more easily explain the causes of these varieties and thus harmonise into one view the antagonising theories of the day, and also show in the strongest manner the necessity of general premises, before general conclusions can be formed. If one and the same disease can exhibit symptoms of strength to-day, and symptoms of debility to-morrow—if one and the same patient can be bled with profit in the morning, and require wine for support in the evening—if three practitioners shall disagree, and shall have good reason for disagreement, about the nature and treatment of one and the same case, merely because they have witnessed different periods of the same action; surely it cannot be denied, that it is worse than folly to judge of all epidemics by the character of a single epidemic, or of all instances of fever by the character of a single instance. In the same ward of the same hospital have we examined twenty cases upon the same day, and in no two of any of them have we recognised the same symptoms. Patients occupying neighbouring beds, and coming out of the same house; people living under the influence of the same habits, having constitutions as much alike as age, temperament, and health could render them, will exemplify the most opposite types, will require the most opposite treatment, and may betray the unguarded into the most opposite views. Yet in the midst of all this contrariety and distinction, there are always points of family likeness discoverable; there are always generic bonds of union pervading every species. One epidemic or one case may differ from another epidemic or another case, just as the first stage of one and the same case may differ from its middle, or last stage. Yet in all these—whether they be entire epidemics, or individual instances; whether they be the fevers of extensive cities, or of trifling hamlets; whether they be preying upon the young and rich, or upon the old and poor—there are common signs, reciprocal resemblances, sufficiently striking to refer them all for their origin to one general class of causes, for their nature to one general form of action, and for their treatment to one general plan of cure.

Having now endeavoured to establish three points;—that fever may be modified into a thousand forms by age, season, climate, constitution, cause, &c.,; that the varietiesof symptom, which individual instances afford, arise not from any difference in the nature but in the degree of the action going on, and that all cases and kinds of fever are linked together by certain common and characteristic signs; it follows, and we would dwell upon the importance of these inferences, that fever cannot be generally known, if it be not seen and studied in patients of every age and constitution, in countries of every climate, and in every season of the year; that any theories formed of it, or treatment proposed for it upon the knowledge of an epidemic of a single year, or of a single province, must be partial and unfounded;—that all types of fever are merely creatures of degree, rather modes than entities, and not the results of distinct causes; and that whatever peculiarities may present themselves, however many or marked they be, they must originate in circumstances intimately connected with the intensity of the morbid cause, or the character of the patient's constitution. To maintain, then, that because the fever of 1818 was distinguished for debility, the fever of 1829 must be remarkable for the same feature; that because the fever of one country requires wine, that of another country cannot admit of bleeding, is extravagantly preposterous. Yet, strange to tell, this is the very error which most of our Pyrotologists have committed—an error less subversive of logical precision, than it is of practical principle. Anxious to construct imposing generalizations, which would comprehend within their range every quarter of the globe and every quality of constitution, these authors gathered together the reasonings and results of a confined experience, and mixing them up with some feasible speculations, wove them into a smooth and specious looking texture, which they took to market, and vended as honest goods of universal currency, adapted to the use of any purchaser in any country! Thus is it that the fever of the half-starved peasantry of Dublin, during 1818, has been made the present fever of the world; that the Adynamia of the Borough has not only crept over London, but is groping its way into the outskirts of the British empire;—that the Gastro-Enterite of Broussais has proved an ignis fatuus to the French pathologists; that the Typhus of Sunderland has formed the basis of a new theory, and of a new treatment still more remarkable than the theory which precedes it; that Inflammation of the brain is held out to be only one step removed from continued fever; and that there is no such thing as Idiopathic or specific fever, febrile symptoms being in every case nothing but the physical indications of some o cal inflammation.

It has been said that symptoms of equivocal origin do frequently appear; that they are not always proportioned in intensity to their cause; that the most malignant mischief may be undermining the stamina of life with a degree of silence to be equalled only by its certainty. These are facts of too great notoriety to be disputed, and of too serious interest to be lightly passed over. Ulceration of the intestines may proceed through its every stage, even to perforation of the gut, without betraying adequate, or any tokens of its very presence. The brain may be deluged with watery effusion, and yet cerebral symptoms appear moderate or mild. All this is undeniable, and it shall afterwards be our business to shew why all this may happen; but to maintain that fever is immethodical and wild, that it is bound down by no principles, directed by no laws, is gross error, and has been the cause of much evil. If an organ be diseased, or if a function be disordered, both the disease and the disorder are under the controlling agency of vital principles; and the symptoms announcing these conditions, as well as the conditions themselves, proceed under the guidance of certain laws, and are obedient to the authority of specific causes. Every symptom in every case of fever is indicative of some internal morbid state; every change of symptom is a sensible manifestation of some change in this internal state. The defect lies not in the fallacy of the symptoms which are present, but in the absence of symptoms which might have been expected to be present. The symptoms which are present are true enough in their indication as to the nature of internal action, although they may fail in announcing its precise degree. And we have only to regret that cases do occur, in which internal action, and that of fatal character, may be in existence without making itself known by any appreciable sign. Speaking of abdominal cases of fever with relation to this point Dr. Smith observes:

'The uniformity of the symptoms which denote that these morbid changes are going on, is as remarkable as the regularity with which the changes themselves occur. Their great peculiarity, which it is as important to know, as it is to understand their indication itself, is their want of prominence. They are always to be discerned, or with extremely rare exceptions; but they seldom or never force themselves upon the notice of the careless or extort the attention of the unobserving; still they are not the less constant in their occurrence because they come without noise, nor is the indication they give of their presence less significant because it is unobtrusive. They do not announce their presence by the excitement of violent paroxysms or by inducing intense pain, because the state of the system in which they take place is inco[illegible]sensation of any kind. The

prominent symptoms during life are almost always in the head; the great changes of structure found after death are always in the intestines; and this, which the pathologist learns from observation, the physiologist might have predicted from his knowledge of function. The affection of the intestines in fever is never a simple or single affection: it never occurs alone, but always in combination with an affection of the brain; and the cerebral affection is always antecedent, the intestinal invariably subsequent; while the certain consequence of the cerebral affection is a diminution, and ultimately an abolition of sensation. It is therefore quite impossible, from the very nature of the derangement that takes place in the animal economy, that the intestinal affection should ever be attended with violent pain. Occasionally, indeed, when the abdominal affection is very much in excess, and the cerebral affection is unusually slight, severe pain may be felt; but that is rare, and the total absence of pain, and even the total absence of tenderness on pressure, is more common. It is not then to the patient's own complaint of pain in the abdomen that the practitioner must trust for the discovery of abdominal affection in fever.

'But though the patient seldom complain of pain in the abdomen, yet in the great majority of cases the abdomen is tender on pressure, and it is so in all, excepting when the cerebral affection is peculiarly severe or is very far advanced. These exceptions render this symptom not absolutely constant, although at the bed-side of the sick the practitioner will find it very rarely absent. The symptom which is still more constant, as the reader must have observed in the perusal of the preceding cases, and which therefore affords a very certain guide to the detection of the disease, is a loose state of the bowels. Whenever both concur there can be no doubt of the diseased process which is going on within the intestine: but as the tenderness may be obscured or lost from the intensity or advancement of the cerebral affection, so it is very remarkable that, in the progress of the intestinal disease, the bowels sometimes become regular and even constipated. The physician who sees the patient for the first time in this stage of the disease, can ascertain the condition of the mucous membrane of the intestines only by obtaining an accurate account of the preceding symptoms. And when it is possible to procure a distinct and complete history of the disease from its commencement, it is commonly found that nausea and vomiting were among the early symptoms, while, as we have seen, the latter is not unusually present in the more advanced stages. The result of the whole is that, excepting when the cerebral affection is most intense and overwhelming, the existence of inflammation and ulceration in the mucous membrane of the intestines in fever is denoted by signs which are quite constant, and in the fidelity of the indication of which we may repose implicit confidence. The importance of the diagnosis may perhaps plead our excuse for repeating them again. They are tenderness of the abdomen on pressure; loose stools; redness of the tongue, especially at the tip and edges, in general preceded by nausea and vomiting, and in the most exquisitely marked cases, and in their advanced

stage, followed by a mixture of blood in the stools and a swollen, hard and tympanitic state of the abdomen. All these symptoms by no means always concur in the same case: but the presence of one or two of them will be sufficient to guide the attentive observer to the knowledge of the disease.'—pp. 288—291.

Is it then not highly injurious to the interests of this inquiry to overlook these leading principles and laws? Is it not exceedingly empirical to treat unseen disease by unknown symptoms? Is it not derogatory to philosophy to attach the importance of a general cause to a single consequence? To confound a naked symptom with the covert action which brought it forth, and to sweep into one confused generalization, things in themselves as distinct as light and darkness? Probably there is no case of fever in which there are not present some specific and expressive symptoms; no symptom which does not indicate some condition of internal parts; and that there is no chance of knowing what fever is, or requires for its management, unless we keep this etiological connexion between external signs and internal states constantly in view, treating the one as indicated by the other. By so doing nature is studied in her own way, the veil of mystery is withdrawn from the face of disease, and whether it be an important organ which is afflicted, or an important function which is attacked, a careful and experienced eye may not only ascertain the nature, but measure the extent, of morbid change, wherever, however, and whensoever, it may exist.

The next question of interest, which here deserves attention as inseparably connected with the last point, is, what is the nature of that internal condition which gives origin to these external signs? Some assert that it is pure inflammation; others that it is something different from pure inflammation; and a third party maintain that it is neither pure inflammation, nor something different from pure inflammation, but that first and last it is pure debility. To enter into a critique of all these opinions, cum multis aliis, would be endless and useless. Some of them are too fanciful for serious argument, and others stand so feebly propped that they invite compassion much more than they do conflict. In a practical sense two more especially require examination, and as the works which are now before us may be fairly held as the ablest advocates which have as yet appeared in their defence, it will be more than interesting to find how well they measure in each other's company. Dr. Stoker believes that fever is essentially adynamic; that its seat is in the blood; that the blood is in a dissolved and diseased state; that depletion of almost all kinds and degrees is inju-

rious; and that tonics and restoratives are the most effectual medicines:—

'Common epidemic fever, says Dr. Stoker, especially when contagious, as I have frequently asserted when speaking of its pathology and treatment, has not appeared to me at any time to be essentially inflammatory. Adynamic fever, a denomination for typhus fever, which I shall employ, as I have hitherto done to express the putrid or malignant fever of Sydenham; the slow nervous fever of Huxham; the nervous fever of common language; the synochus, typhus mitior, and gravior of Cullen; the gaol and hospital fever; the *fièvres essentielles* of the French; the epidemic of the Irish writers; the contagious of Bateman; the typhus of Dr. Armstrong; and the proper idiopathic, or essential fever of Dr. Clutterbuck: whether it exists separately or independently; or is combined with any of the other forms of febrile disease, sporadic or symptomatic.

'Typhoid or adynamic fever I consider to be generally symptomatic of morbid changes in the physical characters of the blood, and have, as on former occasions, stated what those morbid changes are—but I have arranged inflammation under the head of symptomatic fever, merely because it is more usually connected with some change in the structure of parts, discoverable after death: on the other hand, typhus fever is connected with morbid changes, that *primarily* take place in the fluids, and produce morbid actions, and sometimes permanent changes of structure in the said parts. These changes too in the condition of the blood are distinguishable from those which we have stated to occur in inflammation; and the morbid actions excited relatively by those changes in the blood are also distinct. In inflammatory fever on the one hand, increased action, in typhoid fevers on the other, debility, is almost the immediate consequence. On account of this debility being an essential character of typhoid fevers, I denominated them adynamic.'

In the Medico-Chirurgical Review for August, 1829, it was shown, in opposition to Dr. Stoker, that the depressed character of some of the Dublin epidemics was not the unmixed result of pure febrile disease; that the state of the poor (out of whom a great majority, if not all, of the patients admitted into the Cork Street Fever Hospital, to which the Dr. belongs, were taken) was such as to modify and give a peculiar cast to the original affection; that this modification consisted in a preponderancy of adynamic symptoms; and that, consequently, it only tended to mislead the public to urge upon them such a type as a facsimile of fever. It was further argued that the blood is in no instance the primary seat of this disease; that disorder in this fluid was a mere consequence, and probably the first consequence, but not the cause; that in the first stage of action it presented no symptoms of disease; that its dissolved appearance came slowly on as the fever advanced; and that in many pure cases

no such appearance has been witnessed at any period of the malady. The earliest febrile symptoms, it was maintained, were connected with the nervous system—these were languor, lassitude, mental depression, malaise, sense of cold and pallidity of the surface; the heart then sympathised more palpably, and with disorder in the circulation came on deranged function in every organ, and diseased secretion in every tissue. The unfairness of making the fever of Dublin, and more especially such a fever, the fever of the world, was strongly insisted on, and arguments were drawn from the acknowledged character of the Irish constitution, from the experience of many Irish writers, and from personal acquaintance with the disease among the resident as well as the emigrant Irish, to prove that they are in general little more remarkable, if not a little less, than their neighbours for adynamic fever. And, lastly, it was shewn that the fever of London is essentially inflammatory, that its treatment requires the lancet more than wine, and that the Irish are just that class of patients who stand most in need of full and free depletion. The work of Dr. Smith confirms these views in every point, and establishes them on the basis of a pathology which it is impossible to shake. The fever of London, we repeat, is anything but a disease of weakness. Is increased arterial action a proof of weakness, or is acute pain, or is improvement under depletion, or is the aggravation of every symptom under stimulating treatment? Are increased vascularity, change of structure, deposition of lymph, formation of pus and membranes, the ordinary and legitimate results of debility? Whoever witnessed wide and spreading ulceration from adynamia? Whoever saw the membranes of the brain thickened, adherent, and charged with blood from want of action? What have we after death from ordinary inflammation of the brain and membranes, but what we find in fever? Have we any thing beyond turgid vessels, effused lymph and serum, and altered structure? If we have, it should be pointed out. Have we any thing in Pleurisy, or Pneumonia, or Bronchitis, beyond disorganized or inflamed lungs, inflamed and thickened membranes, increased secretion, adhesion and effusion of lymph and pus? If we have, let them be pointed out. Have we any thing more indicative of action, and of strong action, in Enteritis, or Peritonitis, or any other itis that may be fixed upon, than intestines loaded with engorged vessels and matted into one adhering mass, cavities filled with phlogistic depositions, structure softened into lacerable pulp, ulcerations wide as they are deep? If we have, it were for the sake of truth to make it known. Yet these are the morbid appearances after death from

adynamic fever, from fever whose essence is weakness, whose seat is relaxed and effete blood, in which we are cautioned from leeching, prohibited from bleeding, advised to try transfusion, and which we are strongly recommended to make merry with wine!

Now let Dr. Smith be heard. He, we think, has given an unanswerable summary of the pathology of fever, drawn from a multitude of dissections, which, if contrasted with any which can be brought against them, are as unequalled in their superiority as number; and, as it would form the best proof of what has been advanced, we feel sorry that its length renders its introduction impossible, while it were only to give half the required proof did we mutilate the passage. The following masterly extract may form a sufficient substitute:—

'The account of the pathology of fever is the history of inflammation, and the description of the individual changes that take place in the organs that constitute the febrile circle, is an enumeration of various products of inflammation which are formed within them. There is scarcely a fatal case of fever which does not afford, in one or other of the organs of that circle, some inflammatory product; there is no considerable number of fatal cases which does not furnish a specimen of every inflammatory product. And what are the severest cases of fever, and why are they the severest? With the single exception immediately to be stated, the severest cases are those in which, together with a severe primary affection of the nervous system, this inflammatory action is in the greatest degree of intensity, and is seated in the greatest number of organs; and they are the most severe, not only on account of the severity of the primary affection of the nervous system, but also because it is in them that the inflammation is the most intense, and because that inflammation attacks the system at one and the same time in the greatest number of points. From among the preceding cases, fix upon any one in which the powers of life were, from the commencement, the most completely overwhelmed, and in which they were the most rapidly exhausted, and when the last struggle for existence is over, examine the changes that have taken place in the internal organs—what is it that is found? traces of inflammation, legible, deep, extensive; while, in almost every case, these traces are thus legible, deep, and extensive, in proportion to the apparent intensity of the fever, and to the rapidity with which it extinguished life. In this point of view, how important, how instructive, how invaluable, is the lesson which the mixed cases of fever afford! With few and rare exceptions (and in all diseases some exceptions occasionally occur to what appear to be the best established and the most invariable laws) these are the cases in which the symptoms are the most urgent, and in which they run their course with the greatest rapidity; these are the cases in which the debility is the most striking; in which it comes on the most early, and pro-

ceeds to the greatest degree of prostration; these are the cases which are the most purely typhoid, the most truly adynamic; these are the cases which, in general, commence with the most sudden and alarming deprivation of physical and mental power; in which all pain and uneasiness are soonest lost in stupor, in which the stupor most rapidly increases to insensibility; in which delirium comes, perhaps, as early as the third or fourth night, accompanied with its attendant, muscular tremor, and too often with its most formidable ally, erysipelas; in which, at this early period, the respiration is short and hurried, the skin dusky, the colour of the cheek purple, the tongue brown and dry, the lips and teeth sordid, the abdomen tender, and the stools loose; in which, in a day or two more, the abdomen is swollen, tense, and tympanitic, the stools passed in bed, the patient prostrate on his back, completely senseless and powerless, while the pulse is 120 or 130, and so feeble that it can scarcely be distinguished. But what is this debility? in what does this adynamic state consist? It consists of a peculiar affection of the nervous system, followed rapidly by intense inflammation of the brain or of its membranes, or of both: by intense inflammation of the mucous membrane of the bronchi, and by intense inflammation or extensive ulceration of the mucous membrane of the intestines. And why is the patient weak or adynamic? Because he is not only assailed by an affection of the nervous system, which deprives the organs of the stimulus necessary to enable them to perform their functions with due vigour, but, at the same moment, inflammation is set up in three of the great systems, the healthy action of which is most essential, not only to strength but to life: thus the citadel is attacked at one time at three of its capital points. It is not asserted that inflammation alone constitutes the state of fever, nor that the danger of the patient is always in exact proportion to the degree of the inflammation. How it differs from inflammation, and what is superadded to the inflammatory state, will be shewn immediately; but it is a most important fact, that the degree of the debility is most intimately connected with the intensity and the extent of the inflammatory action. Now and then, as has been already stated, the intensity of the nervous affection is so great, and so rapidly destructive of life, that there is no time for an inflammatory process to be set up, much less for an inflammatory product to be formed. The patient is struck dead as if by lightning, or by Prussic acid, or by apoplexy. In this country, he does not actually die as instantaneously as he might be destroyed by the electric fluid or by poison, although there are countries, seasons, and particular spots, in which the concentration of the febrile poison appears to be sufficiently great to extinguish life instantaneously; and even in this country, life is sometimes destroyed by a stroke of fever as rapidly as it is by a stroke of apoplexy, when the latter does not prove fatal in the first few hours.

Now the peculiarity in these cases is, that the internal organs, after death, exhibit no signs of inflammation, unless vascularity be inflammation. The organs which, in ordinary cases, are inflamed, are in these cases turgid with blood. Are the terms debility or adynamic

appropriate expressions to designate even this condition of the organs? Just as appropriate as they would be to express the condition of a person who is struck dead by lightning, whose muscles are incapable of contraction, and whose blood will not coagulate. Those who apply these terms even to such forms, and, *à fortiori*, to any other forms of fever, must be ignorant either of the nature of the disease, or of the constitution of the human mind. If they know the disease, they know that the patient appears to be weak because the primary operation of the disease is upon the nervous system—an operation which, as has just been stated, while it disturbs that due and equal distribution of nervous influence which is necessary to the healthful action of the organs, and, therefore, to the general strength of the system, is not incompatible with, but promotive of an excitement of the vascular system, which terminates in inflammation. Debility is the last, the ultimate result of the disturbance of the functions of a certain series of organs, but the part of this very disturbance of function, and a most important part, a part which exerts the greatest influence over the progress of the disease and the life or death of the patient, consists not in the weakened, but in the augmented strength and the increased activity of the vascular system. To designate the ultimate result upon the system by a term which gives an entirely false view of the individual processes in the economy, by which that ultimate result is produced, must, we repeat, arise either from an ignorance of the true nature of those processes, or from not reflecting on the influence which words exert over the manner in which the human mind conceives of things. For the sake of the progress of the science of medicine, for the sake of rendering the language of medicine the correct expression of the knowledge which the science has actually attained, and, above all, for the sake of accomplishing the great object of medicine, the preservation of human life, it is high time that these terms with which physicians have so long allowed their minds to be abused, should be banished from medical nomenclature, or, at any rate, from that part of its nomenclature which appertains to fever.'—pp. 323—328.

The seat of fever appears to be in the nervous system, in place of in the blood, the cause of fever seems to be a specific poison, and the effect is a modified inflammation. It is the peculiarity of the poison, operating upon the peculiar structure which it first invades, that gives a peculiar tinge and type to all the succeeding symptoms, and that renders the morbid action something else than pure inflammation. The cause is peculiar, the structure it attacks is peculiar, and the inflammation which it produces is peculiar. But the cause is an exciting cause, the structure it invades is excited, and the morbid product is a product of excitement. This excitement may be more, or it may be less, just as the cause is more or less intense, or as the structure on which it operates is more or less suscep-

tible of excitement. The structure may be weak and the poison may be strong, and then the effect will be sudden and severe; or the poison may be weak and the structure may be strong, and then the effect will be gradual and moderate. The effect may thus be produced in a thousand different degrees, and the action of the heart and arteries may thus be called forth in endless varieties of power. But this effect is always inflammatory, and this action is always irregular. The poison may kill in a few hours, or require a few weeks; the heart may be instantaneously disabled, or excited into the most unmanageable force; nervous symptoms may preponderate at one period, inflammatory symptoms at another. It is this confusing intermixture of nervous symptoms, arising from the nature of the organ attacked, and of pseudo-inflammatory symptoms, depending on the nature of the action modified by the cause, which makes fever appear to many so perplexing and contradictory. All these points have been ably handled by Dr. Smith; and for simplicity of arrangement, perspicuity of view, power of argument, and practical deduction, his *Treatise on Fever* stands, we believe, without competition at the head of all that has been written upon this abstruse disease. The relation between cause and effect, between symptoms and the states they indicate, was never before so clearly pointed out; the theory of fever is laid down with unprecedented plausibility; and the variety of cases and dissections which are given may furnish him, who questions the conclusions which are drawn, with ample materials to construct inferences of his own. But the treatment proposed by Dr. Smith, and the important question of contagion, must be discussed on another occasion.

ART. XI.—1. *Essai Historique sur les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, et des autres églises catholiques, par M. Grégoire, ancien evêque de Blois, &c.* 8vo. pp. 457. Paris.

2. *Histoire critique de l'Assemblée générale du Clergé de France en* 1682, *et de la Déclaration des quatre articles qui y furent adoptés; suivie du Discours de M. l'Abbé Fleury, avec des Notes par M. Tabaraud.* 8vo. pp. 406, Paris. 1828.

PUBLIC attention has been much directed of late to the ecclesiastical feuds in France, in which, as usual, each party misrepresents its adversary.

From a very remote period in the history of France, great disputes on the proper limits of the temporal and spiritual powers

have taken place both in the ecclesiastical and the secular establishments of that kingdom. The most remarkable are, the contests between pope Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair; those which occurred on the Pragmatic Sanction; those on the Concordat between pope Leo X. and Francis I. of France; those on the Declaration of the Gallican clergy in 1682; those on the Concordat between pope Pius VII. and Napoléon; and that to which the restoration of the Bourbons gave rise. All have chiefly turned on the right of the pope to legislate in temporal concerns, and to enforce his spiritual legislation by an exercise of temporal power.

It is clear, that by the Founder of Christianity, the popes were invested with no right to temporal power; nor did they derive, in virtue of their spiritual character, any claim to property. They first acquired it from the emperor Constantine; who, by his Constitution at Milan in 321, enabled the Christian church to hold moveable and immoveable property of every description. In consequence of it, the popes obtained large temporal possessions: these were considerably increased by the donations of the celebrated Countess Mecthildis: thus the popes became large land-owners. Insensibly, in consequence of their constant residence at Rome, of the veneration in which they were held, and of the influence obtained, they acquired the rights and powers of magistracy. In the time of Justinian, the seats both of the western and the eastern empire were established at Constantinople; and the civil government of Italy was assigned to an Exarch, who fixed his residence at Ravenna. He generally left the immediate management of the city of Rome and its concerns to the popes; thus, indirectly and by degrees, they obtained in Rome and the adjacent territory, temporal jurisdiction and political power, but with a subordination, which at length became little more than nominal, to the emperors. The part which they took in the election of Charlemagne to the empire of the west, connected the pope and the emperor. The pope received from him and his successors such extensive possessions and overpowering influence as virtually rendered the successors of St. Peter independent of the emperor, and elevated them into a rival power. They ultimately advanced their pretensions so high, as to claim in virtue of the divine origination of their spiritual authority, temporal supremacy over all christendom and its sovereigns; so far at least, as gave them an alleged divine right to exercise temporal power over them, when the interests of religion rendered it necessary for effecting a mighty good, or preventing an enormous evil. In either of these cases, they asserted an authority to depose sovereigns and to free their sub-

jects from the obligation of allegiance. The celebrated bull of Boniface VIII. called *Unam sanctam*, from the two first words of it, asserts in the most express terms, the pope's right both to the spiritual and the temporal sword.

Fleuri, in his Discourse on the Liberties of the Gallican Church, justly compliments her on the able and effective resistance to the undue pretensions of the Roman See, which she has undeviatingly exhibited. In the contest between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, in which the former promulgated the scandalous bull that has been mentioned, the clergy of France sided with their monarch.

Through the whole of the disputes on investitures, the French clergy insisted on the independence of the monarch of the Roman See in temporal concerns. The ceremony of investiture was made by presenting to the bishop elect the ring and crosier of his predecessor. To this, as a spiritual ceremony, apparently conferring on the prelate his episcopal rights, the clergy generally objected. The sovereign contended, that it was only meant to denote the royal assent to the prelate's holding the temporal possessions annexed to his see. In France,—to which only the present article refers,—the adjustment was effected by different instruments;—the Concordat of 1268, attributed to St. Louis; the Pragmatic Sanction of Charles VII. in 1438; and the Concordat signed by pope Leo X. and Francis I. in 1516. The authenticity of the Concordat of St. Louis has been contested; the Pragmatic Sanction originated in the proceedings of the council of Constance and that of Basil. The former promulgated a decree which asserted, in the most explicit terms, the superiority of a general council over the pope: the council of Basil adopted this decree, transmitted it and all the other proceedings of the council of Constance to Charles VII. of France, and solicited his acceptance of them. The monarch assembled at Bourges several of the principal prelates, nobles, and magistrates of the kingdom. The assembly explicitly and solemnly accepted the proceedings of the council of Constance, and ordered that the ancient mode of electing bishops should be adhered to; that the claim of the pope to reserve to himself, or to grant to others, the benefices of all cathedral churches in France, or to present to any benefice in France before it became vacant, should be abolished; that there should be no appeal to the pope *omisso medio*—that is, without passing through all the intermediate tribunals; that the ultimate appeal should be heard by the pope, not at Rome, but by his judges in France, under certain regulations; and that the pope should no longer receive from bishops newly chosen the

annates or one year's income of their possessions. The decrees of the assembly of Bourges passed unanimously; they were confirmed by the monarch, and verified and registered by the parliament. Thus they became a law of the state, and figured in history as the Pragmatic Sanction. The popes were greatly incensed at it; the Abbé de la Mennais (the strenuous supporter of the papal power in the unmitigated violence of barbarous ages) reprobates it in the strongest terms; while the advocates of the liberties of the Gallican church deem it one of the corner stones of their independence.

In 1510, a decree of a national council of France held at Toulouse having recognized it, pope Julius II in 1512 proscribed it by a solemn bull; and cited all the favourers of it, whatever might be their rank or their dignity,—even crowned heads,—to appear within a certain time before him, and submit to his sentence. Against this bull, the parliament and a large proportion of the clergy of France protested. The disputes continued; at length, in 1516, Francis I, then having great need of the assistance of the pope, in his wars with the emperor Charles V. the Pragmatic Sanction was rescinded, and a concordat was signed by him and pope Leo X. By this the pope acknowledged in the king a right to nominate to all the benefices of the kingdom under certain restrictions, and engaged to give bulls to the prelates whom he should nominate to them. The concordat was silent on the claim of the popes to the annates, but the pope, with the passive acquiescence of the sovereign, immediately resumed them. The concordat was confirmed by a council held at Rome in the church of St. John Lateran. The parliament of Paris registered the concordat with marked reluctance, and even with a formal protestation that it would always conform in its judicial decisions to the Pragmatic Sanction; and began immediately to proceed on this plan. In consequence of it, the king withdrew from the parliament the cognizance of causes arising on the concordat, and assigned them to the great council.

The disputes continued:—in general the secular clergy were hostile to the concordat and to other *ultramontane* pretensions; the regular clergy favoured them. The Cardinal of Lorraine, archbishop of Rheims and Lyons, directed his agent at the council of Trent to declare in his name, that "he was a Frenchman, and had been educated in the University of Paris, which held that the authority of a council is superior to that of the pope, and censured as heretics those who maintained the opposite opinion; that, in France, the council of Constance was deemed to be in all its parts a general council; and that the French

would rather die than gainsay its authority." On the other hand Cardinal du Perron, the head of all the ultramontanes in France, at an assembly of the States General held at Paris in 1614, argued strongly, in a discourse which lasted three hours, in favour of the power of the pope to depose sovereigns for heresy, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance. But in 1672, an event took place which brought the point to a decision.

By what is termed the *Regale,* the kings of France claim to be entitled to the revenues of episcopal sees during their vacancies. This right was contested, on some particular grounds, by the bishops of Painiers and Aléth : they were supported by pope Innocent XI. who then filled the papal chair. All the other prelates of France sided with the monarch. He issued an edict, by which he magisterially asserted his prerogative; the edict was immediately registered by the parliament, and accepted by the clergy then sitting in their public assembly. The pope answered the monarch's edict by a very angry brief. Without waiting for a regular notification of it, the prelates addressed a letter to the king requesting him to call a council, or to convene a general assembly of all the clergy of his kingdom to consider and pronounce on the subject. The latter mode was adopted by the pope. The assembly met, and drew up their celebrated Declaration of 1682. It is expressed in the four following articles. The first article declares, that "the power which Jesus Christ has given to St. Peter and his successors, vicars of Christ, relates only to spiritual things, and those which concern salvation; and not to things civil and temporal: so that, in temporals, kings and princes are not subject to the ecclesiastical power; and cannot directly, or indirectly be deposed by the power of the keys, or their subjects discharged by it from the obedience which they owe to the sovereigns, or from their oaths of allegiance."

The second article declares that "the plenitude of the power which resides in the holy see and the successors of St. Peter in respect to spiritual concerns, does not derogate from what the council of Constance has defined in its fourth and fifth sessions, on the superior authority of general councils."

The third article declares that "the exercise of the apostolical power of the holy see should be governed by the canons, which have been enacted by the spirit of God, and are respected by all the christian world; and that the rules, customs and usages received by the kingdom and churches of France and approved by the holy see, should be inviolably preserved."

The fourth article declares, "that, in questions of faith, the

pope has the principal authority, and that his decisions extend over the universal Church and each church in particular; but that unless they have the consent of the Church, they are not irreformable."

The articles passed unanimously: the monarch immediately issued an edict, ordering that the Declaration should be registered; that it should be made and subscribed by all the parliaments, bailiwicks, stewarties, universities, faculties of divinity and common law, within his dominions; that no person regular or secular should write or teach any doctrine contrary to the Declaration; and that every person appointed to a professorship of theology should previously to his entering into office, engage to teach no other doctrine. It is remarkable that the articles were universally signed by the Jesuits, as was proved beyond controversy at the time of the dissolution of the society.

From the era of the Declaration to the present time, the articles were recognized throughout the French dominions, by the persons who were required to sign them by the royal edict.

The Declaration gave Innocent XI, who then filled the papal chair, the greatest offence. He expressed his indignation in the strongest terms; and refused bulls of institution to all the prelates nominated by Louis XIV to the sees then vacant: they amounted to thirty five. By the monarch's direction, the Procureur-général of the parliament of Paris appealed to a future council, from all that the pope had done, or should thereafter do, to the prejudice of the king or his rights.

Things remained in this state till the death of Innocent, and during the whole of the pontificate of Alexander VIII his immediate successor. The latter, a few days before his death, promulgated a bull, by which he pronounced the Declaration of 1682 and the other acts of the assembly of that year to be absolutely null.

A spirit of conciliation was shown by Innocent XII, the successor of Alexander. Soothing letters were then written to his holiness, by the monarch, by the prelates whose sees were vacant, and by some of those prelates who had been present at the assembly of 1682. On receipt of them, the pope granted the bulls required by the prelates named to the vacant sees. On the perusal of the letters, it is evident, that they were intentionally so expressed as to be susceptible of two interpretations, and that each party was left at liberty to understand them after his own manner. The pope treated them as expressing a sorrow that the proceeding of 1682 had justly given him displeasure: the writers were known to understand them as expressing a sorrow that they had displeased the pope, leaving it at large whether the cause of his displeasure was just or not.

From 1682 to the present time, the four articles have been regularly signed in the manner prescribed by the edict of Louis XIV. The popes have never ceased to regard them with an evil eye. Out of France, many treatises against all the articles have been published. Roccaberti, a general of the Dominican order, published a collection of them in thirty-one volumes in folio. Bossuet justified the articles by his "Defence of the Declaration of the Clergy of France," in two quarto volumes, a work of uncommon learning, power of argument, and eloquence. An abridgment of it in a thin octavo volume was published in London, by the Abbé Coulon during his emigration.

In the negotiations between pope Pius VII, and Napoléon, then chief consul, the latter made the greatest efforts to prevail on his holiness to sanction the four articles, but without success. The Concordat signed by the pope and Napoléon on the 15th of July 1801, is silent upon the articles. In the negotiations which afterwards took place, the pope was repeatedly pressed in the strongest manner to sanction them; this he absolutely refused; but the archbishop of Tours, who was deputed to his holiness by Napoléon, and who was one of the most intelligent of the French prelates, has informed the public, in the account which he published of these negotiations,* that "his holiness, repeated frequently to the commissioners by whom the negotiations were carried on, that it was not his intention to do any thing contrary to the Declaration; that if the disputes turned on the first article only, and which was the only article in which in his opinion the tranquillity of the states was concerned, he would subscribe that article without difficulty."

These historical minutes will be closed, by observing that on the 11th day of June 1817, a concordat was entered into between pope Pius VII. and Louis XVIII.; that soon after its signature, the pope announced it by an approving bull, and that it conforms, in all respects, to the concordat signed by pope Leo X. and Francis I.

What has been written will be found to be an accurate account of the doctrine of the Gallican church on the points that have been noticed, as those doctrines were understood by Bossuet, Fleuri, D'Aguessau, and other writers of that temper. From the middle of the last century till the present time, they have been carried far beyond the intentions of the first propounders and advocates of them, by several French, Italian, and German writers. The system adopted by these is termed on the continent, the New Discipline, *Nova Disciplina.* The

* Fragment relatif à l' Histoire Ecclésiastique du XIX Siècle.

object of its favourers is, according to their own statements, to simplify the Catholic religion; to effect a general reduction of religious orders, to abolish exemptions from the jurisdiction of bishops, to diminish the intercourse, even in ecclesiastical concerns, with the see of Rome, and, speaking generally, to divide the Catholic church into a multitude of ecclesiastical republics, with a subordination little more than nominal, to the supreme pontiff. Many attempts to effect an economy of this kind were made in Austria, Tuscany, and Naples. The best account of them which has appeared, is that in the first of the works mentioned in the title to this article, and that given in the life of Scipio de Ricci, bishop of Pistoia.

We have noticed the expression of Fleuri, in which he compliments his country for having resisted more successfully than any other, the encroachments of the see of Rome. There certainly is ground to controvert the accuracy of this assertion.—Before the Reformation, to which period Fleuri must be considered to refer, none had opposed so strong or so successful checks to the undue pretensions of the papal court as the parliaments of England had done by the statutes of Præmunire and Provisors, the statutes prohibiting the exportation of ecclesiastical revenues out of the kingdom, and the statutes of Mortmain. In respect to investitures, the charter of king John, afterwards recognized and confirmed by his great charter, and the 25 of Edward III. St. 6 § 3, gave up to the chapters the free use of electing their prelates. This statute was not, like the French Pragmatic Sanction, repealed by a concordat, or any other arrangement while England acknowledged the supremacy of the pope: but the majestic lord who burst the bonds of Rome, to use Mr. Gray's expression, by a statute of the 25th year of his reign enjoined the chapters to elect the nominee of the crown, under the penalties of a præmunire. This made the whole episcopal order, and all aspirants to it, dependants on the crown. Till then, the prelacy was a check on its enormities, and in some degree a safeguard of the constitution. In Spain, the sovereigns, by immemorial prescription always allowed by the popes, have uninterruptedly presented to episcopal sees, and to the higher dignities of the church.—"Brown's Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum," contains a multitude of documents, which shew the resistance of the German states and churches to the attempts of the popes to infringe their civil or religious rights. Three deserve particular notice; the Catalogue printed by Wieclius of one hundred and fifty ancient writers, who had published treatises in defence of the liberties of the German church; the Concordat of Mentz,

since edited by Koch, by which, in 1447, the decrees of the council of Basil, in favour of the superiority of a general council to the pope, were adopted in Germany; and the celebrated "Centum Gravamina," or list of the hundred grievances, of the German churches; was presented, at the diet of Nuremburg in 1522 to the pope's nuncio. The last attracted so much notice, that Pope Paul III. caused an abridgement of it to be made, and to be publicly read before a consistory of cardinals. It has been frequently remarked that a much earlier date than is usually fixed, should be assigned to the revival of letters: it is in the same manner possible that a much earlier than the common era should be assigned to the resistance of the states of Europe to the exorbitant pretensions of the Roman court. It is singular that no persons were so actively opposed to the popes as the Fratricelli, or the Friars who rebelled against them. To these, as Mr. Gibbon justly observes, from Wetstein, the discovery that the Pope is antichrist is justly due. Father Dolcino seems to have been their leader: Occam walked in his steps, and these were both accompanied and followed by many others; the Germans have greatly exceeded, in modern times, the French. We have noticed the Pistoian projects: they made little way in France. In fact the re-action in France was beyond the boundaries of Christianity. The Pistoian notions prevailed for a time in some parts of Germany; but, long before their arrival in it, large portions of that territory had been occupied by the Syncretists, or those who thought that the articles of Faith, the belief of which is necessary to salvation, were very few. The germ of this system may be traced to the writings of Arminius and his first disciples. But the Syncretists soon divaricated into the rationalists and mystics. The former system banishes mystery from religion, and subjects the truth of scriptural narrative and the soundness of its doctrines to the test of reason; while mysticism but solves many of the difficulties which reason suggests, by feeling and allegory. The attention of our countrymen has been recently called to the German controversy by Mr. Rose's discourses at Cambridge; but he has not informed us, with sufficient precision, in what rationalism consists. Does he or does he not avow the only genuine principle of all consistent Protestant churches, that they acknowledge no law but the scriptures, no interpreter of the scriptures but the understanding and conscience of the individual? If Mr. Rose avows this principle, he is a true Protestant and must admit a rationalist to be one. He is not a true Protestant, and the authority of the church to which he belongs, is his Pope. The discussion, *like all discussions, will serve the cause of truth*,

The constant struggle to increase the temporal authority of the popedom on one side, and to diminish it on the other, is evidently the agent which has reduced the power of the holy see to its present comparatively innocuous form. The popes had the misfortune to acquire in the dark ages, more than it was essentially possible that they should preserve in more enlightened ones. The consequence has been, that whatever external acknowledgment may have been yielded to their claims, almost the whole of the lay talent in Europe has always run in an under-current of opposition. The effects of this have been good in every way; in none happier, than in removing those bars to the equal enjoyment of religious liberty, which our ancestors, judging from what lay before them, had determined to be insuperable.

Art. XII.—*The Address of the London Radical Reform Association to the People of the United Kingdom. Oct. 19, 1829.* London. W. E. Andrews.

THERE are three kinds of men that profess to shoot a woodcock. The first are those who see their game, and fire at it as directly as they can. The second are they who fire without seeing their game at all. These are supposed to be considerably less successful than the others. The third kind are those who see the game, and make a point of firing the other way. And as these last were never known to kill a woodcock yet, the direct inference with many people is, that they never meant to do it from the first; and that if they bring home a list of killed of their neighbours hogs, dogs, or poultry, it is because they really went out to bag this kind of prey, and not the other. In short there is a considerable and increasing sect who conceive, that one way of judging of the object of any man or set of men, is to observe the way they go about to compass it. It would be wrong to conceal, that this philosophy is not without opponents; there are many individuals of good estate who lean the other way. The sect therefore cannot claim authority on the ground of unanimous assent; or demand to have it set down like an axiom in Euclid, that the way to shoot woodcocks is to aim at them. It makes part of the debateable ground of natural science; and, in England at least, must be noted as one of those points, on which a prudent man should confine himself to observing that a great deal may be said on both sides.

Precisely the same kind of obscurity hangs over certain parts of the subject of politics. For example, it is pretty

generally professed to be acknowledged, that the people ought to be represented; but nobody has ever been able to determine, whether this is best done by their having voices in the election of their representatives, or by their having none. Some persons, for instance, think that it would promote the intended object, if large towns like Manchester and Leeds had a chance for chusing at least one representative. Others, on the contrary, believe, that the way to accomplish the end, is to cause two representatives to be elected by nine drunken men in Cornwall.

In this unsettled state of public opinion, the subject is clearly open to debate; and no man can be offended at any course his neighbour's judgment may pursue, seeing that his own must be equally hostile to the conclusions of somebody else. It is demonstrably unjust, that the man who determines on shooting with the butt-end, should put himself into a passion with his friends who prefer another way. It goes beyond the limits of social liberty; and is not to be tolerated even in the squire of the parish. Nobody wants *him* to shoot his birds but as he pleases; they only want to shoot their own.

If the people are to be represented at all, they ought to chuse their representatives. If they do not chuse their representatives, they are not represented at all. If some do and some do not, then some are represented and some not represented at all. And the grand query is, why some are to be not represented at all.

If a number of men were invited to form a joint-stock company for some common purpose, it would be an odd species of invitation which should begin by stating, that nine-tenths of the subscribers were to have no voice either in directing or inquiring into the application of the common stock. It would be tantamount to the advertisement, 'Wanted, a number of gulls, who having no other way of losing their money, may be accommodated here." It would bear fraud and fallacy upon the face of it; and scarcely any man would be found hardy enough to put forward such a scheme, and assuredly none foolish enough to enter into it. Now if nobody would voluntarily enter into such a scheme, those who habitually live under the operation of such a one must do it involuntarily. It must be because they cannot help themselves; or in other words, because force is put upon them by those who have the luck to play the winning game.

If it was urged that in such an association it was necessary that those who held the larger stakes should have the larger share of direction, and that the way to compass this, *was that those who held the smaller stakes should have no share at all;* it is

clear that such a proposition would be hooted off with general contempt. There may be reasons why there should be a difference; and if there is no naturally-existing cause why the holders of the larger stakes carry with them a proportionate influence over the holders of the smaller, it may be right to produce the effect by artificial means. But whatever might be the necessity for such means, they could never go the length of determining, that the holders of the small stakes should have no influence at all. This is to make the difference infinite; and whatever the difference in the just proportion may be, it is clear it never can be infinite.

Now as no comparison holds good beyond certain limits, so it happens in the present case, that there are two striking points in which the great joint-stock company called a state or political community, differs from the others to which it may have been compared. And these are, First, that the sacrifices demanded of the holders of the smaller stakes, are absolutely greater than those demanded from the larger; and, Secondly, that on the supposition that each individual had a vote alike, there are naturally-existing causes why the influence of the holders of the great stakes over the others,—or in other words, of the rich over the poor,—if not greater than was desirable for any good effect it would have on the common interest, would at all events not be less.

Compare now the sacrifices which a poor man is continually called upon to make to what is stated (and perhaps justly) to be for the welfare of the community. Weigh, for example, the loss and suffering to which every poor man of certain years is liable from being called on to serve in the militia, with the loss and suffering the rich man encounters from seeing the price of a substitute charged against his rental. Take the case of any other tax, and compare the relative effect of what falls on the possessor of the single ewe lamb, with what falls on the owner of the flocks on a thousand hills. Thence collect the evidence and the proof, that the poor have in reality a much more urgent personal stake in the management of the common stock, than the rich;—add to it the testimony of history that the rich, by hook or by crook, have always contrived to take care of themselves;—and see if the resulting conclusion is not, that the goodness of a government is measured by the degree in which the poor, and not the rich, have the power to take care of themselves,—in the same manner as the goodness of a crutch is measured by its fitting the lame side and not the sound.

Next, that the rich ought to be but too happy to allow an equality of suffrage to be as much as they can demand, if other people will only refrain from asking if it is not too much. And

here it is plain, that by possessing the wealth, they possess a power of influencing other men, exactly proportioned to that wealth. The equality of representation is only like the equality of right to go in at the door of a market; it does not imply the power of having equal influence when men are there. The demand therefore of the rich to have not only the influence of their wealth, but to cut off the poor from the right of representation besides, is like the assertion that they cannot enjoy their just privileges in the market, unless they can pass a law to have the poor kept out in addition. It is clear that the poor do as much as can be expected from them, if they see the rich enjoying the benefit of their riches in the market, and put up quietly with the contrast of their own inferiority;—if they content themselves with the tripe and the offal, and lovingly aid in securing to the wealthy the sirloin and the haunch. If they do this at all, it is evidently because they are aware that the same security of property which gives the rich man his sirloin, is what ensures themselves their tripe; but it by no means follows that they should extend the argument, to shutting themselves out of their homely portion besides.

The *whiggisms* that are abroad upon this question of representation, are, that the poor do not know how to take care of themselves and of the state, and that the rich do. To this the answers are, first, that the poor do not ask to direct the state by themselves, but solely as their influence may be distilled and passed through the alembic of the rich. If the poor were to ask that ten day-labourers in St. Giles's should be shut up in a box like a jury, and required to record their opinion upon state affairs before they ate or drank, and that a like process should be followed in every parish and the final result recorded as the fiat of the community,—this would be the state of things to which the objection of their adversaries applies. But this is precisely what they do not ask. They ask no more than what they may be able to secure, after the rich man has had the full benefit of his wealth and of all the power it gives him over the conduct and opinions of others. This is one part of the answer; and the other is, that the rich have had full time and opportunity to prove, that whoever may be fit to direct the conduct of the community, *they by themselves are not.* They have had it all their own way, and a strange pass they have brought things to. The drunken coachman that drives into a ditch, has not given stronger proof of his unfitness to hold the reins, than the 'higher classes' as they are denominated, have given of their unfitness to be entrusted with power, except under the check arising from the admixture and combination of the other

portions of the community. If the governors had been unmixed St. Giles's, they could not have brought the numerical mass of the community to greater loss and suffering, than have been the result of the monopoly of legislation which has been allowed to the wealthy. It is not denied that they might have produced a considerable mass of evil, but it is denied that they could have produced more. Human invention could have gone no further, than spending all a nation had, by anticipation for an unjust purpose, and then prohibiting commerce by way of remedying the evil. It is not at all argued, that because the community has had the misfortune of trying one extreme, it therefore ought to try the other; but that it ought to make some endeavour at the attainment of that just medium and combination of the interests of all, which it requires no supernatural wisdom to perceive to be for the security of the whole.

Another of the sophisms of the same school, is that men and classes of men are well enough represented, if they have *some* representatives. This is the fallacy of *virtual representation*. If it is urged, that virtual representation means a representation by means of proportional parts,—as, for instance, might be the case if one man in a hundred or in a thousand were to be taken by lot and endowed with the faculty of electing the House of Commons,—then the answer is, that nothing like any such thing is in existence, and therefore it is of no use to talk about it. But what is really meant by the phrase, is to persuade the manufacturers, for instance, that they are represented, because there are *some* manufacturers in the house. Each class is to have a representative, or it may be two or three; *and those who live upon the public are to have the rest*. Now it is plain that nobody would endure such nonsense in a joint-stock company; and there is no more reason for enduring it any where else. In a joint-stock company all classes would see that it was of importance to them not only to have *some* votes, but to have their fair proportion of votes. No man or set of men would be fooled out of their just claims, by the insinuation that it was enough if they had one vote and their opponents had the other ninety-nine.

A third falsehood of similar origin and tendency is, that there must be a King, and a House of Lords, and a House of Commons by courtesy so called,—but that the House of Commons must be the King and the House of Lords over again. It is not enough that the people be but a third estate in their own land; but they must be cut down into the third of a third, or reduced to that proportion which popular jest assigns of manhood to a tailor. Now if this meant that the king and the lords should

have the just influence in the House of Commons which is inseparable from their state, and which all the law-making in the world cannot deprive them of, it would be defensible and right. But it means no such thing. It means that they shall have that kind of influence which is procurable by nine-tenths of the persons called the commons being put out of connection with the thing called the House of Commons altogether. Not only are the commons in the aggregate to be reduced to a tailor's share; but nine-tenths of the whole are to be cut down to no share at all. What is the use of the House of Commons to those nine-tenths? Is it for their protection? The King or the House of Lords would protect them just as well. Is it for the hearing of their complaints? They have no voice, except by the same luck that they may find one among the bench of bishops. Is it for the promotion of their happiness? It is clear that their happiness will only be attended to when every body has done attending to his own. This is what to nine-tenths of the commons of England is the House of Commons. There is no secret in it; it is not what there is any harm in talking about; it is what is avowed, defended, boasted of. It is the thing as it ought to be,—the venerable *et cetera*, which it is held forth to be a crime and an enormity to think of altering.

If a traveller should ever reach the moon, and should there be introduced to a population with heads beneath their shoulders, of whom nine-tenths were cut off from all influence in the regulation of their affairs, and the other tenth sold their votes at each completion of a certain number of revolutions of their planet,—he could not fail to discover that the real basis of this lunatic constitution was, that influence in the government was set up to sale to the best bidder as at Rome. The only difference would be, that instead of the empire being bought of an imperial guard, it was bought of a tenth of the population dispersed in tap-rooms without being guardsmen. Just as much organization and tendency to the well-governing of the state as there was in the Roman invention, would there be in the other; the simple beauty of each is equal. And if the traveller was destined to be made merry, it would be by hearing the moon-calves that surrounded him talk of their invention as a monument of lunar wisdom, and as something adorned and perfected by the touches of successive generations of their race. The quarto which such a traveller would publish on his return, would be confirmation strong, of the notion which has connected the moon with madness, and assigned it as the resting-place of all things trumpery and false.

In the days of darkness such follies might have been winked

at here on earth; in the days of power, they might have been maintained by force. But the days of both are passed; and the belief that the people have a 'glorious constitution,' is a gone-by tale. They know what they have, and they know that it is not glorious. They see their position; and their object is to make use of what they have, in order to obtain what they have not. In this pursuit, the classes whose personal suffering takes the most substantial form are naturally foremost. The wonder is, that the classes next above, in whom has been truly said to reside the preponderating portion of the momentum of the public, should be so long in joining. They are all busy nursing the existing evils, in hopes that one son will get a commission in the army, and another in the customs. They will perhaps come to their senses at some time, and compare the value of the mess of pottage for which they sell themselves, with the value of what they abandon in return.

Suppose now, the writer of this Article were to break through the etiquette usually observed with the public, and clothe himself with so much of personality as to state, that he was the possessor of the better half of what is popularly understood to be the object of a wealthy citizen's ambition,—that he was what the French call a *millionaire*, and something more,—not through any merit of his own, but by inheritance of the gains of successful commerce, which it is generally understood in England the gainer is permitted to make over to his children. Suppose that he has this;—a small matter compared with what some men have at stake, but still worth having;—and let him ask, in his own name and in the name of all to whom the like argument may apply, what just reason can be given why, on the supposition that he has common sense and a desire to keep his own, he should not join with all and every body that is engaged in seeking what is known under the title of Radical Reform. Let no man be startled at the term radical; does any man but the guilty, desire a reform that is not radical? 'Radical' means that which shall do something effectually; and 'not radical' means not doing it at all. Does any man go to a doctor, and ask for a cure that is not radical? All men have been radicals, who ever did any good since the world began. Adam was a radical, when he cleared the first place from rubbish, for Eve to spin in. Noah was a prodigious radical, when, hearing the world was to be drowned, he went about such a common-sense proceeding as making himself a ship to swim in. A whig would have laid half a dozen sticks together for an ark, and called it a virtual representation.

What then has such a man as has been described, to gain by the continuance of the present state of things? If he is to be taxed,

he has not necessarily the fragment of a share in giving his consent to it, any more than a Polish boor. He was not born a drunken artisan in a rotten borough, nor the son of one. If he looks round upon the way in which what is taken from him by taxation is disposed of, all he sees is an organization for feeding certain people of certain classes at the expense of the remainder. He might go into parliament, and try to obtain a share of the common plunder; but for this he is too proud. He might stand up for the oppression of the poorer orders as the means of benefiting his own; but for this he is too wise. If he has children, where is he to place them? Commerce is prohibited by act of parliament; he can get them into the list of bankrupts by the expenditure of a small capital as well as of a large one. All the professions are overstocked, in consequence of the same prohibition; there are two curates in embryo for every tithe pig, nine lawyers for every possible brief, and seven doctors to each man rich enough to have the gout. If he looks at his rents, he finds nothing but negative quantities; tenants that cannot pay, coming, like impossible roots, by pairs; his income is an evanescent series, and the method of exhaustion is like to solve all problems in his book. If he turns to his connections, he sees nothing but insolvency; the savings of the father lost by the failure of the sons, and mothers lamenting over it as the act of heaven, without finding out that it was so because the ruling powers would have it so. On looking all round the compass, he sees nothing but one great conspiracy to appropriate and gradually draw off the savings of each man's industry, in support of a plan whose scope and object is to maintain the non-industrious. No man in society can by any exertion of economy sustain his present rank and transmit it to a line of successors with the chance of their sustaining it also, except the lucky few who have a patent for keeping themselves and their descendants at the expense of the community. Men who obtain property by industry are indulged with the power of transmitting it through one or two generations; but there is a process going on, by which, like the grains in a coffee-mill, it must all come to the grinder at last. He who has money does not hold it in fee simple; but by a lease of greater or shorter length, at the end of which it must revert to that portion of the aristocracy which quarters its descendants on the public. In this state of things the marvel is, that the well informed part of the middle classes, and more particularly of the commercial classes, does not arrange itself on the side of the reformers. The commercial classes have a prejudice against what they call politics; derived from the time when commercial men were for the moment gaining largely by the spendthrift

anticipation of the national expenditure, and when any commercial man found opposed to the measures of government was supposed to be so only because he was unable to seize his share. A connection was thus formed between politics and bankruptcy; and the prejudice continues, in spite of the change of circumstances. Nothing can account for the tameness with which commercial men submit to the prohibition of commerce, but this; combined with the operation of the foolish hope, that they shall individually pick something out of the common wreck. As all things have an end, so also must this; and the time cannot be far off, when the middle classes, and those of the highest who are not entered of the plot, will come forward to join their influence to the cause of the starving poor. Commercial misery may be some stimulus, even though it does not amount to the misery of a small loaf. A man may lawfully wish to keep what he has, even though he has not yet an immediate vision of the almshouse. Every body knows what an outcry was made about property, when the object was to establish the supremacy which has led to the present ills. The London Radical Reform Association, is virtually an association for the defence of property. It is an association to prevent all that we have from being taken by our betters. If a manufacturing operative has to preserve himself from maintaining a thousandth part of a scion of the landed aristocracy out of his platter, a man of two thousand a year has to save himself from being saddled with a full-grown imp; and so on in proportion. The time will come when rich and poor will combine to make every man eat out of his own dish; and the actual agent in this cruel operation, will be a radical reform in what is called the commons house of parliament.

The ways in which the middle classes will exert themselves when they come forward, will be the same in which they exert themselves for other objects. They will use the legitimate power they have, to obtain the legitimate power they have not. Instead of fruitless lamentations over the wretched state of the representation, they will use that state, wretched as it is, as a stepping-stone to one that shall be better. If the empire is for sale, they will buy it with a view to repair. They will lay aside all animosities, and combine in their compact all classes where a community of interest can be proved. They will tell the clergy, for example, that whatever may be the opinion of political economists on tithes, it is clear that the working orders of the clergy have nothing to fear from change. To them all change must be for good. In the most unenlightened countries, this truth breaks out. A continental bishop may be an absolutist; but the poor man that was met galloping up Mont Cenis on his mule at sun-set, to save the

soul of a still-born child at the extremity of his parish of thirty miles diameter, was to a certainty a liberal. Even the dignitaries of the English church might find out, that if their revenues are threatened, it is only as a sacrifice to maintain the landlords in the possession of the Corn-laws. Let them look at the question with the advantages their learning and talents give for it; and then let them join with the people in the prosecution of a common interest, or else give up their revenues quietly. Why should not those who fleece the people, fleece a bishop? It is not true that the interests of the church and of the people are divided on the subject. They endure a common danger; and should join for a common deliverance.

The great object of fear to the middle classes, is the apprehended violence and misdirection of those with whom they think they would have to join. They fear the orators who harp upon the bad passions of the people;—whose idea of the utility of reform is that it would create an ability for carrying on unjust wars, and whose love for liberty displays itself in exciting feelings of hostility against our brethren who have won their battles and our own on the other side of the Atlantic. There is no denying the evil; it is an obstacle the more, but it is an obstacle which, like others, must be got over. Tell them plainly, that we want no more wars for cat-skins;—that if an administration, either royalist or radical, should ever set up a claim to allowing no gun to be fired in Europe without its consent, the middle classes in England would draw off to one side, and leave it to settle the contest by itself. Tell them that if any such administration was to attempt to prescribe what ships should be built in America, the just and natural end would be that England would be put down by a coalition of all civilized states; and that the middle classes will not advance a shilling towards the promotion of such a project. Inform them, that till there is some greater security for good government, the present state of depletion is the happiest of all consummations; and that the man who would voluntarily pay a shilling to remove it, is only comparable to him who having just been bled out of a delirium, should offer a shilling to have his veins re-filled. Give them to understand that their foreign politics are pot-house, and their home ones only make men praise God for Mr. Peel. Tell them that their object is to evade the great question, which is the Corn-laws;—and that their pretence of the necessity for refusing cheap corn in order that men may be able to pay taxes, is as foolish as if a man should refuse an estate lest he should be obliged to pay a property-tax. Say to them that their best and newest plan for seizing on the savings of other men's industry in the funds, is only spoliation wrapped up,—that it is

as unjust as if a crew on short allowance were to propose to eke out an accidental relief, by saying to one part of the crew, 'And you, you know, will only be on short allowance as before.' Supposing the taxes and the army were reduced to their proper extent, what justice is there in saying that the fund-holders shall have no benefit by it, and that it shall be enough for them if they have 30 per cent lopped off to bring them to where they were before? State clearly that the whole argument against the fund-holders, consists in commencing at the year 1812 when restoration began to be made to them, and cutting off all memory of the previous sixteen years that they had been plundered. Say all this boldly and on all opportunities; and the dangerous part of those who call themselves the radicals will soon be reduced to their true value. Set up a sound and honest radicalism, against an unsound and dishonest one. Disown all abuse of existing ministers; and be persuaded, that though it is perfectly necessary that difference of opinion should go all possible lengths, it is true in the main that all ministers do as well as they can. Distrust those who say they see in themselves the signs of heaven-born counsellors, and who believe that the practice of a minister is to be learnt like cutting off a leg. Eschew violence; cultivate education, from A, B, C upwards; hurry nothing,—it will all come in time, like the breaking up of a hard frost. Pull down an abuse where you can; especially where it is one, like that of slavery in the West Indies, whose supporters support all the rest. Go on quietly and perseveringly, and fear nothing. There will be no revolution, no disturbance, no violent changes,—any more than when a child of a span long, turns into a grenadier. Sensible men are not to endure an evil for ever, through a vague fear of its removal being something they have not tried before. Do something; do a little; do more when you can. Keep the stone rolling; and see if you do not end by proving to all ranks and orders, except the downright plunderers, that radical is 'your only wear.'

ART. XIII.—*Four Years in Southern Africa.* By Cowper Rose, Royal Engineers. London. Colburn. 1829.

MR. ROSE has added an agreeable volume to the many books of travels we previously possessed on Southern Africa. Our stock of real information will not, indeed, be very greatly augmented by the result of his observations, nor do his reflections upon what he saw in his desultory rambles dip much below the surface; but still his little work possesses both interest and

value sufficient to excite a feeling of respect and kindness for the author, and a desire to communicate such an abstract of its contents as will contribute both to the entertainment and edification of the reader.

The narrative is given in a series of letters; having been condensed, as the writer informs us, from his correspondence with a relative in England during his four years residence. He commences, as usual, at Cape Town, the capital of the colony, with a sketch of the state of society, or rather of the gay society, of that half-way house to India, a topic, as the reader may anticipate, of but little interest or variety, and which has, moreover, been more ably treated by some of his predecessors. We pass on with him, therefore, to Fransche-Hoek, a valley about a day's ride from Cape Town, originally settled by French Protestants, who emigrated thither from Holland, after the Revocation of the edict of Nantz, and who were the first to introduce the cultivation of the vine and other useful arts into the colony.

'The inhabitants,' Mr. Rose observes, 'are now Dutch in every thing but name; and they speak no French, have no French customs, and not even a religious book in that language is to be found among them: the only distinction I could discover between them and other boors was their greater fondness for psalm-singing, and their aversion to dancing. That it is far easier to retrograde than advance is known; but that these people, settling as they did, remote from the Dutch, should yet have lost every national distinction, surprises me.' —pp. 16, 17.

Our traveller's surprise might have been removed by a little farther inquiry and reflection. The French refugees, from the first but a small body, were settled in the colony upwards of one hundred and forty years ago, in the midst of a Dutch population with which they became speedily and intimately intermixed; and whose language they were under the necessity of employing, not only in all written documents, contracts, law-suits, &c. but also in every mercantile transaction, and on almost every occasion of daily business. It ought, therefore, to occasion little wonder that their descendants of the present day, of whom very few, if any, remain of unmixed Gallic blood, should retain but slight traces of their origin. In point of fact they have long ago been thoroughly amalgamated with the Dutch inhabitants; and so far from being confined to their original settlement in Fransche-Hoek (French Corner) they are now scattered, as we learn from Thompson and other travellers, throughout the remotest districts of the colony; families of Jourdans, Malans, De Plessies, De Villiers, Jouberts, &c. &c. being found even among the back settlers on the Caffer Frontier and Orange River.

Passing over Mr. Rose's observations on the character and

manners of the Dutch-African boors, which merely corroborate the general statements of Barrow, Thompson and others, as to their gross and slovenly habits, we turn to the following passage on the condition of the slaves, which has been a topic of somewhat more diversity of opinion among some who have recently treated of the Cape :—

'The farms here are all cultivated by slave-labour; and though slavery in this country wears not its most degrading form, there is still much that is revolting. The timid, silent step with which the young slave-girl enters the room—the subdued tone in which the message is delivered—her look of apathy, where all the warm-stirring blood of youth seems tamed down,—and when I have gazed upon dark lustreless eyes that were born to flash, and upon the listless form that was born to bound, I could not but feel that the being before me was bowed down—that all the energies which liberty would have called forth, were crushed beneath the severity of her lot.

'In travelling, when stopping at a boor's house, I remember thanking a slave-girl for some trifling service, when she turned to her companion, with a look of more than surprise, and they both burst into uncontrollable laughter—laughter, that to my ear "had no mirth in it," for it told of a state in which blows might follow the non-performance of any command, but to which thanks were an unknown sound. All this is characteristic of slavery, and strikes an Englishman from its strong contrast with the respectful yet cheerful manners of the servants of his own country.

'It is argued by the defenders of the system (and the degraded tone of sentiment which pervades a slave country, and which can calmly calculate the value of a human being, is not one of its slightest evils), that the slave is fed well that he may work well; and treated mildly because it is the interest of the master to keep him in health—that he is spared as we spare the horse, that he may last to the journey's end; and such motives are, I believe, as high as any that generally actuate the conduct of a Dutch boor [or, he might add, of any other class of slave-holders] towards the slaves. Much cruelty may, however, be exercised without touching life or limb, and even interest is not always powerful over the passions of a race of men, who, living in remote parts of the colony till within a few years, laughed at the orders of a distant government, and when it was attempted to enforce them, rose in rebellion against it.

'In and around Cape Town, I believe that actual cruelty is rare; but the savage characters and habits of the Border boors, the difficulty of informing the slave of the ordinances that have been made for his protection, when it is the interest of the master to prevent it—the uncertainty of obtaining relief—and the dread of attempting to oppose a power beneath which it has become habitual to bend, give but too much credibility to the tales that are told.

'It has been said by one whose deep knowledge of human nature cannot be questioned, that "there are few minds to which tyranny is not delightful;" and the young Dutch child is early initiated in the

knowledge of cruelty, and the little slave who is permitted the honour of sharing its sports, in the duty of submission—for the impatient, angry temper of the one finds vent in blows, beneath which the other is born to crouch; and a lesson learnt in childhood is not easily lost. Then there is in this country a distinction founded on colour, which places the black beyond the pale of those feelings which influence our conduct to those around us:—fear, in some shape, is frequently the basis of the moderation we show to our equals, and a master's treatment of a slave wants this curb, and renders the brutal blow of passion which the white man knows that the sufferer cannot return, as common as it is revolting. That there are households in which the slaves are happy under judicious kindness, I believe; but this is owing to the favoured nature of the master or mistress; it is not the consequence of, but the exception to, the system—for, in general, any state of society in which much is trusted to the humanity of man, must be bad. It is said, and I believe with truth, that the slaves are almost always vicious: the master should be cautious in using this argument, for they generally give the first lesson of crime to the young females; and drunkenness, the vice of the men, is almost pardonable in a race rendered brutal by severity, and who have no escape from hardship, save in degraded insensibility. It is urged, too, that they are ungrateful: poor wretches! their opportunities are not frequent: for that which a master considers kindness towards a slave, is frequently but the effect of momentary caprice—nothing that influences general conduct, or merits gratitude.

'Even slavery, however, has some advantages to counterbalance a load of evil:—the slave never knows the extreme want felt frequently by the labouring class of Ireland, and sometimes by that of England; and when old age comes on, surrounded by his children and grandchildren, he is supported by the family with whom he has lived from childhood: there is no beggary, and there is no workhouse.

'This is the bright side of the question. There is another, and that not an uncommon one:—the master is ruined, and his property put up to sale; the old slave is purchased for a trifling sum, and doomed to wear out his days in a new family, who have little feeling for his infirmities; he is surrounded by those who are indifferent to him, and derives no assistance in his labours from younger hands, for his children have found other masters; and in his age, every tie that bound him to life, and reconciled him to his fate, is broken.'—pp. 29—35.

These observations are highly creditable to the author, and carry the conviction of their general accuracy along with them. They are, moreover, corroborated, as regards the Cape, by the testimony of almost every preceding witness of respectability,—such as Sparrman, Barrow, Philip, Pringle and others; and may be quoted as conclusive in opposition to the fallacious statements which have occasionally been put forth by a writer in the Quarterly Review, and by one or two others of a similar spirit, in regard to the extreme mildness of slavery in Southern Africa. Mr. Rose himself, indeed, appears to have been, to a

certain extent, imposed upon by the high pretensions to humanity and gentleness which, as every English or Indian visitor is aware, are assumed by the slave-holding ladies and gentlemen of Cape Town. "In and about Cape Town" he says "I believe that actual cruelty is rare"—and so have other cursory travellers said before. If we turn, however, to the statements exhibited in the Anti-slavery Reporter, extracted chiefly from official documents [See Nos. 20, 32 and 54,] we shall be constrained to adopt a very opposite opinion. Such cruelty as might subject the perpetrator to a personal or pecuniary penalty, or even to the hazard of great public odium, is probably not very frequent in Cape Town, where popular opinion, so debased in most slave-colonies, is in some degree purified by the constant intermixture in influential society of well-informed and liberal men, who are not slave-holders; and where, above all, gross abuses are exposed and checked by an independent press wielded, not by a mere mouth-piece of the colonists, or of the local authorities, but by an able, intelligent and high-principled man, who has fought the battle of freedom and gained it. Yet in spite of these and other advantages, it is but too evident that the slaves in Southern Africa, and even in Cape Town, are still very far either from being exempted from cruel and oppressive treatment by their masters, or from enjoying the protection of just and beneficent laws. Only look at the following extract from an examination of the Slave-Protector's Reports, laid before parliament last session, and relating to the year 1827; the very period when Mr. Rose was in the colony:

"The Return of prosecutions, for and against slaves, exhibits a most unusual severity of infliction on some offenders of the servile class. For thefts and burglaries, in the case even of women, we find punishments awarded of scourging, and branding, and working in irons, for periods extending to five, ten, and even fifteen years. But, besides this, we perceive that, in the case of complaints preferred by slaves against their masters, not only are the complaints generally dismissed as frivolous, but severe punishments are frequently awarded to the complainants, (without even the form of a trial) because they have failed to prove their allegations. This monstrous injustice, we are sorry to perceive that Mr. Huskisson, in the comments he makes on the report in his despatches to the governor of the Cape, has overlooked, although it is directly in the teeth of the principles he himself has repeatedly laid down on the subject; that 'no slave should be punished for preferring a complaint, unless he be distinctly convicted of the offence of having preferred a calumnious charge from improper motives, that conviction proceeding upon adequate and legal evidence.' Indeed only

one such charge appears to have been preferred, and the result affords a further illustration of the severity with which the delinquencies of slaves are visited at the Cape. The convicted slave is condemned to receive a hundred and twenty-five lashes, and to work in irons for two months. Mr. Huskisson justly complains that the nature of the calumny thus severely punished is not stated. 'I desire therefore,' he says, 'to have a full explanation of the particulars of this transaction.' "—*Anti-Slavery Reporter, for Nov.* 1829.

This subject might be pursued much further, but we must leave it for the present. Before doing so, however, we shall quote one passage from a Cape newspaper, which has reached us while we are writing these pages, and which not only furnishes a striking proof of the justice of the preceding remarks generally, but especially of the unfavourable condition in which human beings, even as regards their mere animal nature, are placed by slavery :—

"There is one fact," says the intelligent editor, "connected with the growth of the population, on which we should like to have the opinion of persons better acquainted with the colony than we have any grounds for supposing ourselves to be. It is this :—While the white population has greatly more than doubled itself in twenty-five years, and the native Hottentots have increased in nearly the same proportion—the numbers of the slaves have remained nearly stationary, at least since 1806. Many causes may be assigned to account for this. There has been a considerable influx of new settlers among the free classes, whilst the importation of slaves was prohibited : and as the colony came more and more under regular government, numbers of fresh Hottentots were entered on the roll of inhabitants. Emancipations of slaves have not been unfrequent—by which the servile class was diminished, and the other class augmented at the same time. These considerations satisfy the inquiry to a certain extent [a very limited extent certainly]—but we fear there have been other causes, connected with the nature of slavery itself, operative in producing so striking an effect. The condition of the slave has often been said to be superior in comfort, absence of care, and even in ease, to that of the free peasantry of any country. We never believed it. We know it to be an error. And we admire the wisdom of Providence in providing insurmountable checks to the natural increase of beings whose inheritance is bondage and affliction. And holding this opinion, we congratulate the colonists on the decreasing proportion of slaves to free men. In 1806, the slaves were more in number than the free whites. Now, they are as one to two. If slavery, as almost every man admits, be a load and a drag

on society, we must rejoice that it is becoming daily less, even without the aid of emancipation, and look forward to the time when the colonists may be able to quash the evil altogether."—*South African Advertiser, Sept.* 9, 1829.

Leaving slavery and civilization, we now accompany our traveller to the frontier of Cafferland, seven hundred miles from Cape Town. He introduces us to the scenery of that picturesque region by the following descriptive sketch:—

'The last week has to me been one of delightful excitement. I have rode over three hundred and fifty miles, have been amidst new scenes, new trees, new flowers, new animals, and a new people. The country through which we passed (my companion, myself, and two Hottentot soldiers) is totally different from that about the Cape, being covered with grass, which is, after rain, of the richest green; and large tracts frequently bear a striking resemblance to English park-scenery; wanting, indeed, its forest-trees, for the timber in the open country does not rise to any size, but fully atoning for this want by the beauty and variety of its shrubs and flowers; the palm-like euphorbia, with its naked trunk; the mimosa, with its delicate green, rich yellow blossom, and large milk-white thorn; different jasmines, with white clustering flowers, relieved by their dark green foliage; the speck-boom, food for the elephant, almost hid by the ivy geraniums rising to its top, and crowning it with purple blossoms; the various parasitical plants; the uncouth aloes, and all those strange, unnatural, snake-like plants that creep along the ground, and are known to your green-houses. These are a few of the plants forming the thick jungle which covers a very large proportion of the country. Then the shadowy dimness of the scenery on the river's banks, dark with its giant trees festooned with rope-like creepers, and the high weather-stained rocks, covered with trailing plants, and of strange fantastic forms,

"Like moonlight battlements or towers decayed by time."'—pp. 70—72.

This is a pleasing and an accurate description of the scenery of many parts of Albany and Cafferland. Mr. Rose deals, indeed, largely in descriptions of natural scenery, and gives us, on the whole, rather too much of it; but he is, we grant, often very successful, and we must extract one or two more of his sketches of the country before we turn to look at its native inhabitants:—

'The country I was now traversing, that through which the Great Fish River winds its course, is of a very singular character. In many parts it is covered to an immense extent by a thick jungle, called the Fish River Bush, affording covert to most of the wild animals known in this part of Africa: hill and hollow are equally clothed with the same dusky foliage. In others, the rider passes over vast naked plains; nor is he aware of his vicinity to the river, until he stands on the brink of its descent, until he looks down upon its shaggy steeps, and sees a petty stream lazily flowing five or six hundred feet beneath him. The country on both sides is nearly level, and this deep gloomy

rift seems to have been formed to confine and preserve the water, which is here so precious; for, in no lapse of ages could so petty a stream have shaped for itself so tremendous a channel. I shall not easily forget the impression made on me when crossing, for the first time, this wild hollow. The sun had sunk, and there was not one touch of light on the vast and lonely scene; the high and wooded hills that shut in the river, which wound its snake-like course far below, had the rich sombre purple and brown hues of evening, and, as they receded in dim perspective, blended beautifully, and melted into the grey distance. The scene would have been striking at any time, but was doubly so from the contrast of its shadowy effect with the bright sky above, for the clouds were yet gilded with the thousand nameless tints of an evening sun; the bank, forming the foreground, a kind of platform, making a break in the steep descent, was richly covered with flowering shrubs and plants, among which the Strelitzia regina shone pre-eminent, while the Euphorbia, so characteristic of African scenery,—that strange tree whose burning milk is said to be the food of the rhinoceros—shot up its palm-like form into the bright sky. The river that flowed in the deeply-shaded hollow, and whose solitary abysses afford shelter to the hippopotamus, was almost concealed in the steepness of its banks: at points in the descent, a view of its windings was caught; while, in the distance, it showed a gleam of grey and doubtful light.'—pp. 112—114.

Penetrating into the country of the Amakosa Caffers, in company with the chief magistrate of Albany and a small armed party, our traveller continues:—

'Our general route was easterly; on our right lay the coast, which we sometimes approached, and between the hills caught openings of forest scenery, terminated by the dim blue line of the sea; behind us was the colony, and to the north the Buffalo Mountains, backed by the Koloco and Chumnie [Chumi] ranges. The principal rivers we crossed were the Great Fish River, the Keiskamma, the Chilumni, [Kalumna] the Buffalo, the Namaqua, the Acoon, the Goonovi, the Gualaka, and the Kei; all flowing to the sea. The general character of these streams (with the exception of the last) is the same; the banks, which are thickly covered with trees, are steep, but not high, while the water looks almost black from the effect of the branches that bend over it. The trees are various, and some strikingly beautiful; the rich foliage of the wild fig, the plum, and that of the gnarled and twisted elswood, are contrasted with the cold grey green of the bending willow; there also are to be seen the assegai and iron-wood, with many others, while the water's edge is fringed with tall, light, feathery-blossomed reeds, and with the glossy palm-leaves of the Kaffer coffee.

'The country, in approaching the rivers, becomes hilly, and is then thickly covered with flowering shrubs; but in proceeding, the rider crosses vast grassy plains, over which the mimosa is thinly scattered; and is warned of his vicinity to another stream, by the ground being broken into smooth undulating hills, which become bolder and steeper until he reaches its banks.

'After the summer heats, whole regions have one general red-scorched hue, that fatigues the eye; and when that ceases, it is but to give place to large tracts over which the flame has swept, leaving them black and cheerless. This is sometimes the effect of chance, frequently of design, as it is the only method of clearing away the withered grass, that affords no nourishment, but which, on being removed, is replaced by fresh herbage. A single shower changes the whole face of nature, and the grass springs up with a quickness that, to one accustomed to the tardiness of European vegetation, is like magic. At night, too, the effect of the wide-spreading fire on the mountain's side is singularly magnificent.'—pp. 124—126.

Our traveller and his party soon come in contact with the natives, of whom he gives us the following sketches:—

'We had seen the blue smoke of several Kraals (villages) rising among the green hills, when, on a turn of the path, we found ourselves in the midst of their bee-hive huts. The men were sitting round a fire with their dogs and arms about them, and two freshly-killed bucks had been the sport of the day.

'The dog set up a howl, and a Kaffer, rising from the group, advanced towards us; he held out his hand, and repeated the salutation of good-will—*Goedendag*; but there was doubt in his movement, and fear in his eye. We gave our hands, and repeated *Goedendag*, and the rest of the horde came around us, asking for presents; but I thought that the children appeared to regard us with terror, and I doubt not that the white man is the devil by which their mothers hush them into obedience.

'The next day, our party being increased by a Kaffer interpreter, we pursued our journey, and bivouaked near the Kraal of an old Kaffer chief that lay in our route.

'It was near sunset when we arrived; the chief Enno and his principal men were sitting on the side of the hill, on which their habitations stood; the young men and boys were herding the cattle, while the women and girls were dancing. Our reception was very friendly; the chief asked what news there was (the regular inquiry both of the savage and the civilized), and could not be persuaded that we had none, while his questions betrayed a minute acquaintance with the movements of military parties, that surprised me; and while he continued to address them to my companion, I went to the dancers. To understand the dance, you should have seen it; no description, no drawing, can give an idea of a movement which was little more than a slow walk of short steps, and yet brought every muscle of the frame into violent exertion: the dancers, linked hand in hand, formed a semicircle, from which two separated themselves, coming to the front with this slow movement, and with strange contortions, and then retired to their places, while they kept time in all this to a strange monotonous air. The Kaffer women are far inferior to the men in appearance, for theirs is the labour of the fields that depresses the hunting, the pursuit of the men, strengthens it; yet still,

even among the women, when young, there are some forms of striking beauty; their black carosses hang not ungracefully about their dark forms, while the beads and ornaments, generally white, or gaily coloured, upon their arms, necks, and ancles, are in striking contrast with their dusky skins, and, aided by caps, decorated by alternate lines of white and blue beads, form a costume which is extremely becoming.'—pp. 82—85.

'The Chief is generally distinguished from his followers by a carosse of tiger's skin, and by a narrow tasteful beaded band worn round the head; and when he stands surrounded by his armed attendants, wrapped in their dark cloaks, it forms a most imposing sight, and one which, though my expectation had been raised, surprised me. Their figures are the noblest that my eye ever gazed upon, their movements the most graceful, and their attitudes the proudest, standing like forms of monumental bronze. I was much struck with the strong resemblance that a group of Kaffers bears to the Greek and Etruscan antique remains, except that the savage drapery is more scanty; and falls in simpler folds; their mantles, like those seen on the figures of the ancient vases, are generally fastened over the shoulder of the naked arm, while the other side is wholly concealed; but they have many ways of wearing the carosse, and of giving variety to their only garment.'—pp. 87, 88.

'The appearance of the Kaffer, when prepared for war, is wild and singular, the carosse being thrown aside, as it would impede the vigour of his movements. His covering is an ample shield of an elliptical shape, formed of a hardened hide; this hangs on one arm, while a bundle of five assagais is held in the right hand, and two lofty plumes of the feathers of the grey crane are fastened to his head by a leathern band.'—pp. 80, 81.

'I have watched a group of Kaffers, as they stood around me in easy, graceful attitudes, and marked their soft pleasing manners and mild eyes, and wondered that they could ever be savage; when the discourse suddenly turned on war, and a Kaffer was asked to show their manner of attacking an enemy. The expression in a moment changed; the eye assumed a vindictive glare, his lip the stern curve of vengeance; and throwing from him his carosse, and grasping the assagai firmly in his right hand, he bounded impetuously forward, crouched, as if to avoid the weapon of his foe, and then again rushed on with every muscle of his fine form clearly developed; and when his time had arrived, brandishing his weapon, he raised it to a horizontal position, gave it a quivering motion ere it left his hand, and sent it whizzing through the air.'—pp. 199, 200.

These notices, extracted from different parts of the volume, convey a lively picture of those handsome barbarians, in whom, as our traveller remarks, the *human animal* is perhaps to be found in the highest perfection of his nature. Mr. Rose made more than one excursion into the country of the Amakosæ, and visited the kraals or encampments of most of the principal

chiefs. Of Gaika, who was described in such favourable terms by Barrow thirty years ago, he gives a deplorable picture, though but too accordant with the ordinary results of European intercourse with uncivilized man. At the time of Barrow's visit, this chief was a noble-looking youth of nineteen. "He is now fifty," says Mr. Rose, "and melancholy has been the change that has taken place in the interval: the English have given him their protection, and with it their vices; and he is a sunk and degraded being, ready to exclaim with Caliban—

> "I'll swear upon that bottle to be thy true subject,
> For thy liquor is not earthly"——

a wretched savage, despised and suspected by his tribe, continually intoxicated, and ever ready to sell his wives for brandy."—p. 95.

Of Hinza, the most powerful and *highly descended* of the Amakosa chiefs (for these naked barbarians count much upon *nobility* of lineage), our traveller's account, though more favourable than respecting Gaika, is far from being very flattering. He found him not only an insatiable beggar like the rest of his nation, but ready to barter the persons of his wives and daughters for hatchets and knives, buttons and tinder-boxes. In short, female chastity among the Amakosæ, as among almost every people in the same rude state of society, appears to be a virtue held in no great estimation. At the same time there does not prevail among them any such gross licentiousness of manners as has sometimes been found among tribes in a similar stage of civilization—such as the Otaheiteans, and others. The females, indeed, appear to be viewed among them as a class of beings very far inferior to the lordly sex, and chiefly to be prized as useful drudges to minister to their accommodation. To them are allotted all laborious occupations, such as building the huts, cultivating the ground, &c. &c., while the men reserve to themselves the charge of the cattle, which are their chief property, and the noble pastimes of hunting and war. In other respects, the females do not appear to be harshly treated, but are gay and good-humoured, and, like their sex all the world over, fond of ornament, and not unacquainted with coquetry.

As all readers who have perused the accounts of preceding travellers in South Africa, and especially the well known works of Barrow and Lichtenstein, are already generally acquainted with the peculiar manners and mode of life of the Caffer race, we shall not now expatiate on these topics—and the rather since the volume before us contributes in reality but little to our previous information upon them. But in regard to their

political position with reference to the colony, and the treatment they have received from their European neighbours, Mr. Rose has made some observations which seem to be deserving of more particular notice.

'I do not consider,' he says, 'the Kaffers a cruel or vindictive people. The policy adopted towards them has been severe; for, when did Europeans respect the rights of the savage? By the Dutch Border-farmers, over whom their government had little control, they are said to have been slaughtered without mercy,—to have been destroyed as they destroy the wolf. At no period, I believe, since the English have been in possession, has wanton cruelty been committed; but the natives have at different times been driven back from boundary to boundary, and military posts have been established in the country, from which we have expelled them. Orders too have been issued, that all Kaffers appearing within the proclaimed line should be shot. Some of the old chiefs now inhabit, with their tribes, tracts a hundred and fifty miles farther back than their former lands; and when one of them, St'lamby, who occupied the country near Uitenage, was ordered to quit it, he simply and affectingly said, "that his fathers had eaten the wild honey of those hills, and he saw not why he should leave them."

'In 1810, the Great Fish River was proclaimed the eastern limit of the colony. In 1820, Gaika, a powerful chief, whom we had aided in his wars, was obliged to evacuate a rich extent of land lying between that river and the Keiskamma. On this occasion he is said to have remarked, "that though indebted to the English for his existence as a chief, yet when he looked upon the fine country taken from him, he could not but think his benefactors oppressive."

'It is not strange that the savages should be unable to see the justice of all this; that they should be troublesome neighbours to the settlers in a country of which they had been dispossessed. They were so: such instances were exaggerated, and a commando (an inroad of military and boors) was the frequent consequence. The crimes were individual, but the punishment was general: the duty of the commando was to destroy, to burn the habitations, and to seize the cattle; and they did their duty.

'When these circumstances are considered, it cannot excite surprise that there should have been acts of sudden and cruel vengeance; though it may, that they should not have been more frequent in a country where they are so easily perpetrated; the thick jungle affording concealment to the ambush, and it being only necessary to drag the body into the bush, and to leave it for the wolves to efface all traces of the death.

'I hate the policy that turns the English soldier into the cold-blooded butcher of the unresisting native: I hate it even when, by the calculator, it might be considered expedient; but here it is as stupid as it is cruel. The Kaffers are a numerous and a brave people, and were they but united, would prove a most dangerous enemy to our

frontier settlements. They once, when driven to despair by a large seizure of cattle, made an attack on Graham's Town, which was obstinately continued, and nearly proved successful. But the period of oppression is now past, never, I trust, to return; for the present policy pursued towards the natives is humane and honourable.'—pp. 74—77.

These observations are well expressed; the spirit which they breathe is humane, and highly creditable to the writer; and in their general purport we cordially concur. But we must, nevertheless, not allow one most fallacious assumption to pass unquestioned. What does Mr. Rose mean by asserting that "at no period since the English have been in possession has wanton cruelty been committed?" Although his visit to the frontier, his hunting excursions, and his gallops through Cafferland, occupied only a few hurried weeks, during which he was probably too much engrossed by the scenes immediately before him to acquire accurate information in regard to past transactions, yet during his "four years residence" in the colony, he ought to have been better informed than to put into his book a statement so utterly and deplorably untrue. What was the whole series of lord Charles Somerset's frontier policy—the bloody Commandoes (hostile incursions) that slaughtered the Caffers in their own territories, without mercy, and frequently without provocation—that burned their villages and their crops, carried off their cattle, and left their women and children to perish of famine—that proclaimed their favourite leaders outlaws, and set a price on their heads,—and when they surrendered themselves as hostages, sent them to work in irons in the slate-quarries of Robben Island, with the condemned felons of the colony? Was this not wanton cruelty? But Mr. Rose is a military man—and has military notions, perhaps, of murder and treachery, when perpetrated on a large dashing scale, and boasted of as notable exploits in a government gazette. "The duty," he tells us, "of a commando was to destroy, to burn the habitations, and to seize the cattle; and they did their duty!" They did so with a vengeance! And be it added, that those by whose orders such deeds were done, whatever were their motives or pretences, have thrown a stigma upon the British name in South Africa which will not be readily effaced. But if these transactions are to be excepted from the charge of "wanton cruelty," and ranked as "military" or "political" exploits, what are we to call such doings as the following? In 1821, twenty-five harmless Caffer females, who had ventured over the new frontier line which had been proclaimed in the Cape Gazette, merely to dig some red clay on the banks of the Great Fish

River for painting their bodies, after their national fashion, were seized and placed in bondage among the colonists. In 1824 three Caffer envoys, who were sent into the colony by the chief Macomo, to carry back a runaway slave woman, and some strayed or plundered cattle, were fired upon by the functionary to whom they delivered their chief's friendly message, and two of them shot dead, in cold blood, and without the slightest provocation. This transaction, though reported to the government, was passed over without redress, or the infliction of any punishment whatever on the guilty persons. These are but two out of numerous recent incidents of a similar character, several of which occurred during Mr. Rose's residence at the Cape, and of which it appears strange that he should be entirely ignorant; for, even if he had not heard of such deeds of "wanton cruelty" in the colony, which is barely possible, he might have found them, since his return, stated in more than one English publication, and accompanied by the unquestioned evidence of their authenticity. Britain has in truth had as yet but little cause to boast of her justice or humanity to the natives of Southern Africa.

"But," says Mr. Rose, "the period of oppression is now passed, never, I trust, to return; for the present policy pursued towards the natives is humane and honourable." The system has indeed been recently changed for the better; and the order in Council passed last Spring, by which the equality of the coloured races within the colony, with the European settlers, in every civil right and privilege, has been fully established, is a monument of pure and noble renown to the philanthropic individuals who so ably struggled to obtain it, and to sir George Murray who so frankly and liberally conferred it. Yet much, very much still remains to be done. It is one thing to enact good laws and another to enforce their execution. Caffer and Bushman commandoes are still going on, as formerly, with but little mitigation, as we perceive from the Cape newspapers now before us, up to the close of September last. And independently of this, the whole system of our policy towards the uncivilized tribes beyond our colonial boundaries, both in South Africa and elsewhere, is fundamentally vicious, and ought to be reformed *intus et in cute.* But this is a subject of far too great importance and complexity to be duly discussed in this slight notice of a light and pleasant book.

Mr. Rose has not taken the trouble to investigate the real condition and prospects of his emigrant countrymen. A sensible and succinct chapter on this subject will be found in Mr. Thompson's travels. Mr. Rose's remarks on the progress and

effects of the missionaries among the native tribes are also superficial and unsatisfactory.* But we will not part with him on unfriendly terms. He professes only to describe what fell under his own immediate observation, and to aim at no higher object than amusement. This aim he has more than realized. His descriptions of natural scenery are in many instances extremely beautiful and striking, and evince his possession of no inconsiderable share of graphic taste and poetical feeling. His sentiments too are generally, especially as regards the treatment of the coloured races, liberal and humane; and his style, though rather diffuse, and at times too ambitious, is on the whole easy, elegant and perspicuous.

Art. XIV.—*Edinburgh Review (XCIX. Art. 6.) on 'The Utilitarian Theory of Government, and the Greatest Happiness Principle.'*

THE conductors of the Westminster Review were desirous of an opportunity of making some additional remarks upon the principle they have in two preceding numbers had the good fortune to defend. A controversy, whatever may be its effects in approving the defensibleness of particular branches of a system, is not always the best adapted for the orderly statement of its substance. It is possible therefore that their design may have its use; though at some risk of incurring the scandal of repetition, and the disgrace of presenting what every body knows. The article in the last number of the Edinburgh Review has afforded them the opportunity desired; without materially altering the execution of their plan.

They therefore state,—for the edification of those who may be disposed to be edified by it, and without the slightest desire to interfere with the right of any body to prefer 'the keen and searching scepticism of the second Academy,'—that the substance of what they have endeavoured to maintain, when presented with more attention to order than a controversy would admit, is as follows.

First, That Morality, as applied to the conduct of individuals, is reducible to being the rule, the general observation of which would produce the greatest sum or aggregate of happiness

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* The best account of the progress of the Missionaries in promoting civilization in South Africa, is to be found in Dr. Philip's "Researches"—in many respects a very valuable publication. For an able condensation of its most interesting contents, and of all the authentic information respecting Africa up to a very recent date, the reader may be referred to that very cheap, and very meritorious, work, "The Modern Traveller."

among those who are to be affected by the consequences. That though moral precepts may have been uttered without any reference made to this principle, and many of them may have been right,—it is a reference to this principle which in disputed cases distinguishes the true from the pseudo-morality;—which establishes, for example, that it is not a meritorious action for a man to eat his father, as in some countries has been inculcated as a duty, and that it is not criminal *per se* to drink wine, which in others has been accounted an offence. If they are asked how they know that morality is reducible to this rule, they reply, Because on comparison with any of the systems of morality which have attained to extensive acceptance among mankind, it is palpable that in by far the largest portion of their extent the rules coincide; and that in respect of that portion in which they do not, the contest, with one solitary species of exception, has always been rested upon the effects in some shape of suffering or the contrary, on the sentient creatures that were concerned. If, for example, it was ever contended that it was a moral act for a man to kill and eat his father, it was supported on the ground that it was for the happiness of society and of themselves, that men on arriving at a certain stage of decrepitude should be put out of pain, and that it was a mark of respect for their sons to eat them. There may be doubt whether the reasoning was good; but there is none that this was the reasoning. And the same in other cases. The solitary exception remarked, is where on the ground of some asserted supernatural sanction or authority, actions have been defended as consonant with the moral rule, which have been hostile to the increase of the temporal happiness of men in the aggregate. On which peculiar description of cases it is sufficient to reply, that to make them of any weight it is requisite that it should be proved, not only that the authority referred to is unimpeachable, but that the interpretation of those who make the reference is unimpeachable also; and that none of those who have at any time brought forward a precept of the nature described, have established their title upon both these points. The Vedas, for example, may be considered as having failed upon the first point, and the Inquisition on the other. And further, that even in these cases, there has always been a virtual reference to some final advantage, which either through the influence of a supernatural power or otherwise, was to be the result of obedience.

Secondly, That though for any thing they have to say to the contrary there may be a hundred different reasons why men should be moral, one reason which to a certain extent may dispense with the production of the other ninety-nine, is that the

circumstances in which man is placed are such, that the habitual observance of the rule asserted to be the rule of morality, is in the long run and taking all chances together, the safest and most likely guide to the happiness of the individual. It may not be accordant with experience that in every individual case the man who lives in the breach of moral rules shall, in exteriors at least, be less happy than some other;—any more than it is accordant with experience that every man of eighty will die before every man of twenty-five. On the contrary it may be allowed to be certain, that in some instances the contrary will happen. But what is urged is, that in the same way as it is proveable by experience that a man would be a simpleton, who with all the chances before him, should chuse an annuity on the life of an average man of eighty in preference to one of twenty-five,—so it is proveable that a man commits an error and a folly, who with all the chances to encounter, chuses the quantity of happiness which shall be consequent on a course of immorality, in preference to the quantity he might have obtained by another course. The way in which each of these propositions must be established, is by individual attention to the evidence, that though now and then a man of eighty sees the funeral of a man of twenty-five, and a man of immoral conduct is (in outward appearance at least) more fortunate and happy than some one of opposite character, this does not destroy the general inference that nine times out of ten the event is of a contrary description, and that the man is a blockhead who makes his election the wrong way. If indeed any body says he sees reason to believe, that men of eighty are on the whole better lives than those of twenty-five, or that immoral men do upon the whole lead happier lives than moral ones, he is at perfect liberty to retain his own opinion. All that is insisted on is, that there are reasons sufficient to induce the greatest part of mankind to come to a contrary conclusion.

Thirdly, That the principle after being elucidated and established in the simpler case of individuals, is transferable to the operations of masses or combinations of men,—as for example, notably, to the conduct of those collections of influential persons who regulate the affairs of others under the title of governments, and to the conduct of independent nations in their behaviour towards each other. The interest of those who are in these cases to be acted upon, in receiving the greatest happiness, it seems unnecessary to go about to prove; the point in question relates to the happiness of the actors. And here the object is to establish as in accordance with the dictates of a sound and enlightened experience, that though there is no certainty that in any individual case the rule which would produce the greatest aggregate of happiness will be attended with the

greatest happiness to the party whose mode of action is in question, there is a certainty that the habitual observance of the rule will on the whole be the most likely guide to the happiness of this very party. It may not be absolutely certain that a particular government or nation which conducts itself according to the rule of the general happiness shall not be unfortunate;—but it is absolutely certain, that if all the instances in which governments or nations have acted according to the rule be compared with those in which they have not, the comparative result will be found vastly in favour of the former. This may not be as much as some could have found in their hearts to wish;—they may think it would have been very useful if it had been regulated, that every man who stole should die of an apoplexy the next week. But it is as much as Providence has chosen to give; and quite enough for wise men to act upon.

An important fact connected with these propositions is, that as men advance in civilization and improvement, the closeness of the connection between morality and particular happiness increases. In such a progressive state of general society, the actual proportion of cases in which immorality (personal, governmental, or national) is not attended with greater suffering in the end, may be viewed as continually decreasing, in the same manner that the number of men of eighty who mourn at the funerals of their grand-children is likely to be diminished. As the accidents by which men are exposed to be hurried to a premature death are on the decrease, and the appliances by which they are assisted to attain old age are on the increase,—so in the moral case, the combinations of society to connect suffering with guilt are continually gaining strength, and the power and opportunities of those who would oppose it are declining. Cacus had but one Hercules to guard against; but a robber of the diligence between Paris and Turin, has two legions of gendarmerie. In the same manner with respect to the crimes of nations, the feeling of community of interest with the sufferers is every where augmented, and the conviction of any real interest in the participation of the crime, among the citizens of the aggressive state, is every where diminished. The zeal for retribution, and the knowledge of the means, combine in all directions to increase the force of God's natural check upon iniquity and wrong.

After having laid down the motives which should induce all individuals without exception to concur in promoting the greatest happiness, it was an easy inference that if the happiness of men is to be the object of government, the object is to be obtained by their being governed with a view to their own interest, and not to the interest of somebody else; and that the way to effect

this is, that they should govern themselves, or at all events hold an effectual check over those to whom the reins of government are committed. And this led to those conclusions on the subject of modes of government, which it is unnecessary to repeat.

Whether all this is right, is known perhaps to beings in a higher state of existence than our own; and is certainly not known to every man who has attained to the faculty of writing in a quarterly Review. But if it is not right, it has very much the air of leading to what is right. Whenever it is found capable of improvement, the degradation of amendment shall be submitted to. To gain with labour and hold fast with pains, is the way in which men are doomed to come by knowledge; with the exception of that peculiar class, who come from the hands of the maker as perfect as they ever are.

The remainder of the paper will consist of replies to objections from the Edinburgh Review and other quarters; beginning with such as relate to the general principle.

'What earthly good can there be in a principle upon which no man will act until he is all-wise? A certain most important doctrine, we are told, has been demonstrated so clearly, that it ought to be the foundation of the science of government. And yet the whole frame of government is to be constituted, exactly as if this fundamental doctrine were false, and on the supposition that no human being will ever act as if he believed it to be true!'—*Ed. Rev. XCIX.* p. 118.

The substitution of one proposition for another. It was never stated that no man will act upon the principle till he is all-wise; but that if he was all-wise he would act upon it. If men were all-wise, they would be honest. But it does not follow that nobody will be honest, but one that is all-wise. The truth that if men were all-wise they would be honest, may be demonstrated ever so clearly upon paper; and yet form no reason why government should not be constituted upon the supposition that men will not be honest after all.

'To say that a man does what he believes to be against his happiness, is a contradiction in terms. If, therefore, government and laws are to be constituted on the supposition on which Mr. Mill's Essay is founded, that all individuals will, whenever they have power over others put into their hands, act in opposition to the general happiness, then government and laws must be constituted on the supposition that no individual believes, or ever will believe, his own happiness to be identical with the happiness of society. That is to say, government and laws are to be constituted on the supposition that no human being will ever be satisfied by Mr. Bentham's proof of his 'greatest happiness principle,'—a supposition which may be true enough, but which says little, we think, for the principle in question.'—p. 118.

Mr. Mill's proposition was, that all men will abuse power *when nothing checks;* and therefore it is the interest of the community to multiply checks. It may be quite true that men would be honest if they were wise; and yet form no reason why the prevention of dishonesty should be taken out of the hands of law and government, and trusted to the operation of the precept of morality. The real object is to check dishonesty by the exertions of the law, and to check it by the dissemination of the principle that dishonesty is bad policy besides.

'Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose, like the Westminster Reviewer, that thieves steal only because they do not calculate the chances of being hanged as correctly as honest men.'—p. 120.

It never was supposed that they steal *only* for that reason. '*Only*' is an insertion.

'It never seems to have occurred to him as possible, that a man may so greatly prefer the life of a thief to the life of a labourer, that he may determine to brave the risk of detection and punishment, though he may even think that risk greater than it really is. And how, on Utilitarian principles, is such a man to be convinced that he is in the wrong? 'You will be found out.'—'Undoubtedly.'—'You will be hanged within two years.'—'I expect to be hanged within one year.'—'Then why do you pursue this lawless mode of life?'—'Because I would rather live for one year with plenty of money, dressed like a gentleman, eating and drinking of the best, frequenting public places, and visiting a dashing mistress, than break stones on the road, or sit down to the loom, with the certainty of attaining a good old age. It is my humour. Are you answered?"—p. 120.

The sophism is in stating, that it is his humour, therefore it is wise. The question was, whether it is not capable of being demonstrated to the satisfaction of men in general, and with a manifest tendency to dissuade from the vocation of a thief,—that if all the pleasures and pains of the thief be put together, he has a worse balance on winding up the account than an honest man. It is no answer to this to say, that the thief voluntarily prefers the enjoyment of the credit side of the account at the present moment, and shuts his eyes to the other. The spendthrift tradesman does the same; but it does not follow that the balance is finally in his favour. It is very possible for a man to do a foolish act; and it is not the less foolish because he *chose* to do it. To say that the man chuses which he likes best, and must therefore always have his greatest happiness, is a mere evasion. The question was, whether of two things set before him, an individual may not chuse the worst. The answer given is, that the fact of his chusing necessarily makes it the best. The caution of the nurse is, 'Avoid green goose-

berries, or you will have cause to rue.' The answer of the baby is, 'I like to have green gooseberries; and therefore I can never have cause to rue.' The immoral man, like the baby, acts under a most imperfect consciousness of the real comparative value of the two sides of the account. He sees the one under the favouring aspect of immediate certainty of enjoyment; and the other under a false estimate, or an almost total ignorance, both of its actual magnitude and of the chances of escape. The baby runs all risks for the present gratification of a very paltry appetite; but vastly altered is its estimate of things, when the gripes come upon it like an armed man. According to the Edinburgh Review, the gripes are its greatest happiness. In the same manner the thief who steals to the amount of twenty shillings and gets hanged for it, would assuredly never have done it if he had made a sober estimate of the pleasures of twenty shillings and the actual unpleasantness of hanging by the neck, together with a correct judgment of the probabilities that one would be consequent upon the other. The fact is, that he makes no estimate at all, or none that approaches to correctness. He opens his eyes wide to the twenty shillings, and winks and runs his head into the disgraceful noose; and because he chuses to do this, he is to be held to have obtained his greatest happiness. Hogarth's 'Idle Apprentice' is a representation of the greatest happiness of the Edinburgh Review.

But it is practicable to go further. It is possible to borrow from theology, and ask, why the man who is supposed to do amiss and incur perpetual punishment in another world in return, is not to be allowed to have got his greatest happiness. He has had his choice,—he has taken that which he preferred to take,—as well as any of the rest. It follows, therefore, by evident connection, that this man also has had his greatest happiness.

'A king, says the Reviewer again, would govern well if he were wise, for fear of provoking his subjects to insurrection. Therefore, the true happiness of a king is identical with the greatest happiness of society. Tell Charles II. that if he will be constant to his queen, sober at table, regular at prayers, frugal in his expenses, active in the transaction of business; if he will drive the herd of slaves, buffoons, and procurers from Whitehall, and make the happiness of his people the rule of his conduct, he will have a much greater chance of reigning in comfort to an advanced age; that his profusion and tyranny have exasperated his subjects, and may, perhaps, bring him to an end as terrible as his father's. He might answer, that he saw the danger, but that life was not worth having without ease and vicious pleasures. And what has our philosopher to say? Does he not see that it is no more possible to reason a man out of liking a short life and a merry one more than a long life and a dull one, than to reason a Greenlander

out of his train oil? We may say that the tastes of the thief and the tyrant differ from ours; but what right have we to say, looking at this world alone, that they do not pursue their greatest happiness very judiciously?'—p. 120.

The question was not whether the argument should produce a certain effect on a given thief or tyrant, but whether it may not produce the effect of dissuading some men somewhere from theft and tyranny. If it does this, it produces good, whether it proves effectual upon a given individual or not. The demonstration of the perils attendant on profusion and tyranny might not be effectual on Charles II.; but it does not follow that it may not be effectual on somebody else. A given Greenlander may not be to be persuaded out of his train oil; but it might be possible to lay the foundations for persuading some future Greenlander, that claret is the better of the two.

'It is the grossest ignorance of human nature to suppose that another man calculates the chances differently from us, merely because he does what, in his place, we should not do. Every man has tastes and propensities, which he is disposed to gratify at a risk and expense, which people of different temperaments and habits think extravagant.'—p. 121.

Men have sufficient community of feeling to enable them to pronounce with considerable certainty on the comparative value of different pains and pleasures, whoever may be the subject. The theory of the Edinburgh Review is, that the thief may possess a peculiar gust in the joys of profligacy, and an idiosyncrasy for diminishing the pains of hanging, the torment of perpetual fear, and the sufferings of remorse,—of which the man who is not a thief has no right to form any apprehension. To which it may be replied, that not only there is no proof that any thing of this kind exists, but that there is proof to the opposite effect, of as strong a nature as to the fact that fire burns one man as well as another, or to any other community of feeling, though it cannot be established by an absolute exchange of personal consciousness.

'—take the man whose votes, ever since he has sate in Parliament, have been the most uniformly bad, and oppose him to the man whose votes have been the most uniformly good.—Now, does any rational man think, that the one runs more risk of coming to a miserable end, on account of his public conduct, than the other? The first does not know that he is not close on the moment when he will be made an example of. But he has no more reason to expect that he shall be made an example of, than to expect that London will be swallowed up by an earthquake next spring; and it would be as foolish in him to act on the former supposition as on the latter.'—p. 121.

So said the sinners that were before the flood;—and before

its great political parallel, the French Revolution. All this might have been said to any active member of the French government for the century that preceded; and still the Revolution came at last, and vindicated the soundness of the principle in question. Take the happiness of the members of the American government during the fifty years it has existed,—take also the happiness of the Stuarts and their courtiers, or any other race who have governed notoriously ill, and make a proper allowance for the misery which has come upon them in those seasons when they were brought to a reckoning for their misconduct;—divide the resulting masses fairly among the individuals concerned;—and let any thinking man decide for himself, on which side he should wish his lot to be cast, if the whole, with all its chances and uncertainties, was to come over again. If he decides for the Americans, it is proof that *he* at least, is of opinion that conduct like that of the Stuarts is unwise.

'A thief is condemned to be hanged. On the eve of the day fixed for the execution, a turnkey enters his cell, and tells him that all is safe, that he has only to slip out, that his friends are waiting in the neighbourhood with disguises, and that a passage is taken for him in an American packet. Now, it is clearly for the greatest happiness of society that the thief should be hanged, and the [illegible] turnkey exposed and punished. Will the Westminster Reviewer tell us, that it is for the greatest happiness of the thief to summon the head jailer, and [illegible] the whole story? Now, either it is for the greatest happiness of a man to be hanged or it is not. If it is, then the argument, by which the Westminster Reviewer attempts to prove that man does not mean the [illegible] happiness to [illegible] falls to the ground. If it is not, then there [illegible] whose greatest happiness is to [illegible] will the greatest happiness of [illegible]

[illegible] most [illegible] multiplication of the [illegible] men risk suffering by breaches of [illegible] greatest happiness. And the question [illegible] is, [illegible] himself to such a state, that he shall be [illegible] a shameful death, but by a [illegible] the [illegible] Suppose the [illegible] shipwrecked [illegible] crowded [illegible] This says the [illegible] that [illegible] themselves to such a [illegible] days without [illegible] maintain it this [illegible] The answer to [illegible] is reduced to itself: the [illegible] In the same [illegible] waiting [illegible] have made a

awfully bad choice if he comes to be sentenced to be hanged, with no chance but that of allowing the turnkey to take him a passage to America.

'We say, that if the 'greatest happiness principle,' as now stated, be sound, Mr. Mill's Essay, and all other works concerning Government, which, like that Essay, proceed on the supposition, that individuals may have an interest opposed to the greatest happiness of society, are fundamentally erroneous.'—p. 122.

A confusion between temporary or apparent interest, and ultimate or real.

'We say, that those who hold this principle to be sound, must be prepared to maintain, either that monarchs and aristocracies may be trusted to govern the community, or else that men cannot be trusted to follow their own interest, when that interest is demonstrated to them.'—p. 123.

Nothing is more undeniable, than that men cannot be trusted to follow their own interest, merely because pains have been taken to demonstrate it to them. The fallacy is in the word 'demonstrated;' which may mean either 'impressed on the mind so as to produce perfect conviction and belief,' or 'laid down in a printed demonstration in a book.' The last of these meanings makes no dilemma; it is intended therefore that the proposition should be granted in this sense, and interpreted in the other.

'We say, that if men cannot be trusted to follow their own interest, when that interest has been demonstrated to them, then the Utilitarian arguments, in favour of universal suffrage, are good for nothing.'—p. 123.

The same fallacy as before. Men *may* be trusted to follow their own interest, if they have an intimate persuasion of what their interest is, and are persuaded right. Men have already attained to so much knowledge of their true interest, as to lead the Utilitarians to maintain, that for them to have the power also, would be the most likely way to cause their true interest to be enforced.

'We say, that the 'greatest happiness principle' has not been proved; that it cannot be generally proved; that even in the particular cases selected by the Reviewer it is not clear that the principle is true; and that many cases might be stated in which the common sense of mankind would at once pronounce it to be false.'—p. 125.

Every thing depends upon opinion. Some men look through the world, and come to the conclusion that honesty is the best policy; others do the same, and come to the conclusion that it is not. There is a wide and increasing schism between

these two parties; and nothing that has been said in the Edinburgh Review is likely to end it.

'The Westminster Reviewer charges us with urging it as an objection to the 'greatest happiness principle,' that, 'it is included in the Christian morality.' This is a mere fiction of his own. We never attacked the morality of the Gospel. We blamed the Utilitarians for claiming the credit of a discovery, when they had merely stolen that morality, and spoiled it in the stealing. They have taken the precept of Christ, and left the motive; and they demand the praise of a most wonderful and beneficial invention, when all that they have done has been to make a most useful maxim useless by separating it from its sanction. On religious principles, it is true that every individual will best promote his own happiness by promoting the happiness of others. But if religious considerations be left out of the question, it is not true. If we do not reason on the supposition of a future state, where is the motive? If we do reason on that supposition, where is the discovery?'—p. 123.

The assertion was not that the being included in the Christian morality was urged as an 'objection to the greatest happiness principle;' but that it was urged as an 'objection'—manifestly not to the principle, but to the use there was in bringing it into notice. The Edinburgh Review is too fond of interpolation. The answer to the objection has been given before. But if it is necessary to dilate upon the subject, it must be stated, that since after nearly two thousand years, only one sixth of the population of the world have adopted the precepts of Christianity as their rule of conduct, there is some utility in deducing both a rule and a motive, which shall be applicable to the service of the other five. Either there is a possibility of doing this, or the Creator has left on the lowest possible computation more than nineteen-twentieths of the human beings that have existed, without the possibility of having either. There is no reason in supposing the last; nor does it accord with the authority to which the Edinburgh Reviewers profess to refer every thing. The scriptures to which they refer, contain numerous admissions that the nations who never heard of Christianity had the means of ascertaining a moral rule. Large portions of those who profess Christianity make no scruple of avowing, that they believe it because its precepts agree with a sound morality; in fact Christians with scarcely an exception, appeal to the pureness of its morality as evidence of truth. The teachers of Christianity, in determining what *is* their morality, continually appeal to some other rule, which on being examined will be found to be the rule of the general happiness. For example, the command when smitten on one cheek to turn the other, has by none been interpreted literally. It has always been assumed.

to be limited by a rational regard to the consequences of obedience. Even the great precept of 'doing to others as we would they should do to us,' is limited in the same manner. It is possible that if the experiment was made on a beggar, he might find in his heart to desire his rich neighbour to give him half his property, and marry him to his daughter. But no person has ever contended that this ought to be the interpretation; and for no reason that can be assigned, but that it would be contrary to the well-being of mankind. Again, if men professing Christianity in these latter times are much less disposed to commit atrocious actions on the plea of religious duty than in former ages,—if massacres and burnings for the love of heaven have been rarer,—it seems to be mainly attributable to the influence which what may be termed natural morality has obtained over the interpreters. The men who massacred and burnt, had the precepts of the gospel in their mouths, as much as any who live in the present day. The precepts of the gospel, therefore, have received from natural morality a most beneficial aid. All these considerations go to prove, that the Creator has given men the natural means of ascertaining a moral rule, and that the rule is no other than the general happiness. But if they have the power of finding a rule, it appears to be almost a contradiction in terms to suppose that they have not the power of finding a motive. A rule without a motive, is no rule at all. The rule of the greatest happiness evidently includes the motive; and wants nothing but the expansion of the process by which the happiness of the individual is involved in that of the species.

Another reason why the importance of the 'greatest happiness principle' is not absorbed in the coincidence of the Christian precepts, is that it applies to combinations of men in their aggregate capacity. Granting that the religious sanction applies to the conduct of individuals,—it by no means applies with equal vigour to the conduct of communities. It may be urged, that it applies to the individuals that compose the community, and this is enough. But the 'greatest happiness principle' applies to individuals, and to communities besides. In addition to the motives held out to individuals by both principles, the earthly principle says to nations, that it is for their ultimate interest to deal justly towards each other. It would be difficult to say what motive the religious principle holds out to nations in their corporate capacity; for it certainly does not threaten them *en masse*, with the 'sanction' alluded to by the Edinburgh Reviewers. And the consequence has been, that if Christian men have had small morality, Christian states have had less. It is notorious that many of

the worst acts of Christian nations, have been committed under the direction of men who as individuals had not the least idea of missing heaven. It would be thought hard and severe in any man, who should threaten a bad administration with sending them individually to the devil. The true check on bad administrations, is in setting before them the risk of present ruin, and of future if not present disgrace. Will the reputation of the conductors of the American and anti-revolutionary wars, be any prize in a lottery a century hence? Will the fame of Pitt be '*bella*?' It seems established therefore, that the principle contended for is at all events capable of doing good service in the political department, and has the field almost entirely to itself.

After this it may be useful to go back to the objections which relate peculiarly to the propositions of Mr. Mill on government.

'If we assume that the object of government is the preservation of the persons and property of men, then we must hold that, wherever that object is attained, there the principle of good government exists. If that object be attained both in Denmark and in the United States of America, then that which makes government good must exist, under whatever disguise of title or name, both in Denmark and in the United States. If men lived in fear for their lives and their possessions under Nero and under the National Convention, it follows that the causes from which misgovernment proceeds, existed both in the despotism of Rome, and in the democracy of France. What, then, is that which, being found in Denmark and in the United States, and not being found in the Roman empire, or under the administration of Robespierre, renders governments, widely differing in their external form, practically good? Be it what it may, it certainly is not that which Mr. Mill proves *à priori* that it must be,—a democratic representative assembly. For the Danes have no such assembly.'

'The latent principle of good government ought to be tracked, as it appears to us, in the same manner in which Lord Bacon proposed to track the principle of Heat. Make as large a list as possible, said that great man, of those bodies in which, however widely they differ from each other in appearance, we perceive heat; and as large a list as possible of those which, while they bear a general resemblance to hot bodies, are nevertheless not hot. Observe the different degrees of heat &c.'—p. 101.

There is no need for going through all that has been said by the great man. The latent principle had been tracked by Mr. Mill long ago, and uttered in one word, 'check.' It consists in the possession of the virtual power of interference, on the part of the governed. The Danes and Americans had this power; and the Romans and French had not. The Danish people had it by virtue of their accidental position, which enabled them to keep two other forces in a state of balance, by the power of

acting with either against the other; and they had it in spite of the absence of the forms of popular representation. The French people had the forms of representation, but not the effective power. In defiance of both these anomalies, it is perfectly possible that the forms of popular representation, combined with the power, may constitute the rational and practical mode of promoting good government. The rational and practical way of causing an individual to be taken care of, is to allow him to take care of himself. There have been individuals who have not been allowed to take care of themselves, and have yet been taken good care of. There have been individuals who have been allowed to take care of themselves, and have not been taken good care of after all. Both these are anomalies; but neither of them destroy the general rule. The general rule is that which is alone applicable to the simple case; the cases where it is not applicable, are complicated by the intervention of some fortuitous circumstance. It would be unreasonable to say to nations in general 'If you want to enjoy good government, make yourselves a balanced monarchy and aristocracy, as there was in Denmark;'—just as it would be unreasonable to say to men in general 'If you want to take care of yourselves, get somebody else to take care of you,' because in a single case it answered.

'The Utilitarian doctrine then is, not that despots and aristocracies will always plunder and oppress the people to the last point, but that they will do so if nothing checks them.'

'In the first place, it is quite clear that the doctrine thus stated is of no use at all, unless the force of the checks be estimated. The first law of motion is, that a ball once projected will fly on to all eternity with undiminished velocity, unless something checks. The fact is, that a ball stops in a few seconds after proceeding a few yards with very variable motion. Every man would wring his child's neck, and pick his friend's pocket, if nothing checked him. In fact, the principle thus stated, means only that governments will oppress, unless they abstain from oppressing.'—p. 104.

It no more means so, than a ball's moving till something checks, means only that it will move unless it abstains from moving.

'It is evidently on the real distribution of power, and not on names and badges, that the happiness of nations must depend. The representative system, though doubtless a great and precious discovery in politics, is only one of the many modes in which the democratic part of the community can efficiently check the governing few. That certain men have been chosen as deputies of the people,—that there is a piece of paper stating such deputies to possess certain powers,—these

circumstances in themselves constitute no security for good government. Such a constitution nominally existed in France; while, in fact, an oligarchy of committees and clubs trampled at once on the electors and the elected. Representation is a very happy contrivance for enabling large bodies of men to exert their power, with less risk of disorder than there would otherwise be. But, assuredly, it does not of itself give power.'—p. 109.

The answer to all this appears to be, that Mr. Mill undoubtedly spoke of representation accompanied by power, and not of representation deprived of it. At the same time it is not true that the connection between representation and power is one of simple accident. There may have been cases where they have been separated; but the general and natural tendency of possessing the representation is to give the power. There may have been men who had a sword and still could not defend themselves. But it does not follow, that to have a sword, is not a considerable step towards defence.

The special pleading of the Reviewers on the subject of 'sensual pleasures,' is only an effort to lead off from the point in question. If by the 'sensual pleasures' of a king or an aristocracy, they meant to define such pleasures cut off from all wherewith kings and aristocracies necessarily accompany them, they might as well have stated that it costs comparatively little to find a king or an aristocracy in small beer. What they really intended was, to reduce and cut down the estimate of the cost of sensual pleasures, and huddle up the reckoning of the remainder by hastening to descant on the appetite for good opinion. The sensual pleasures of a king differ from those of a cobbler, as much as their liquors. The Reviewers desire to reckon only for the water that is in the king's Tokay; and to represent every thing that makes it a kingly draught, as referable to another account.

Objections will next be noticed from other sources. It has been stated in a quarter entitled to the most friendly attention, that the principle of Mr. Bentham ought to be limited to its operation on governments, and that its application to individual morality is a burthensome addition. To this it may be replied, that in the first place, the application is true, and for the reasons already stated is not without considerable value in itself; and secondly, that the application to the simpler case is the best method of introducing and illustrating its application to the more complex. Men have already made considerable progress in the comprehension and practical use of the principle in the first form; it is therefore politic to enter the wedge by this end, with a view to the introduction of the remainder.

It has been objected from another quarter, that 'the magnificent law that was declared to be of such positive utility, is reduced to the working of a *probable* good.' This is a confusion between uncertainty in individual cases, and uncertainty in the aggregate. There may be uncertainty in one individual of twenty-five surviving another of eighty; but there is no uncertainty in the fact that men of twenty-five are on the whole the better lives. To say that the law which tells a man to prefer an annuity on a life of twenty-five to one of eighty, is only the enunciation of a *probable* good, would present the same mistake as in the objection. If every man of twenty-five had been certain of surviving every man of eighty, and every immoral act had been certain of being punished without the possibility of escape, there could have been no disinclination to note the fact. But as nature has willed otherwise, the next thing to be done is to note the *average* certainty which she has chosen to decree.

Another objection has consisted in 'begging to be informed what is the rule that is best for the general happiness;' and subjoining, that 'if it is to be left to the private judgment of individuals to decide upon what is best for the general happiness, the principle is useless, because mankind will never agree upon the mode of carrying it into effect.' This is only quarrelling with a principle that goes a certain length, because it does not go farther. It is perfectly true that there remains the question of what *is* for the general happiness. But the virtue of the previous proposition consisted in having reduced the question from a state of greater difficulty to a state of less. It is much easier to judge with some accuracy whether a given practice tends to the promotion of the general happiness, than to determine whether it is moral or immoral without the intervention of any such clue. For the palpable fact is, that men have an exceeding aptitude for judging of what is for the general happiness. They are all capable of forming a very tolerable theory—for their neighbours. Men may fight shy of the truth for some particular purpose; but the practical reality is, that on most points their knowledge is nearly as perfect as can be desired. There may be some debateable ground after all; but the extent of that on which there can be no general debate is incomparably greater.

In all that has preceded, reference has been made to habits, and not to insulated acts. The differences between single acts of immorality and their habitual repetition, have been exhausted by writers to whom it is unnecessary to refer.

The final inference impressed by the whole case is, that the friends of the 'greatest happiness' have only to persevere, to

arrive at the firmest establishment of their principle. They are wrong if they think all that is necessary has been done somewhere to their hands already; the battle is still to finish, though the good position is their own. What is wanted, is the laborious and extensive illustration of the various ways in which national and political invasions of the law of the greatest happiness work to produce their own punishment. The world has been deluged with illustrations of the corresponding truth in personal morality. All dying speeches are portions of it; not a father that places his son as an apprentice, but adds his fragment to the testimony. There wants a collection of dying speeches of nefarious governments. It would not be difficult to make something of this kind out of the history of the Stuarts. France could supply something like it from periods of her history. The kingdoms of the Peninsula may be considered as in that state where the dying speech is in every body's hands before the man is dead. The antiquary might go back to Rome, and the orientalist to Babylon. One of the first consequences of this resolute prosecution of the principle, would be the abandonment of the theological argument against it, as happened in the case of the geologists. Every body knows the kind of persecution a geologist was exposed to a few years ago, if he ventured to make any portion of the world more ancient than ultra theologians thought proper. The geologists persevered; and now all rational theologians are glad to support their own system by such facts as they can collect from the observations of the geologists. In the same manner let the friends of the greatest happiness persevere; and they will soon find theologians anxious only to have the benefit of such support as they may derive from the establishment of a coincidence between their rules. There is no war between Christianity and philosophy. Pure and undefiled Christianity is sound philosophy. If there ever has been war, it has been against the temporal abuses which pretences of religion were brought forward to protect. This was at the bottom of the outcry made against philosophy during the French Revolution. The real struggle was against arbitrary power sheltering itself under the influence of religious establishments. Religion was assailed because it was made an engine in the hands of the common enemy; the animosity was against the enemy, not against the abstract instrument that was in his hands. Those times are past. It is all too late now, to get up a religious opposition to the exercise of reason on any subject connected with the welfare of mankind.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE ON SLAVERY IN THE WEST INDIES, IN No. XXII.

It has been objected to the comparison between the case of the Mosses and that of Esther Hibner, that 'it would be quite as just and true to say, that because Lord Ferrers, and Fauntleroy, and Hunton were hanged, all the peers of Great Britain are addicted to the crime of murder, and that all the bankers and quakers are, to a man, swindlers and forgers.' For this objection to have any force, Lord Ferrers should have been *not* hanged, and the peers should have given him a dinner on the expiration of his confinement; the bankers should have done the same to Fauntleroy, and the quakers to Hunton.

It has been stated that the Article is 'ferocious and treasonable.' The Article was written to try the question. It was written to settle the point, whether the planters are to announce their intention of transferring their allegiance, and the public in England is not to announce its good wishes for the faithful population. Those who live in glass houses, ought not to have begun throwing stones.

It has been said that the object of the Article was 'to deluge the colonies with blood.' Men have no right to threaten rebellion with one breath, and to demand a careful attention to their comfort with another. At the same time, it is palpable that the object was not to produce bloodshed, but to produce that acquiescence in the intimations of the British government which is the only means of finally preventing it.

It has been affirmed that to take off the duty in favour of West Indian sugar, *would not* lower the price of sugar in England. Now it is clear that if the extra duty was taken off, the raisers of East Indian sugar could raise and sell more than they do; and therefore, even though the price of sugar should fall only by the inconsiderable quantity necessary to give East Indian sugar the power of entry into the market, the West Indians must sell less. But if they are to sell less, the competition among themselves will induce those who can best afford it to lower the price. The price of West Indian sugar therefore will meet the other half-way. This might not take place during the first year, or the second; but it is impossible for it to be finally prevented by any alterations in the price at any other place, that may be consequent on the alteration in the demand for West Indian sugar in England.

If the people of England cannot get rid of such an abuse as being taxed to support slavery, what chance have they of getting rid of any other? And if they desire to get rid of any other, what policy so clear as beginning with the abuse whose supporters support all the rest, as knowing that whenever reform begins, their own must go the first.

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THE

WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

APRIL, 1830.

ART. I.—*Letters and Journals of Lord Byron, with Notices of his Life.* By Thomas Moore. 2 Vols. 4to. Vol. I. London. 1830. Murray.

THIS first volume takes us at some disadvantage. *Respice finem* is especially applicable to biography. Much of the pleasure, as well as of the utility, arising from works of this description, consists in the study of character: and in this point of view, the last act of the drama of life often throws light on the first. Few men are so ingenuous as to enable their most intimate friends to discriminate very accurately the artificial from the real in their characters: we mean by the artificial, the assumed semblance, which, on an adequate occasion, would be thrown aside as easily as a mask and domino, as easily as the character of priest was thrown aside in the French Revolution by many of the dignified persons to whom it ceased to bring revenue. Extreme cases of this artificial character are to be found in the stolidity of the elder Brutus, in the madness of Edgar, and the folly of Leon. In a minor degree, this assumption of an unreal exterior exists more or less in all men: few have been so fortunate in this world's transactions, as never to see an old friend with a new face: it is time alone, (ὁ παντέλεγχος χρόνος, as Sophocles most happily says,) that shews whether the young popularity-carping senator, is a true Patriot, or a Whig, acting patriotism; whether the young soldier of a republic is, at heart, a Napoleon or a Washington. By the real in character, we mean those qualities, moral and intellectual, which remain unchanged through the entire course of "man's maturer years;" and which the collision of events, however ad-

verse, only serves to develope and confirm. For examples of these qualities in their worst and best forms, we need look no further than, on the one hand, to the love of excitement in gamblers and drunkards, whom it conducts to ruin and the grave: and on the other, to the love of country and mankind in the characters of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, and their principal coadjutors in the North American Revolution.

Solon bade Crœsus look to the end of life, before he could pronounce on individual happiness: it is not less necessary to do so before pronouncing a final judgment on individual character. The principal attraction of this work is the light which it has been expected to throw on the character of Lord Byron. So far, it has, to us at least, thrown little new light upon it, and much of that little by no means calculated to render any essential service to his memory.

Lord Byron was always "himself the great sublime he drew." Whatever figures filled up the middle and back ground of his pictures, the fore-ground was invariably consecrated to his own. As somebody, on a different occasion, said of Mr. Coleridge, "he made the public his confidant:" but his confidences were only half-confidences, more calculated to stimulate than to satisfy curiosity. He gave full vent to his feelings: but he hinted, rather than communicated, the circumstances of their origin: and he mixed up in his hints shadowy self-accusations of imaginary crimes, on which, of course, the liberal public put the worst possible construction. Indeed, both in his writings and conversation he dealt, in his latter years especially, very largely in *mystification*; and said many things which have brought his faithful reminiscents into scrapes, by making them report, what others, knowing he could not have believed, think he never could have asserted: which are very different matters. His confidences to Captain Medwin and Mr. Leigh Hunt, were many of them of this mystificatory class. They were of that sort of confidences which are usually reposed in the butt of an Italian *opera buffa*; where the words "*In confidenza*" invariably signify, that there is not a word of truth in any thing the party is going to say. Lord Byron was early distinguished by a scrupulous regard to truth: but the attrition of the world blunts the fine edge of veracity, even in the most ingenuous dispositions: and making the most liberal allowance for misapprehension and misrepresentation, we still think it impossible to read Medwin's and Hunt's reminiscences, without perceiving that those two worthy gentlemen had been very egregiously *mystified*. Lord Byron talked to them in the same spirit in which he wrote much of his *badinage* in Don Juan: such for instance as the passage:

'I've bribed my grandmother's review, the British.
I sent it in a letter to the editor,
Who thanked me duly by return of post:
I'm for a handsome article his creditor, &c.'

The editor took this as a serious charge, and most pathetically implored Lord Byron, as a gentleman and a man of honour, to disavow it. He was handsomely laughed at for his pains: for nobody believed the charge, or regarded it as having been seriously made.

Mr. Moore bears testimony to Lord Byron's disposition in this way. He says of a letter to Mr. Dallas:

'In addition to the temptation, never easily resisted by him, of displaying his wit at the expense of his character, he was here addressing a person who, though, no doubt, well-meaning, was evidently one of those officious, self-satisfied advisers, whom it was the delight of Lord Byron at all times to astonish and *mystify*. The tricks which, when a boy, he played upon the Nottingham quack, Lavender, were but the first of a long series with which, through life, he amused himself, at the expense of all the numerous quacks, whom his celebrity and sociability drew around him."—p. 135.

It must be evident that a person, who would write in this vein, would also talk in it, especially to persons whom he did not much respect. We shall not enter into the casuistry of the question, nor endeavour to decide how far this same weapon of mystification may be justifiably employed, either for the purpose of playing with self-conceited credulity, or for that of parrying or misleading impertinent curiosity. Great men have used it, and great men have justified it:

'Quantunque il simular sia le più volte
Ripreso, e dia di mala mente indici,
Si trova pur' in molte cose e molte
Aver fatti evidenti benefici,
E danni, e biasmi, e morti aver già tolte,
Che non conversiam sempre con gli amici,
In questa, assai più oscura, che serena,
Vita mortal, tutta d'invidia piena.' *

For ourselves, we hope we shall never adopt, we certainly shall not justify, the practice. We are for the maxim of the old British bards: "The Truth against the World." But if there be any one case of human life, in which this practice is justifiable, it is in the case of an individual living out of society, and much talked of in it, and haunted in his retirement by varieties of the small Boswell or eavesdropping genus, who, as a very

* Ariosto: Canto IV.

little penetration must shew him, would take the first opportunity of selling his confidences to the public, if he should happen to drop any thing for which the prurient appetite of the reading rabble would present a profitable market. Some light will be thrown on this point by Mr. Hunt's naïve observation, that the "natural Byron" was never seen but when he was half-tipsy, and that the said Byron was particularly careful not to get tipsy in Mr. Hunt's company. The "artificial Byron" was all mockery and despair; and allowed himself to be regularly set down, half a dozen times a day, by the repartees of Mr. Hunt, and Mrs. Hunt, and all the little Master Hunts. In short,

> "Man but a rush against Othello's breast,
> And he retired."*

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* The following extracts from Mr. Hunt's publication will substantiate what we have said in the text.

"Lord Byron, who was as acute as a woman in those respects, very speedily discerned that he did not stand very high in her (Mrs. Hunt's) good graces; and accordingly he set her down to a very humble rank in his own. As I oftener went to his part of the house, than he came to mine, he seldom saw her; and when he did, the conversation was awkward on his side, and provokingly self-possessed on her's. He said to her one day, "What do you think, Mrs. Hunt? Trelawney has been speaking against my morals! What do you think of that?"—"It is the first time," said Mrs. Hunt, "I ever heard of them." This, which would have set a man of address upon his wit, completely dashed and reduced him to silence. But her greatest offence was in some thing which I had occasion to tell him. He was very bitter one day upon some friends of mine, criticising even their personal appearance, and that in no good taste. At the same time, he was affecting to be very pleasant and good-humoured, and without any "offence in the world." All this provoked me to mortify him, and I asked if he knew what Mrs. Hunt had said one day to the Shelleys, of his picture by Harlowe? (It is the fastidious, scornful portrait of him, affectedly looking down.) He said he did not, and was curious to know. An engraving of it, I told him, was shown her, and her opinion asked; upon which she observed, that "it resembled a great school-boy, who had a plain bun given him, instead of a plum-one." I did not add, that our friends shook with laughter at this idea of the noble original, because it was "so like him." He looked as black as possible, and never again criticised the personal appearance of those whom I regarded. It was on accounts like these, that he talked of Mrs. Hunt as being "no great things." Myself, because I did not take all his worldly common-places for granted, nor enter into the merits of his bad jokes on women, he represented as a "proser;" and the children, than whom I will venture to say it was impossible to have quieter or more respectable in the house, or any that came less in his way, he pronounced to be "impracticable." But that was the reason. I very soon found that it was desirable to keep them out of his way; and although this was done in the easiest and most natural manner, and was altogether such a measure as a person of less jealousy might have regarded as a consideration for his quiet, he resented it, and could not help venting his spleen in talking of them. The worst of it was, that when they did come in his way, they were nothing daunted. They had lived in a natural, not

We did not review Mr. Hunt's publication. The Quarterly Review did it ample justice; and though that Review left unsaid some things which we should have said, and said some things

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an artificial state of intercourse, and were equally sprightly, respectful, and self-possessed. My eldest boy surprised him with his address, never losing his singleness of manner, nor exhibiting pretensions of which he was too young to know any thing, yet giving him his title at due intervals, and appearing, in fact, as if he had always lived in the world instead of out of it. This put him out of his reckoning. To the second, who was more struck with his reputation, and had a vivacity of temperament that rendered such lessons dangerous, he said, one day, that he must take care how he got notions in his head about truth and sincerity, for they would hinder him getting on in the world. This, doubtless, was rather intended to vent a spleen of his own, than to modify the opinions of the child; but the peril was not the less, and I had warning given me that he could say worse things when I was not present. Thus the children became "impracticable;" and, luckily, they remained so."—pp. 27, 28.

"It is a credit to my noble acquaintance, that he was by far the pleasantest when he had got wine in his head. The only time I invited myself to dine with him, I told him I did it on that account, and that I meant to push the bottle so, that he should intoxicate me with his good company. He said he would have a set-to; but he never did it. I believe he was afraid. It was a little before he left Italy; and there was a point in contest between us (not regarding myself) which he thought perhaps I should persuade him to give up.

"When in his cups, which was not often, nor immoderately, he was inclined to be tender; but not weakly so, nor lachrymose. I know not how it might have been with every body, but he paid me the compliment of being excited to his very best feelings; and when I rose late to go away, he would hold me down, and say with a look of entreaty, "Not yet."

"Then it was that I seemed to talk with the proper natural Byron, as he ought to have been; and there was not a sacrifice I could not have made to keep him in that temper, and see his friends love him, as much as the world admired. Next morning it was all gone. His intimacy with the worst part of mankind, had got him again in its chilling crust; and nothing remained, but to despair and joke."—p. 68.

"With men I have seen him hold the most childish contests for superiority; so childish, that had it been possible for him to divest himself of a sense of his pretensions and public character, they would have exhibited something of the conciliating simplicity of Goldsmith. He would then lay imaginary wagers; and in a style which you would not have looked for in high life, thrust out his chin, and give knowing, self-estimating nods of the head, half-nod and half-shake, such as boys playing at chuck-farthing give when they say, "Come, I tell you what now." A fat dandy who came upon us at Genoa, and pretended to be younger than he was, and to wear his own hair, discomposed him for the day. He declaimed against him in so deploring a tone, and uttered the word "wig" so often, that my two eldest boys, who were in the next room, were obliged to stifle their laughter."—p. 77.

"The love of money, the pleasure of receiving it, even the gratitude he evinced when it was saved him, had not taught him the only virtue upon which lovers of money usually found their claims to a good construction: he did not like paying a debt, and would undergo pestering and pursuit to avoid it. "But what," cries the reader, "becomes then of the stories of

which we certainly should not have said, it would have been *actum agere* to go again over the same ground. We are not solicitous about the motives which influenced the Quarterly Reviewers. They had an old political enemy at a manifest moral disadvantage. The querulous egotisms, the scaturient vanity bubbling up in every page like the hundred fountains of the river Hoangho, the readiness to violate all the confidences of private life, the intrinsic nothingness of what the writer had it in his power to tell, the shallow mockeries of philosophical thinking, the quaint and silly figures of speech, the out-of-the-way notions of morals and manners, the eternal reference of everything to self, the manifest labour and effort to inflate a mass of insignificancies into the bulk of a quarto, for the sake of the liberal bookseller, who wanted to append a given number of pages to the name of Lord Byron, the constantly recurring "Io Triumphe" over the excellent hits and clinches of the author and his family, and the obvious *malus animus* of the entire work; presented so many inviting prominences to the hand of castigation, that the Quarterly could for once come forth on fair ground, and flagellate an opponent without having recourse to its old art of wilful misrepresentation.

Many traces of that spirit of *badinage* which says things not meant or expected to be believed, and which literal interpretation would turn into something never dreamed of by the writer, occur throughout the letters in this volume. For example, Lord Byron writing from Constantinople, says to his mother:—

'H. who will deliver this is bound straight for England: and as he is bursting with his travels, I shall not anticipate his narratives, but merely beg you not to believe one word he says, but reserve your ear for me, if you have any desire to be acquainted with the truth.'

No one, who reads this volume, will suppose this to be anything but jest; but we can easily conceive his reminiscents reporting it thus: "He had a very bad opinion of Mr. Hobhouse's veracity, and emphatically cautioned me against believing a word he said."

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his making presents of money and manuscripts, and his not caring for the profits of his writings, and his giving 10,000*l.* to the Greeks!" He did care for the profits of what he wrote, and he reaped a great deal: but as I have observed before, he cared for celebrity still more; and his presents, such as they were, were judiciously made to that end. "Good heavens!" said a fair friend to me the other day, who knew him well, "if he had but fore seen that you would have given the world an account of him! What would he not have done to cut a figure in your eyes!"– pp. 80, 81.—From *Lord Byron and some of his Contemporaries*, by Leigh Hunt. Colburn, 1828.

We shall not multiply instances. The volume abounds with them. We believe that Captain Medwin and Mr. Leigh Hunt were both gentlemen to take every thing literally. Lord Byron did not, in truth, admit either of them into his confidence, more than one step further, if even that, than he did the public in general: and their imperfect and flippant communications answered scarcely any purpose but to disappoint expectation.

Curiosity was never more strongly excited, nor disappointment more strongly experienced, than by the memoirs which Lord Byron left of himself, and which Mr. Moore committed to the flames. Mr. Moore calls them "the memoirs or rather memoranda, which it was thought expedient, for various reasons, to sacrifice." [p. 655.]—These being gone beyond recovery, Mr. Moore remained, with the reputation of being the best-informed person in the kingdom on the subject of the noble poet, of having access to the most ample materials for his biography, and of being the best qualified person to put those materials together.

It turns out, however, most unluckily, that all that is best worth telling is not fit to be told. In the points about which the public were most curious, what was before mystery, is still mystery. It remains, like Bottom's dream, in the repositories of the incommunicable.

'*Bottom.* The eye of man hath not heard; the ear of man hath not seen; man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was.'

'Masters, I am to discourse wonders: but ask me not what; for if I tell you, I am no true Athenian. I will tell you every thing, right as it fell out.'

'*Quince.* Let us hear, sweet Bottom.

'*Bottom.* Not a word of me. All that I will tell you is, that the duke hath dined.'

And of matter about as important as the duke's dinner, is at least one half of this goodly volume composed.

We shall now give an account of this first volume, making such remarks as suggest themselves, and reserving our general observations till the conclusion of the second.

The work begins with an account of Lord Byron's ancestry.

"In the character of the noble poet," says Mr. Moore, "the pride of ancestry was undoubtedly one of the most decided features." His descent is cursorily traced from "Ralph de Burun, whose name ranks high in Dooms-day book, among the tenants of land in Nottinghamshire," [page 1.] through Sir John Byron the Little, with the Great Beard [page 3.] who, "at the dissolution

of the monasteries, obtained, by a royal grant, the church and priory of Newstead, with the lands adjoining :" Sir John Byron, who, in the year 1643, was created by Charles the 1st "Baron Byron of Rochdale in the county of Lancaster," and is described as having been to the last a most faithful, persevering, and disinterested follower of the king: down to the grandfather, grand uncle and father of the poet: the first Mr., afterwards Admiral Byron, whose shipwreck and sufferings, about the year 1750, awakened, in no small degree, the attention and sympathy of the public: the second, the Lord Byron, who, in the year 1765, stood his trial before the House of Peers for killing in a duel, or rather scuffle, his relation and neighbour, Mr. Chaworth: and the third, Captain Byron, a worthless profligate, who married, first, the divorced wife of Lord Carmarthen, whom he had previously carried off from her husband; and afterwards, on her death, Miss Catharine Gordon, only child and heiress of George Gordon, esq. of Gight. The only offspring of the first marriage was the honourable Augusta Byron, now the wife of Colonel Leigh: the only offspring of the second was the subject of this memoir, who was born in Holles Street, London, on the 22nd of January 1788: by which time his mother, who had been married in 1785, was reduced from competence to a pittance of 150*l.* per annum; her husband having squandered the whole of her fortune. The lady was no exception to Master Silence's axiom, that "women are shrews, both short and tall:" on the contrary, she was a virago of the first magnitude. This hopeful pair separated in 1790; and the husband died in 1791. Little Byron was left with his mother, who taught him to rage and storm; and his nurse, who taught him to repeat the psalms, and sang him to sleep with stories and legends. He read the Bible through and through, before he was eight years old. The Old Testament he read as a pleasure, the New as a task.

The malformation of his foot, occasioned by an accident at his birth, was a subject of pain, inconvenience, and mortification to him, from his earliest years.

He began his scholastic education at a cheap day-school in Aberdeen, where he made little progress. In 1796 he was removed by his mother, for the change of air, into the Highlands, where he acquired his first enthusiasm for mountain scenery: and fell in love at eight years old with a "Highland Mary" of his own. On these two points, mountain scenery and precocious love, Mr. Moore philosophizes.

In 1798, by the death of his grand uncle, he succeeded to the title and estates, the latter being much involved, and the former, consequently, a great calamity. He was now placed in

the hands of a quack, at Nottingham, named Lavender, who tortured him grievously under pretence of curing his foot, and, during this infliction, he received lessons in Latin from a respectable schoolmaster, Mr. Rogers.

In 1799, he was removed to London, and placed under the medical care of Dr. Baillie, and in the scholastic establishment of Dr. Glennie at Dulwich, where, having been carefully untaught the little he had learned in Scotland, he started afresh and began to make way: but was much impeded by his mother having him too much at home.

In 1800, he had a second boyish passion for his young cousin Miss Parker.

In 1801, he went to Harrow, "as little prepared," says Dr. Glennie, "as it is natural to suppose from two years of elementary instruction, thwarted by every art that could estrange the mind of youth from preceptor, from school, and from all serious study."

At Harrow, however, he distinguished himself as an athlete, neglected his school-books, and picked up some general knowledge by reading history, philosophy, and so forth, contrary to the good order and discipline of our public establishments for eradicating the love of letters. He fought his way into the respect of his schoolfellows. A vast deal of childish matter is here narrated, very inficete and unprofitable to peruse.

In 1803, he fell in love with his cousin, Miss Chaworth. As much is supposed to hang upon this unsuccessful attachment, and as the narration will serve as a favourable specimen of the matter and manner of the work, we shall extract the entire passage, in which this event is related :—

'We come now to an event in his life which, according to his own deliberate persuasion, exercised a lasting and paramount influence over the whole of his subsequent character and career.

'It was in the year 1803 that his heart, already twice, as we have seen, possessed with the childish notion that it loved, conceived an attachment which,—young as he was even then for such a feeling,—sunk so deep into his mind as to give a colour to all his future life.

'That unsuccessful loves are generally the most lasting is a truth, however sad, which unluckily did not require this instance to confirm it. To the same cause, I fear, must be traced the perfect innocence and romance which distinguish this very early attachment to Miss Chaworth from the many others that succeeded, without effacing, it in his heart;—making it the only one whose details can be entered into with safety, or whose results, however darkening their influence on himself, can be dwelt upon with a pleasurable interest by others.

'On leaving Bath, Mrs. Byron took up her abode in lodgings, at Nottingham,—Newstead Abbey being at that time let to Lord Grey de

Ruthven,—and during the Harrow vacation of this year she was joined there by her son. So attached was he to Newstead, that even to be in its neighbourhood was a delight to him; and before he became acquainted with Lord Grey, he used sometimes to sleep for a night at the small house near the gate which is still known by the name of "the Hut."* An intimacy, however, soon sprang up between him and his noble tenant, and an apartment in the Abbey was from thenceforth always at his service. To the family of Miss Chaworth, who resided at Annesley, in the immediate neighbourhood of Newstead, he had been made known, some time before, in London, and now renewed his acquaintance with them. The young heiress herself combined with the many worldly advantages that encircled her, much personal beauty, and a disposition the most amiable and attaching. Though already fully alive to her charms, it was at the period of which we are speaking, that the young poet, who was then in his sixteenth year, while the object of his adoration was about two years older, seems to have drank deepest of that fascination whose effects were to be so lasting;—six short summer weeks which he now passed in her company being sufficient to lay the foundation of a feeling for all life.

'He used, at first, though offered a bed at Annesley, to return every night to Newstead to sleep; alleging as a reason, that he was afraid of the family pictures of the Chaworths,—that he fancied "they had taken a grudge to him on account of the duel, and would come down from their frames at night to haunt him."† At length, one evening, he said gravely to Miss Chaworth and her cousin, "in going home last night I saw a bogle;" which Scotch term being wholly unintelligible to the young ladies, he explained that he had seen a ghost, and would not therefore return to Newstead that evening. From this time, he always slept at Annesley during the remainder of his visit, which was interrupted only by a short excursion to Matlock and Castleton, in which he had the happiness of accompanying Miss Chaworth and her party, and of which the following interesting notice appears in one of his memorandum-books:—

'"When I was fifteen years of age, it happened hat, in a cavern in Derbyshire, I had to cross in a boat (in which two people only could lie down), a stream which flows under a rock, with the rock so close upon the water as to admit the boat only to be pushed on by a ferryman (a sort of Charon), who wades at the stern, stooping all the time.

* I find this circumstance, of his having occasionally slept at the Hut, though asserted by one of the old servants, much doubted by others.

† It may possibly have been the recollection of these pictures that suggested to him the following lines in the Siege of Corinth:—

'Like the figures on arras that gloomily glare,
Stirr'd by the breath of the wintery air,
So seen by the dying lamp's fitful light,
Lifeless, but life-like and awful to sight;
As they seem, through the dimness, about to come down
From the shadowy wall where their images frown.'

The companion of my transit was M. A. C., with whom I had been long in love, and never told it, though she had discovered it without.

"'I recollect my sensations, but cannot describe them, and it is as well. We were a party, a Mr. W. two Miss W.'s, Mr. and Mrs. Cl—ke, Miss R., and my M. A. C. Alas! Why do I say My? Our union would have healed feuds in which blood had been shed by our fathers, it would have joined lands broad and rich, it would have joined at least one heart, and two persons not ill matched in years (she is two years my elder), and—and—and—what has been the result?"

'In the dances of the evening at Matlock, Miss Chaworth, of course, joined, while her lover sat looking on, solitary and mortified. It is not impossible, indeed, that the dislike that he always expressed for this amusement may have originated in some bitter pang, felt in his youth, on seeing "the lady of his love" led out by others to the gay dance from which he was himself excluded. On the present occasion, the young heiress of Annesley having had for her partner (as often happens at Matlock) some person with whom she was wholly unacquainted; on her resuming her seat, Byron said to her pettishly, "I hope you like your friend." The words were scarcely out of his lips, when he was accosted by an ungainly-looking Scotch lady, who rather boisterously claimed him as "cousin," and was putting his pride to the torture with her vulgarity, when he heard the voice of his fair companion retorting archly in his ear, "I hope you like your friend."

'His time at Annesley was mostly passed in riding with Miss Chaworth and her cousin—sitting in idle reverie, as was his custom, pulling at his handkerchief, or in firing at a door which opens upon the terrace, and which still, I believe, bears the marks of his shots. But his chief delight was in sitting to hear Miss Chaworth play; and the pretty Welsh air, "Mary Anne" was (partly, of course, on account of the name) his especial favourite. During all this time he had the pain of knowing that the heart of her he loved was occupied by another; that as he himself expressed it,

Her sighs were not for him, to her he was
Even as a brother—but no more.

'Neither is it, indeed, probable, had even her affections been disengaged, that lord Byron would, at this time, have been selected as the object of them. A seniority of two years gives to a girl, "on the eve of womanhood," an advance into life, with which the boy keeps no proportionate pace. Miss Chaworth looked upon Byron as a mere schoolboy. He was in his manners, too, at that period, rough and odd, and (as I have heard from more than one quarter) by no means popular among girls of his own age. If at any moment, however, he had flattered himself with the hope of being loved by her, a circumstance mentioned in his "Memoranda," as one of the most painful of those humiliations to which the defect in his foot had exposed him, must have let the truth in with dreadful certainty upon his heart. He either was told of, or over-heard, Miss Chaworth saying to her maid, "Do you think I could care any thing for that lame boy?"

'This speech, as he himself described it, was like a shot through his heart. Though late at night when he heard it, he instantly darted out of the house, and scarcely knowing whither he ran, never stopped till he found himself at Newstead.

'The picture which he has drawn of this youthful love, in one of the most interesting of his poems, "The Dream," shows how genius and feeling can elevate the realities of life, and give to the commonest events and objects an undying lustre. The old hall at Annesley, under the name of "the antique oratory," will long call up to fancy, the "maiden and the youth" who once stood in it; while the image of the lover's steed, though suggested by the unromantic race-ground of Nottingham, will not the less conduce to the general charm of the scene, and shed a portion of that light which only genius could shed over it.

'He appears already at this boyish age to have been so far a proficient in gallantry as to know the use that may be made of the trophies of former triumphs in achieving new ones; for he used to boast, with much pride, to Miss Chaworth, of a locket which some fair favourite had given him, and which, probably, may have been a present from that pretty cousin, of whom he speaks with such warmth in one of the notices already quoted. He was also, it appears, not a little aware of his own beauty, which, notwithstanding the tendency to corpulence derived from his mother, gave promise at this time, of that peculiar expression into which his features refined and kindled afterwards.

'With the summer holidays ended this dream of his youth. He saw Miss Chaworth once more in the succeeding year, and took his last farewell of her (as he himself used to relate) on that hill near Annesley,* which, in his poem of "The Dream," he describes so happily as "crowned with a peculiar diadem." No one, he declared, could have told how much he felt, for his countenance was calm, and his feelings restrained. "The next time I see you," said he, in parting with her, "I suppose you will be Mrs. Chaworth,"†—and her answer was, "I hope so." It was before this interview that he wrote, with a pencil, in a volume of "Madame de Maintenon's Letters" belonging to her, the following verses, which have never, I believe, before been published:

"Oh Memory, torture me no more,
The present's all o'ercast;
My hopes of future bliss are o'er,
In mercy veil the past.

* 'Among the unpublished verses of his in my possession, I find the following fragment written not long after this period:

Hills of Annesley, bleak and barren,
Where my thoughtless childhood stray'd,
How the northern tempests warring,
Howl above thy tufted shade!
Now no more, the hours beguiling,
Former favourite haunts I see;
Now no more my Mary smiling,
Makes ye seem a Heaven to me.'

† The lady's husband, for some time, took her family name.

Why bring those images to view,
I henceforth must resign?
Ah! why those happy hours renew,
That never can be mine?
Past pleasure doubles present pain,
To sorrow adds regret,
Regret and hope are both in vain,
I ask but to—forget."

'In the following year, 1805, Miss Chaworth was married to his successful rival, Mr. John Musters; and a person who was present when the first intelligence of the event was communicated to him, thus describes the manner in which he received it.—"I was present when he first heard of the marriage. His mother said, 'Byron, I have some news for you.'—'Well, what is it?'—'Take out your handkerchief first, for you will want it.'—'Nonsense!'—'Take out your handkerchief, I say.' He did so, to humour her. 'Miss Chaworth is married.' An expression, very peculiar, impossible to describe, passed over his pale face, and he hurried his handkerchief into his pocket, saying, with an affected air of coldness and nonchalance, 'Is that all?' 'Why, I expected you would have been plunged into grief!'—He made no reply, and soon began to talk about something else."'—pp. 53, 58.

Now that this affair gave a colour to all his future life, we do not in the slightest degree believe. It was his own mind that gave the colour to the affair. It was his disposition to aim always at unattainable things. If he had married this idol, he would very soon have drawn the same conclusion respecting her, which he drew respecting all the objects of his more successful pursuit:

'"Tis an old lesson; Time approves it true,
And they who know it best deplore it most;
When all is won that all desire to woo,
The paltry prize is hardly worth the cost."
Childe Harold: C. I. St. 35.

Through life he aimed at what he could not compass. He took the best substitutes which circumstances placed in his way, and consoled himself with a handmaid for the loss of a Helen: the latter being still longed for because she was inaccessible. As a Greek poet says,

Ἄλλος τὰν βάλανον τὰν μὲν ἔχει, τὰν δ' ἔραται λαβεῖν,
Κἀγὼ παῖδα καλὴν τὰν μὲν ἔχω, τὰν δ' ἔραμαι λαβεῖν.

There is nothing singular in this state of mind, nor even in a man's deluding himself into the belief, that a single disappointment of this sort has coloured his life. The singularity is, finding another man to believe it.

Apropos of Lord Byron's reading at Harrow, Mr. Moore has a side cut or two at classical literature [pp. 59, 60], which, when we remember his Epicurean, and certain observations thereon,* makes us think of the fox and the grapes.

In 1805, Lord Byron was removed to Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1806, being on a visit to his mother at Southwell, the lady's temper exploded on some occasion, and she converted the poker and tongs into the thunderbolts of her wrath. From this Juno Tonans and her missiles he fled to London, and made it his chief care to keep himself out of her reach.

In 1807, he printed a small volume of poems, for private distribution among his friends. This being a very interesting subject, and very safe to dilate upon, occupies a large share of the biographer's attention. There is a good deal also about his enjoyment of athletic exercises, his ignorance of horses, his fondness for dogs and fire-arms, his belief in second-sight, *fetches*, and so forth; his horror of growing fat, his sensitiveness on the score of his foot, his multifarious reading, and the delight with which he seasoned his academical studies by a copy of Mother Goose's Tales, which he bought of a hawker. *Res memoranda novis annalibus.*

A long list is given of the books which he had read up to that time, November 1807. It is very copious, especially in history. Few young men at College, Mr. Moore thinks, had read so much: we think so too: we may make large deductions from it, and still think so. There is, however, a way of scouting through books, which some people call reading, and we are afraid much of the reading here set down was of that description. "Greek and Latin poets, without number." We are sceptical on this point at any rate. If he had read and understood—we include understanding in our idea of reading—if he had read and understood as many Greek poets as he could count on his fingers, he never could have fallen into the preposterous blunder which he committed in Don Juan:

> 'The European with the Asian shore
> Sprinkled with palaces: the *ocean stream*
> Here and there studded with a seventy four, &c.'
>
> *Canto V: St: III.*

He says in a note on "*the ocean stream:*"—

'This expression of Homer has been much criticised. It hardly answers to our Atlantic ideas of the ocean, but is sufficiently applicable to the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, with the Ægean intersected with islands.'

* West. Review, No. XVI.

Who were the parties that had criticised Homer out of his obvious meaning, we know not; but could it have been necessary to tell a man who had "read Greek poets without number," that, according to the ideas of the ancients, the Ocean River flowed entirely round the earth, and that the seas were inlets from it? The Shield of Achilles alone would have set this point at rest, without looking to any more recondite sources. The River Ocean surrounded the work immediately within the edge of the shield; and the earth, which it enclosed, was imaged in the interior.

Ἐν δὲ τίθει ποταμοῖο μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο,
Ἄντυγα πὰρ πυμάτην σάκεος πύκα ποιητοῖο.

'Hic utique manifestum fit,' says Heyne, 'auctorem voluisse orbem terrarum in clypeo esse adumbratum.'

"Much criticised," indeed! It is impossible that the expression could ever have been criticised at all, except by mere English readers, puzzling themselves over Pope's translation, or Milton's passage about Leviathan. But let those who wish to see the matter in broad daylight, read the beginning of the Periegesis of Dionysius.

Ex pede Herculem. A man who could speculate in this strain, after reading Greek and Latin poets without number (unhappily they are too easily numerable) must have read to little good purpose. "The utility of reading," says Horne Tooke, "depends not on the swallow, but on the digestion."

Lord Byron had read enough to produce a general effect with a multitude of inaccurate recollections. This is the best sort of reading for those who aim merely at amusing the public; and for the space of his life before us, he aimed at nothing higher.

'I see,' he says (October 1810) 'the Lady of the Lake advertised. Of course, it is in his old ballad style, and pretty. After all, Scott is the best of them. The end of all scribblement is to amuse, and he certainly succeeds there.'—p. 241.

And in the same spirit, Captain Medwin reports him to have said: "The great object is effect, no matter how produced." His reading, and that of his friend and biographer, are much of a piece in this respect, and remind us of a French treatise on music, which we saw advertised the other day, as containing *tout ce qui est nécessaire pour en parler sans l'avoir étudié.*

His life, at college, was not different from that of most young gentlemen there.

'"Since my last," he says (writing from Trinity College, Cambridge,

July 5, 1807.) "I have determined to reside another year at Granta, as my rooms, &c. &c. are finished in great style, several old friends come up again, and many new acquaintances made, consequently my inclination leads me forward; and I shall return to college in October, if still alive. My life here has been one continued routine of dissipation—out at different places every day, engaged to more dinners, &c. &c. than my *stay* would permit me to fulfil. At this moment, I write with a bottle of claret in my *head*, and *tears* in my *eyes*, for I have just parted with my Cornelian, who spent the evening with me.'—p. 113.

Farther on, he says more seriously (Jan. 21, 1808.)

'I am a member of the University of Cambridge, where I shall take my degree of A. M. this term: but were reasoning, eloquence, or virtue, the objects of my search, Granta is not their metropolis, nor is the place of her situation an El Dorado, far less an Utopia. The intellects of her children are as stagnant as her Cam, and their pursuits limited to the church, not of Christ, but of the nearest benefice.'—p. 134.

Mr. Moore philosophizes on this passage, and is of opinion that the hatred and contempt which Milton and Gray entertained for Cambridge, and Gibbon and Locke for Oxford, "may well be thought to have had their origin in that antipathy to the trammels of discipline which is not unusually observable among the characteristics of genius;" and goes on discussing "the tendency of genius and taste to rebel against discipline,"

> In proper terms, such as men smatter,
> When they throw out, and miss the matter:

And here Mr. Moore misses the matter most completely, as, in all cases in which a grain of philosophy is requisite, he makes a point of doing. If the Universities can make nothing of genius, their discipline, if it were good for anything, might make something of mediocrity or of dulness: but their discipline is mere pretence, and is limited to the non-essentials of education: they settle down mediocrity into a quiet hatred of literature, and confirm a questionable dunce into a hopeless, incurable, and self-satisfied blockhead. Milton, Locke, Gibbon, and Gray (and Lord Byron himself), all professedly learned a great deal in spite of all the efforts of their respective universities to prevent them, and when our most illustrious names in poetry, philosophy, and history, are arrayed against the universities, it is, forsooth, according to Mr. Moore, the dislike of genius to discipline, and not the antipathy of intellect, knowledge, reason and truth, to ignorance, avarice, and political servility, in the false assumption of learning and science.

We shall not, however, leave this question to inference. We

shall show in their own words, *why* Milton, Gibbon, and Gray hated and despised their respective universities.

Milton says:—[*Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's defence against Smectymnus.*] 'It had been happy for this land if your priests had been but only wooden. All England knows they have been to this island not wood, but wormwood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like that apostate star in the Revelation, that many souls have died of their bitterness; and if you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there was no want of that sort among you; and their number increasing daily, as their laziness, their tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monastical schoolmen, daily increased. What, should I tell you how the universities, that men look should be fountains of learning and knowledge, have been poisoned and choaked under your governance? And if to be wooden be to be base, where could there be found among all the reformed churches, nay in the church of Rome itself, a baser brood of flattering and time-serving priests? according as God pronounces by Isaiah: the prophet that teacheth lies, he is the tail. As for your young scholars, that petition for bishoprics and deaneries to encourage them in their studies, and that many gentlemen else will not put their sons to learning, away with such young mercenary striplings, and their simoniacal fathers; God has no need of such, they have no part or lot in his vineyard: they may as well sue for nunneries, that they may have some convenient stowage for their withered daughters, because they cannot give them portions answerable to the pride and vanity they have bred them in. This is the root of all our mischief: that which they allege for the encouragement of their studies should be cut away forthwith as the very bait of pride and ambition, the very garbage that draws together all the fowls of prey and ravin in the land, to come and gorge upon the church.'

Gibbon says, in his Memoirs:—

'To the university of Oxford *I* acknowledge no obligation, and she will as cheerfully renounce me for a son, as I am willing to disclaim her for a mother. I spent fourteen months at Magdalen College: they proved the fourteen months the most idle and unprofitable of my whole life: the reader will pronounce between the school and the scholar: but I cannot affect to believe that nature had disqualified me for all literary pursuits. The specious and ready excuse of my tender age, imperfect preparation, and hasty departure, may doubtless be alleged; nor do I wish to defraud such excuses of their proper weight. Yet, in my sixteenth year, I was not devoid of capacity or application; even my childish reading had displayed an early, though blind propensity for books, and the shallow flood might have been taught to flow in a deep and a clear stream. In the discipline of a well constituted academy, under the guidance of skilful and vigilant professors, I should gradually have risen from translations to originals, from the Latin to the Greek classics, from dead languages to living science:

my hours would have been occupied by useful and agreeable studies, the wanderings of fancy would have been restrained, and I should have escaped the temptations of idleness, which finally precipitated my departure from Oxford.

'Perhaps, in a separate annotation, I may coolly examine the fabulous and real antiquities of our sister universities, a question which has kindled such fierce and foolish disputes among their fanatic sons. In the mean while, it will be acknowledged, that these venerable bodies are sufficiently old to partake of all the prejudices and infirmities of age. The schools of Oxford and Cambridge were founded in a dark age of false and barbarous science; and they are still tainted with the vices of their origin. Their primitive discipline was adapted to the education of priests and monks; and the government still remains in the hands of the clergy, an order of men whose manners are remote from the present world, and whose eyes are dazzled by the light of philosophy.'

Gray says, in a letter to Mr. West:

'You must know that I do not take degrees, and, after this term, shall have nothing more of college impertinence to undergo, which I trust will be some pleasure to you as it is a great one to me. I have endured lectures daily and hourly since I came last, supported by the hopes of being shortly at full liberty to give myself up to my friends and classical companions, who, poor souls! though I see them fallen into great contempt with most people here, yet I cannot help sticking to them, and out of a spirit of obstinacy (I think) love them the better for it; and, indeed, what can I do else? Must I plunge into metaphysics? Alas! I cannot see in the dark; nature has not furnished me with the optics of a cat. Must I pore upon mathematics? Alas! I cannot see in too much light; I am no eagle. It is very possible that two and two make four, but I would not give four farthings to demonstrate this ever so clearly; and if these be the profits of life, give me the amusements of it. The people I behold all around me, it seems, know all this and more, and yet I do not know one of them who inspires me with any ambition of being like him. Surely it was of this place, now Cambridge, but formerly known by the name of Babylon, that the prophet spoke when he said, "the wild beasts of the desart shall dwell there, and their houses shall be full of doleful creatures, and owls shall build there, and satyrs shall dance there; their forts and towers shall be a den for ever, a joy of wild asses; there shall the great owl make her nest, and lay, and hatch, and gather under her shadow; it shall be a court of dragons; the screech owl also shall rest there, and find for herself a place of rest." You see here is a pretty collection of desolate animals, which is verified in this town to a tittle; and perhaps it may also allude to your habitation, for you know all types may be taken by abundance of handles; however, I defy your owls to match mine.'

Again, to Dr. Wharton:

'The spirit of laziness (the spirit of the place) begins to possess even me, who have so long declaimed against it; yet has it not so prevailed, but that I feel that discontent with myself, that ennui, that ever accompanies it in its beginnings. Time will settle my conscience, time will reconcile me to this languid companion: we shall smoke, we shall tipple, we shall doze together: we shall have our little jokes like other people, aud we shall have our old stories: brandy will finish what port began: and a month after the time you will see in some corner of a London Evening Post:—"Yesterday died the Rev. John Gray, senior fellow of Clare Hall, a facetious companion, and well respected by all that knew him. His death is supposed to have been occasioned by a fit of apoplexy, being found fallen out of bed with his head in the chamber-pot.'

Again, to Dr. Clarke:

'I would wish to continue here till Michaelmas; but I fear I must come to town much sooner. Cambridge is a delight of a place, now there is nobody in it. I do believe you would like it, if you knew what it was without inhabitants. It is they, I assure you, that get it an ill name and spoil all. Our friend Dr. ——— (one of its nuisances) is not expected here in a hurry. He is gone to his grave with five fine mackarel (large and full of roe) in his belly. He eat them all at one dinner; but his fate was a turbot on Trinity Sunday, of which he left little for the company besides bones. He had not been hearty all the week; but after this sixth fish he never held up his head more, and a violent looseness carried him off. They say he made a very good end.'

These are only specimens. We could easily multiply them: but they are sufficient for the purpose. With respect to Locke, we cannot at present cite any thing in point in his own words, and must content ourselves with a passage from his life by Lord King; which, however, is quite enough to refute Mr. Moore's proposition:

'Locke was sent to Westminster School, and from thence to Christ Church, Oxford, in 1651. His friend, Mr. Tyrrell, the grandson of the celebrated Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, relates that Locke, in the earliest period of his residence at Oxford, was distinguished for his talents and learning amongst his fellow-students. That he lost much time at Oxford, is however certain, from his own confession; and if he derived little advantage from the place of his education, it cannot be ascribed to the inaptitude of his mind to make useful acquirements: the fault is to be found in his instructors and in their system. It appears that he would have thought the method of Des Cartes preferable (though no admirer of his philosophy) to that of the established practice, either because the study of that writer gave him the first taste for philosophy, or because he admired the distinctness of this method; or, perhaps, he might consider any alteration to be an improvement, and any change a change for the better.

'Although he acquired this early reputation at the university, yet he was often heard to express his regret that his father had ever sent him to Oxford; aware, from his own experience, that the method of instruction then pursued was ill calculated to open the understanding or prepare the way for any useful knowledge.'

It is really something *un peu fort*, even for Mr. Moore, to pretend that these learned and laborious men, all of whom subjected their minds to the severest discipline, disliked their universities only because discipline is distasteful to genius. But the universities are influential, and Mr. Moore must stand well with the influential in all its forms. This will be more and more apparent as we proceed.

In 1807, Lord Byron published his "Hours of Idleness," and in 1808, the Edinburgh Review attacked it in the spirit of its usual dealings with all authors, young authors especially, who were not within the corrupt circle of its political and literary favouritism. Mr. Moore had been similarly dealt with not long previously: but both Mr. Moore and Lord Byron successively forced themselves into the enchanted circle: the first having introduced himself by proposing to shoot his critic, which proved that he was not only a gentleman but a great poet: the second by laying about him, with the figurative horse-whip of satire, indiscriminately on his reviewer, and on all he had ever praised, which, as the public sided with the young satirist, set his pretensions to genius in an entirely new light. The review having been written without principle, and merely as a piece of catering for idle malignity, "the most gifted of critics" pocketed the invective which consigned him to the Tolbooth, and the three "gifted" parties, of whom one had challenged two, and two had, in critical phraseology, cut up two, (Moore having challenged Jeffrey and Byron, Jeffrey having cut up Moore and Byron, and Byron having cut up Jeffrey and Moore), became three of the best friends in this literary world, to the great advantage of their respective reputations with the enlightened and discerning public. As Mr. Moore is both poet and musician, we recommend this to him as a matchless subject for a catch.

Mr. Moore apologizes, in a very lame and irresolute way, for his friend the critic's original treatment of his friend the poet. "The knave, sir, is mine honest friend," says Davy to Justice Shallow, pleading for Vizor of Wincot. We shall pass over this point for the present, because we shall have a better opportunity of noticing the system which the Edinburgh Review adopted in its literary criticisms.

Much information is given respecting the progress of the

Satire through the press. Lord Byron's sole standard of judgment of persons was in his own personal feelings of favour and resentment. Mr. Moore euphonises this into "the susceptibility of new impressions and influences which rendered both his judgment and feelings so variable." It is amusing to see how Lord Carlisle was turned from a Roscommon into a blockhead; Professor Smith, the English Lyrist, from one who discredited even the University, to one who almost redeemed its name: Sir William Gell, from coxcomb to classic, by a single stroke of the pen, because, in his chrysalis state between coxcomb and classic, Lord Byron accidentally became acquainted with him; and so forth. This was pretty much the way in which he formed his opinions through life.

In 1809, he came of age, and took his seat in the House of Lords. There was some delay opposed to him by the necessity of obtaining from Carhais, in Cornwall, the affidavit required in proof of the marriage of Admiral Byron with Miss Trevanion.

'The affidavits which he here mentions, as expected from Cornwall, were those required in proof of the marriage of Admiral Byron with Miss Trevanion, the solemnization of which having taken place, as it appears, in a private chapel at Carhais, no regular certificate of the ceremony could be produced. The delay in procuring other evidence, coupled with the rather ungracious refusal of Lord Carlisle to afford any explanations respecting his family, interposed those difficulties which he alludes to in the way of his taking his seat. At length, all the necessary proofs having been obtained, he on the 13th of March, presented himself in the House of Lords in a state more lone and unfriendly, perhaps, than any youth of his high station had ever before been reduced to on such an occasion, not having a single individual of his own class either to introduce him as friend or receive him as acquaintance. To chance alone was he even indebted for being accompanied as far as the bar of the House by a very distant relative, who had been, little more than a year before, an utter stranger to him. This relative was Mr. Dallas, and the account which he has given of the whole scene is too striking in all its details, to be related in any other words than his own:

'"The Satire was published about the middle of March, previous to which he took his seat in the House of Lords, on the 13th of the same month. On that day, passing down St. James's Street, but with no intention of calling, I saw his chariot at his door, and went in. His countenance, paler than usual, showed that his mind was agitated, and that he was thinking of the nobleman to whom he had once looked for a hand and countenance in his introduction to the House. He said to me—I am glad you happened to come in, I am going to take my seat, perhaps you will go with me.

'"I expressed my readiness to attend him; while at the time I concealed the shock I felt, on thinking that this young man, who by birth,

fortune, and talent, stood high in life, should have lived so unconnected and neglected by persons of his own rank, that there was not a single member of the senate to which he belonged to whom he could or would apply to introduce him in a manner becoming his birth. I saw that he felt the situation, and I fully partook his indignation. * *

'"After some talk about the Satire, the last sheets of which were in the press, I accompanied Lord Byron to the House. He was received in one of the anti-chambers by some of the officers in attendance, with whom he settled respecting the fees he had to pay. One of them went to apprize the Lord Chancellor of his being there, and soon returned for him. There were very few persons in the House. Lord Eldon was going through some ordinary business. When Lord Byron entered, I thought he looked still paler than before; and he certainly wore a countenance in which mortification was mingled with, but subdued by, indignation. He passed the woolsack without looking round, and advanced to the table where the proper officer was attending to administer the oaths. When he had gone through them, the Chancellor quitted his seat, and went towards him with a smile, putting out his hand warmly to welcome him; and though I did not catch his words, I saw that he paid him some compliment. This was all thrown away upon Lord Byron, who made a stiff bow, and put the tips of his fingers into the Chancellor's hand.

* * * * * * *

'"The Chancellor did not press a welcome so received, but resumed his seat; while Lord Byron carelessly seated himself for a few minutes on one of the empty benches to the left of the throne, usually occupied by the Lords in opposition. When, on his joining me, I expressed what I had felt, he said: 'if I had shaken hands heartily, he would have set me down for one of his party, but I will have nothing to do with any of them, on either side; I have taken my seat, and now I will go abroad.' We returned to St. James's-street, but he did not recover his spirits."

'To this account of a ceremonial so trying to the proud spirit engaged in it, and so little likely to abate the bitter feeling of misanthropy now growing upon him, I am enabled to add, from his own report in one of his note-books, the particulars of the short conversation which he held with the Lord Chancellor on the occasion.

'When I came of age, some delays, on account of some birth and marriage certificates from Cornwall, occasioned me not to take my seat for several weeks. When these were over and I had taken the oaths, the Chancellor apologized to me for the delay, observing that these forms were a part of his duty. I begged him to make no apology, and added (as he certainly had shown no violent hurry), your lordship was exactly like Tom Thumb (which was then being acted) you did your duty, and you did no more.'—pp. 163. 165.

We have extracted this passage because we anticipate occasion to refer to it hereafter.

Shortly after this event, and the publication of his Satire,

Lord Byron left England for the Levant. Some of his letters from the East are interesting. Though his judgments of individual men are not worth a rush, his general observations, and especially his local descriptions, are often valuable, and always amusing. His exploit of swimming across the Hellespont is commemorated in many of his letters, and seems to have been, of all his achievements, that which he most rejoiced in.

A gentleman, who is called Mr. Hanson when remittances are received, and Mr. H * * when they are not (from which we are left to infer that Mr. Hanson was an exemplary agent, and Mr. H * * a very so so one), not having sent remittances in proper time and amount, Lord Byron returned home in 1811. In this year he lost his mother and his two friends, Wingfield and Charles Skinner Matthews. Mr. Moore gives some account of this latter gentleman, who, it seems, like his noble friend, had "lost his way in the mazes of scepticism." This infection, labyrinth, canker, blastment, light that leads astray, cloud, eclipse, &c. &c. &c. so bewilders Mr. Moore with its mere imagination, that he loses his own way irretrievably in a labyrinth of figures. We cannot help him out of it: but requesting him, as Falstaff did Pistol, to deliver himself like a man of this world, we will make a remark or two on the subject that has made "chaos come again" amongst his metaphors.

We find, in the letters of Lord Byron to Mr. Dallas, Mr. Hodgson, and Mr. Gifford, replies to expostulations and arguments which those gentlemen had addressed to him on the subject of his infidelity. Now, if any of these gentlemen, after his death, had lamented his infidelity in writing of him to the public, it would have been consistent with their conduct towards him during his life. But in his letters to Mr. Moore, and in all Mr. Moore's account of their intercourse, there is not a vestige of any expostulation or argument on the subject addressed to him by Mr. Moore. He therefore comes forward now with a very ill grace, saying that of Lord Byron, after his death, which there is no evidence to shew, and not the least reason to believe, he ever said to him during his life. We think it quite of a piece with Mr. Moore's general system of acquiescence with the influential in all its forms, to conclude, that having first courted the favour of Lord Byron by silence, at least, on the one hand, he now courts that of the public by talk on the other.

"The staple commodity of the present age in England," says Lord Byron himself somewhere, "is cant: cant moral, cant religious, cant political; but always cant." How much of this staple commodity there may be in Mr. Moore's lamentations, we shall leave our readers to judge.

Lord Byron's letters to Mr. Moore contain not a syllable of replication to any shadow of an expressed solicitude on the subject of his infidelity. It was assuredly very unkind in Mr. Moore not even to offer his hand to extricate him from "the labyrinth in which he was bewildered;" "the eclipse in which he was labouring:" more especially as, from the confidence with which Mr. Moore ascribes error to Lord Byron, he must be himself in the possession of something very nearly approaching the infallibility of the Catholic church. A man cannot say unhesitatingly, that another is grossly wrong, unless in the confidence that he himself is perfectly right. We think it, therefore, a very unfriendly measure on his part to have withheld his "short and easy method" from his deistical friend, while he was yet living and able to profit by it; and now to come forward, shaking his head over him, and pelting his infidel memory with a hailstorm of metaphors, by way of making a good orthodox presentment of himself in the eyes of the religious community. But we do not think that any direct-dealing man, be his religious opinions what they may, can admire the figure which Mr. Moore makes on this occasion.

In all his remarks on this subject, it is most manifest to us that he has no other aim than to say fine and palatable things. To the latter quality let those who relish them speak. To the former we will say a word or two.

"The canker showed itself in the morn and dew of youth." What is a canker in the morn, or a canker in the dew? He means, we presume, a canker on the rosebud while the morning dew is upon it. Does the canker-worm begin its operations by showing itself? Does it come with the morning dew? Neither. There is a false metaphor to start with. "The canker showed itself in the morn and dew of youth," when the effect of such "blastments;"—here the canker-worm is turned into a "blastment," a blastment coming with morning dew: let Mr. Moore watch his garden twelve months round, and if he find blight or blastment of any description coming with morning dew, let him publish the particulars of what will really be a great phytological and meteorological discovery. Thus is the false metaphor doubly falsified. "When the effect of such blastments is for every reason most fatal, and, in addition to the real misfortune of being an unbeliever at any age, he exhibited the rare and melancholy spectacle of an unbelieving school-boy. The same prematurity of developement, which brought his passions and genius so early into action, enabled him also to anticipate this worst, dreariest result of reason." We have suddenly lost sight of the canker-worm, and now we find that, according to

Mr. Moore, error is a result of reason. This is a discovery in logic, worthy of his preceding discoveries in physics.

A little after this we find that "Lord Byron had begun to bewilder himself in the mazes of scepticism," that is, in other words, had set about leading himself astray: a somewhat Irish process: "his mind disported itself most wantonly on the brink of all that is most solemn and awful;" here he is out of the labyrinth and on the edge of a precipice: but "he never was at any time of his life a confirmed unbeliever." Why, then, what was he? Mr. Moore does not know. If he was not a confirmed unbeliever, he was to a certain extent a believer; and then the question arises, to what extent? and whether among all the sects into which the Christian world is divided, there was not one which would have received him within its pale?

'"Infidelity," says a wiser man than Mr. Moore [Richard Payne Knight, in the preface to the Progress of Civil Society, p. xvii], is a vague term of general accusation, which every hypocrite or fanatic applies to those who appear to be less hypocritical or fanatical than himself. I shall, therefore, take no further notice of it than merely to say, that I have never printed or written any opinion on the subject of Christianity, which I cannot prove to be consistent with the duties of a good subject, a good citizen, and a good man: I might perhaps add, of a good Christian, did I understand the meaning of the term, or know the duties which it implies; but having found, by some little reading and observation, that it has not only had a different signification in every age and country, but in the mouth of almost every individual who has ever used it, I will not pretend to it, till its meaning is so far determined, that I may know whether I can justly pretend to it or not. What is established by law, I respect and obey: but still, as it appears to me to be in many respects extremely different from what was inculcated by the Founder of Christianity and his immediate successors, I am not certain that I can thereby claim the title of a good Christian."

Mr. Moore wishes to persuade the public that he denies the right of private judgment in respect of religious belief. He seems to think that belief can be enforced, and treats disbelief as an offence. He talks of infidelity as "a dangerous state of freedom from moral responsibility." We will cite for his instruction, a passage from the writings of one of the most sober-minded, calm-judging men, and one of the greatest benefactors of his species, that the modern world has produced: a religious man too himself: THOMAS JEFFERSON.

On the subject of religion, Jefferson writes to his young friend Peter Carr:—

'Your reason is now mature enough to examine t

first place, divest yourself of all bias in favour of novelty and singularity of opinion. Indulge them in any other subject rather than that of religion. It is too important, and the consequences of error may be too serious. On the other hand, shake off all the fears and servile prejudices, under which weak minds are servilely crouched. Fix reason firmly in her seat, and call to her tribunal every fact, every opinion. Question with boldness even the existence of a God; because if there be one, he must more approve the homage of reason, than of blindfolded fear. You will naturally examine, first, the religion of your own country.

* * * * * * *

'Do not be frightened from this inquiry by any fear of its consequences. If it ends in a belief that there is no God, you will find incitements to virtue in the comfort and pleasantness you feel in its exercise, and the love of others which it will procure you. If you find reason to believe there is a God, a consciousness that you are acting under his eye, and that he approves you, will be a vast additional incitement; if that there be a future state, the hope of a happy existence in that, increases the appetite to deserve it: if that Jesus was also a God, you will be comforted by a belief of his aid and love. In fine, I repeat, you must lay aside all prejudice on both sides, and neither believe nor reject any thing, because any other person or description of persons, have rejected or believed it. *Your own reason is the only oracle given you by heaven, and you are answerable not for the rightness, but uprightness of the decision.*'—*Jefferson's Memoirs*, vol. ii, pp. 216, 218.

In another place, Jefferson writes to Dr. Rush;—

'I am averse to the communication of my religious tenets to the public; because it would countenance the presumption of those who have endeavoured to draw them before that tribunal, and to seduce public opinion to erect itself into that inquisition over the rights of conscience, which the laws have so justly proscribed. *It behoves every man who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others;* or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own. It behoves him too, in his own case, to give no example of concession, *betraying the common right of independent opinion*, by answering questions of faith, which the laws have left between God and himself.'—*Jefferson's Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 515.

Mr. Moore makes his friend "answerable for the *rightness* of the decision" and as far as in him lies, "invades the liberty of conscience in others," and "betrays the common right of independent opinion."

Of Matthews, Mr. Moore writes thus:—

'Of this remarkable young man, Charles Skinner Matthews, I have already had occasion to speak, but the high station which he held in Lord Byron's affection and admiration, may justify a somewhat ampler tribute to his memory. There have seldom, perhaps, started together in life, so many youths of high promise and hope, as were to be found

among the society of which Lord Byron formed a part at Cambridge. Of some of these, the names have since eminently distinguished themselves in the world, as the mere mention of Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. William Bankes, is sufficient to testify; while in the instance of another of this lively circle, Mr. Scrope Davies, the only regret of his friends is, that the social wit of which he is such a master, should, in the memories of his hearers alone, be likely to leave any record of its brilliancy. Among all these young men of learning and talent (including Byron himself, whose genius was, however, as yet, "an undiscovered world,") the superiority, in almost every department of intellect, seems to have been, by the ready consent of all, awarded to Matthews; a concurrence of homage, which considering the persons from whom it came, gives such a high notion of the powers of his mind at that period, as renders the thought of what he might have been, if spared, a matter of interesting, though vain and mournful speculation. To mere mental pre-eminence, unaccompanied by the kindlier qualities of the heart, such a tribute, however deserved, might not perhaps have been so uncontestedly paid. But young Matthews appears, in spite of some little asperities of temper and manner, which he was already beginning to soften down when snatched away,—to have been one of those rare individuals who, while they command deference, can, at the same time win regard, and who, as it were, relieve the intense feeling of admiration which they excite, by blending it with love.

'To his religious opinions, and their unfortunate coincidence with those of Lord Byron, I have before adverted. Like his noble friend, ardent in the pursuit of truth, he, like him, had unluckily lost his way in seeking her, "the light that led astray" being by both friends mistaken for hers. That in his scepticism he proceeded any further than Lord Byron, or ever suffered his doubting, but still ingenuous, mind to persuade itself into the "incredible creed" of atheism, is I find, (notwithstanding an assertion in a letter of the noble poet to this effect), disproved by the testimony of those among his relations and friends, who are the most ready to admit, and of course lament, his other heresies; nor should I have felt that I had any right to allude thus to the religious opinions of one, who had never, by promulgating his heterodoxy, brought himself within the jurisdiction of the public, had not the wrong impression, as it appears, given of those opinions, on the authority of lord Byron, rendered it an act of justice to both friends to remove the imputation.'—pp. 277, 279.

This passage contains several points worthy of remark: 1st., the highest possible panegyric on the moral and intellectual excellence of an individual, whose religious opinions were unfortunately like lord Byron's, though what lord Byron's opinions were, as we have just seen, Mr. Moore does not know. 2nd, that Mr. Moore himself can most clearly distinguish the light of truth from the light that leads astray, though he had the unkindness never to shew his friend a glimpse of the former, basking

as he does in its meridian blaze. 3rd, that it is an act of justice to both friends to prove that one had grossly misrepresented the other. 4th, that the friends of Mr. Matthews, *of course*, lament his heresies; they lament them as a matter of course.—Why, of course? There is nothing stated respecting them but that they were his friends. They might have agreed or disagreed with him. "Of course", says Mr. Moore, they disagreed with him. Why *of course?* we repeat. There can be but one answer: because it is of course that Mr. Moore should say of those he wishes to flatter just what he thinks the majority of his readers would wish to have said.

We next come to the following fantastical speculation about the poems to Thyrza:

'It was about the time when he was bitterly feeling, and expressing, the blight, which his heart had suffered from a real object of affection, that his poems on the death of an imaginary one, "Thyrza," were written; nor is it any wonder, when we consider the peculiar circumstances under which these beautiful effusions flowed from his fancy, that of all his strains of pathos, they should be the most touching and most pure. They were, indeed, the essence, the abstract spirit, as it were, of many griefs;—a confluence of sad thoughts from many sources of sorrow, refined and warmed in their passage through his fancy, and forming thus one deep reservoir of mournful feeling. In retracing the happy hours he had known with the friends now lost, all the ardent tenderness of his youth came back upon him.

'His school-sports with the favourites of his boy-hood, Wingfield and Tattersall—his summer days with Long, and those evenings of music and romance, which he had dreamed away in the society of his adopted brother, Eddlestone—all these recollections of the young and dead now came to mingle themselves in his mind with the image of her who, though living, was, for him, as much lost as they, and diffused that general feeling of sadness through his soul, which found a vent in these poems. No friendship, however warm, could have inspired sorrow so passionate, as no love, however pure, could have kept passion so chastened. It was the blending of the two affections in his memory and imagination, that thus gave birth to an ideal object combining the best features of both, and drew from him these saddest and tenderest of love-poems, in which we find all the depth and intensity of real feeling touched over with such a light as no reality ever wore."—pp. 302, 303.

This passage presents a curious instance of confusion of imagery:—A blight is felt: a blight is expressed: the heart suffers a blight from an object of affection: the effusions that flow from the fancy become touching and pure strains: these again become an essence, an abstract spirit: these are changed into a confluence of streams from many sources: and these,

being refined and warmed, form a reservoir. Effusions, strains, essences, confluent streams, are all different and discrepant things; and though streams may fill a reservoir, they cannot form one. And, after all, depth and intensity are touched over with light. No doubt this is all very pretty, and sweetly sentimental.

A little further on in the volume is the following still more fantastical passage:

'In all such speculations and conjectures as to what might have been, under more favourable circumstances, his character, it is invariably to be borne in mind, that his very defects were among the elements of his greatness, and that it was out of the struggle between the good and evil principles of his nature that his mighty genius drew its strength. A more genial and fostering introduction into life, while it would doubtless have softened and disciplined his mind, might have impaired its vigour; and the same influence that would have diffused smoothness and happiness over his life, might have been fatal to its glory. In a short poem of his,* which appears to have been produced at Athens (as I find it written on a leaf of the original MS. of Childe Harolde, and dated "Athens, 1811") there are two lines which, though hardly intelligible as connected with the rest of the poem, may, taken separately, be interpreted as implying a sort of prophetic consciousness that it was out of the wreck and ruin of all his hopes the immortality of his name was to arise:

'Dear object of defeated care,
Though now of love and thee bereft,
To reconcile me with despair,
Thine image and my tears are left.
'Tis said with sorrow Time can cope,
But this I feel can ne'er be true;
For, by the death-blow of my hope,
My memory immortal grew!'—p. 323.

This is really curious. Here is a gentleman dabbling all his life in poetry and criticism, and still incapable of seizing a meaning so obvious, that it is most marvellous how any one could miss it. *By the death-blow of my hope—the blow that deprived me of the original of this picture—my memory grew immortal:—my remembrance of her became so strong that it shews not the slightest symptom of decay; now, when after a lapse of time I look at her picture, the painful feelings of memory are as vivid as on the day I lost her. This proves that "Time cannot cope with sorrow."* Mr. Moore, however, expounds the passage thus:

By the death-blow of my hope in the loss of this object, I laid the foundation of an immortal memory for myself: of my being

* Written beneath the picture of ——.

immortally remembered. This proves that "Time cannot cope with sorrow." A most contorted interpretation, and a most exemplary *non sequitur.*

This specimen of Mr. Moore's method of understanding his friend's poetry speaks very ill for the sort of selection he has been likely to make from his remains.

The publication of Childe Harold—the non-publication of Hints from Horace, an imitation of the Art of Poetry—the manner in which Mr. Moore *scraped acquaintance* with Lord Byron (a phrase which we use designedly, because we find it so felicitously illustrated in this very curious procedure)—the history of Lord Byron's life at Newstead and in London—the publication of the Giaour, Bride of Abydos, and Corsair—his marriage with Miss Milbanke, the daughter of Sir Ralph Noel Milbanke, on the 2nd of January, 1815—his share in the management of Drury Lane Theatre—his separation from his wife in January, 1816—and his final departure from England on the 25th of April, 1816, are the principal events recorded in the remainder of this volume. No new light, as we have said, is thrown upon anything about which the public curiosity had been strongly excited: but there is a great deal of detail about minute corrections of the press, about alterations and re-alterations in that very important theatrical state-paper, the Address for the opening of Drury Lane Theatre; a great deal of gossip about all sorts of people, much that should not have been published, and more that is not worth publishing; some peeps behind the curtain of the Edinburgh Review, for which the parties principally implicated in that shallow and dishonest publication will scarcely thank the exhibitor; a few things said, and many hinted, about Lord Byron's amours; a few touches on the politics of Lord Byron and his biographer; and a speculation by Mr. Moore about the usual unhappiness of intellectual persons in marriage.

The gossip about individuals is given with one or two peculiarities worthy of note. An initial is given in one page which sets the reader guessing; a name is given in another which saves him the trouble; or circumstances are so detailed as to point to the name unerringly. In one page we find "Bold W." going to be thrown out of a window; in another we find a friendly mention of "Bold Webster." A gentleman who sometimes neglects to send remittances is always Mr. H.: a gentleman who sometimes sends them is always Mr. Hanson. In one place lord Byron sees S * * * 's mistress and her mother in an opposite box at the theatre; and who S * * * 's mistress was is indicated a dozen lines lower:—

'Went to my box at Covent-Garden to night; and my delicacy

felt a little shocked at seeing S * * * 's mistress (who, to my certain knowledge, was actually educated from her birth for her profession) sitting with her mother, 'a three-piled b——d, b——d-major to the army,' in a private box opposite. I felt rather indignant; but, casting my eyes round the house, in the next box to me, and the next, and the next, were the most distinguished old and young Babylonians of quality—so I burst out a laughing. It was really odd; lady * * divorced—lady * *, and her daughter, lady * *, both divorceable—Mrs. * *, in the next, the like, and still nearer * * * * * *! What an assemblage to me, who know all their histories. It was as if the house had been divided between your public and your understood courtesans; but the intriguantes much outnumbered the regular mercenaries. On the other side were only Pauline and her mother, and, next box to her, three of inferior note. Now, where lay the difference between her and her mamma, and lady * * and daughter? except that the two last may enter Carleton and any other house, and the two first are limited to the opera and b——house. How I do delight in observing life as it really is!—and myself, after all, the worst of any. But, no matter—I must avoid egotism, which, just now, would be no vanity.'—p. 470.

Now as there were only one mother and daughter opposite, and as they were Pauline and her mother, S * * * 's mistress was Pauline. Who S * * * was, is therefore as clear as if his name had been printed. The volume abounds with these mockeries of reserve.

In other cases, and there is an instance in the last-cited passage, asterisks only are given, which communicate nothing. The following is another instance :—

'To-morrow there is a party of purple at the 'blue' Miss * * * 's. Shall I go? Um!—I don't much affect your blue-bottles; but one ought to be civil. There will be ('I guess now,' as the Americans say), the Staëls and Mackintoshes—good—the * * * s and * * * s—not so good—the * * * s, &c. &c.—good for nothing. Perhaps that blue-winged Kashmirian butterfly of book-learning, lady * * *, will be there. I hope so; it is a pleasure to look upon that most beautiful of faces.'—p. 458.

What can be the possible use of printing such passages? Sometimes we have things in this way :—

'P. S. Oh! the anecdote! * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * .—p. 558.

The extreme folly of such a specimen of publication is really sufficiently ludicrous to amount to an excellent jest. Oh! the anecdote, indeed! This should stand at the head of anecdotes of book-making, if ever Sholto and Reuben Percy take them in hand.

We shall cite two passages which throw a little light on the politics of Lord Byron, and still more on those of his biographer:—

'It was at this time that Lord Byron became acquainted (and, I regret to have to add, partly through my means) with Mr. Leigh Hunt, the editor of the well-known weekly journal, the Examiner. This gentleman I had myself formed an acquaintance with in the year 1811, and, in common with a large portion of the public, entertained a sincere admiration of his talents and courage as a journalist. The interest I took in him personally had been recently much increased by the manly spirit which he had displayed throughout a prosecution instituted against himself and his brother, for a libel that had appeared in their paper on the Prince Regent, and in consequence of which they were both sentenced to imprisonment for two years. It will be recollected that there existed among the Whig party, at this period, a strong feeling of indignation at the late defection from themselves and their principles of the illustrious personage, who had been so long looked up to as the friend and patron of both. Being myself, at the time, warmly,—perhaps, intemperately,—under the influence of this feeling, I regarded the fate of Mr. Hunt with more than common interest, and, immediately on my arrival in town, paid him a visit in his prison. On mentioning the circumstance, soon after, to Lord Byron, and describing my surprise at the sort of luxurious comforts with which I had found the wit in the dungeon surrounded,—his trellised flower-garden without, and his books, busts, pictures, and piano-forte within,—the noble poet, whose political views of the case coincided entirely with my own, expressed a strong wish to pay a similar tribute of respect to Mr. Hunt, and accordingly, a day or two after, we proceeded for that purpose to the prison. The introduction which then took place was soon followed by a request from Mr. Hunt that we would dine with him, and the noble poet having good-naturedly accepted the invitation, the Cold Bath Fields prison had, in the month of June, 1813, the honour of receiving Lord Byron, as a guest, within its walls.'—pp. 400, 401.

It was, we believe, in Horsemonger-Lane gaol, and not in that of Cold-Bath-Fields, that Mr. Leigh Hunt was imprisoned. Mr. Moore is too genteel to know one gaol from another. But it appears that Mr. Moore's patriotic sympathy was aroused on this occasion, not by the specific case of oppression, but by its coincidence with the Prince Regent's defection from the Whigs. If the Whigs had been in place, Mr. Hunt, as a part of the arrangement, might have been very properly in gaol. If Mr. Moore should say, the Whigs would not have sent him there, let our present Whig attorney-general answer him for us. It is always, *quo, non quomodo,* with Mr. Moore. His movement to the state prison was not a patriotic, nor a philosophic, nor a philanthropic, movement. It was a Whig movement. He has

thought proper to apologise for it, and we have translated his apology into plain English.

The second passage is this:

'On the second of June, in presenting a petition to the House of Lords, he made his third and last appearance as an orator, in that assembly. In his way home from the House that day, he called, I remember, at my lodgings, and found me dressing in a very great hurry for dinner. He was, I recollect, in a state of most humourous exaltation after his display, and, while I hastily went on with my task in the dressing-room, continued to walk up and down the adjoining chamber, spouting forth for me, in a sort of mock-heroic voice, detached sentences of the speech he had just been delivering. "I told them," he said, "that it was a most flagrant violation of the constitution—that, if such things were permitted, there was an end of English freedom, and that—" "But what was this dreadful grievance?" I asked, interrupting him in his eloquence. "The grievance?" he repeated, pausing as if to consider—"Oh, that I forget."* It is impossible, of course, to convey an idea of the dramatic humour with which he gave effect to these words, but his look and manner on such occasions were irresistibly comic, and it was, indeed, rather in such turns of fun and oddity than in any more elaborate exhibition of wit that the pleasantry of his conversation existed.'—p. 402.

A man in earnest would not have spoken in parliament about a grievance, without believing that the thing spoken of was a grievance. A man in earnest would not, having spoken of a public grievance in parliament, have afterwards professed to forget what the grievance was. A man, whether in earnest or not himself, would not, in speaking to a man whom he believed to be in earnest, have treated his own advocacy of public grievances as a jest. Lord Byron would not have spoken in this strain to Mr. Shelley. And a man, whose own political opinions were anything but a farce, would not record an anecdote, so discreditable to both parties, as a mere piece of pleasantry, and nothing more.

The only political affairs about which Lord Byron seems to have felt any real and earnest interest, within the period here recorded, were those of Napoleon. He concluded a journal which he had kept for some time, and from which Mr. Moore has given ample extracts, in these words:

'*April* 19*th*, 1814.—There is ice at both poles, north and south—all extremes are the same—misery belongs to the highest and the lowest only,—to the emperor and the beggar, when unsixpenced and unthroned. There is, to be sure, a damned insipid medium—an equinoctial line—no one knows where, except upon maps and measurement.

* This speech was on presenting a Petition from Major Cartwright.

'And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death.'

'I will keep no further journal of that same hesternal torch-light; and, to prevent me from returning, like a dog, to the vomit of memory, I tear out the remaining leaves of this volume, and write in Ipecacuanha,—that the Bourbons are restored!!! Hang up philosophy. To be sure, I have long despised myself and man, but I never spat in the face of my species before—'O fool! I shall go mad.'—pp. 513, 514.

Lord Byron wished to serve Mr. Coleridge. He persuaded Mr. Murray to publish Christabel. He tried, through Mr. Moore, to persuade Mr. Jeffrey to review it favorably in the Edinburgh Review. But Mr. Jeffrey knew better than to compromise the character of his publication, by giving a true and just account of any literary work, even to please his new friend Lord Byron. This most beautiful little poem was therefore consigned to the hands of that one of Mr. Jeffrey's coadjutors, who combined the most profound ignorance, and the grossest obtuseness of intellect, with the most rancorous malignity, and the most unblushing literary dishonesty. The Edinburgh Review has furnished many specimens of all these qualities: but in this article on Coleridge's Christabel, they were all combined in the most striking degree. Every thing was garbled, falsified, distorted, misrepresented. The Review has not destroyed Mr. Coleridge's poetical fame: that was, and is, beyond its reach: but it destroyed his chance of popularity by extinguishing curiosity towards his poem at the time of its publication, at a time especially, when to have assisted him to that share of public attention which he has always merited as a poet, would, though nothing more than an act of justice, have had the effect of an act of generosity. Of course, neither was to be expected from the Edinburgh Review.

We must say a word or two more about Mr. Moore's figures. The following is a curious specimen:—

'There is a healthfulness in the moral feeling so unaffectedly expressed in this letter, which seems to answer for a heart sound at the core, however passion might have scorched it.'—p. 231-2.

What is the relation between scorching and a sound core? Half the metaphor is from a rotten apple, and half from a roasted one.

Mr. Moore never produces a figure that will stand the test of analysis. His figures are all made up of disparates and non-existences. We do not know in all his writings, a single exception to this rule. The more his images are examined, the more unreal and incoherent they appear. Throughout the pre-

sent work, he seems often to aim at simplicity: a good aim, but not easily attainable by one who has so long indulged in the rhetoric of false sentiment. He writes figures in spite of himself, and the only result of his endeavour at a simple and natural style is, that, by not fixing his attention on any predominant image, he makes his figurative language more than ever chaotic and caleidoscopical. We will give one example taken at random.

'When we look back to the *unbridled career*, of which his marriage was meant to be the *goal*,—to the *rapid and restless course* in which his life had *run along*, like a *burning train*, through a *series* of wanderings, adventures, successes, and passions, the *fever* of all which was still upon him, when, with the same *headlong* recklessness, he *rushed* into this marriage—it can but little surprise us, that in the space of one short year, he should not have been able to recover all at once from his *bewilderment*, or to *settle down* into that tame *level* of conduct which the officious spies of his privacy required. As well might it be expected that a *steed* like his own Mazeppa's, should stand still, when reined, without *chafing* or *champing the bit*.'—p. 649, 650.

What a chaos with horses, goals, fire-trains, fevers, levels, and bewilderments! And this is about the ordinary style of the work.

The volume contains many allusions to persons who have never obtruded themselves on public notice, and whose names and circumstances ought not to have been dragged before the world. It is, on the whole, a production little instructive to the reader, little creditable to the author, little honorable to its subject: a speculation, perhaps a profitable one, on the public appetite for gossip, backed by a systematical deference to every widely-diffused prejudice, and to every doctrine and opinion which the influential classes of readers desire to be popular. And amongst these classes, the influential in the press are by no means forgotten. The "great talents" of Mr. Thomas Barnes, of the Times; the "ingenious and remarkable" Mr. Hogg, of Blackwood's Magazine; the "most gifted of critics," Mr. Jeffrey, and so forth, receive, and of course repay, the meed of just and discriminating praise.

> Discedo Alcæus puncto illius. Ille meo quis?
> Quis, nisi Callimachus?

We shall, for the reasons assigned in the commencement of this article, postpone our observations on the personal character of Lord Byron, and on some other matters, till we have gone through the second volume. Amongst the other matters, we include the whole of his amours, and the illustrations of the

morality of the higher classes in this country, which his adventures and correspondence afford.

We have given very fair specimens of the matter and manner of the volume before us, and an outline of its contents, with such remarks as were imperiously demanded from us by our sense of the moral duty of exhibiting to our readers the real scope and purpose of a series of shallow sophisms and false assumptions, wrapped up in bundles of metaphors, put forth with a specious semblance of reason and liberality, and directed to the single end of upholding all abuses and delusions by which the aristocracy profit. In the second volume, Mr. Moore will be on more perilous ground. To do justice to his friends who are gone, and to please those among the living, whose favor he most studiously courts in his writings, must be, in the treatment of that period which his second volume will embrace, impossible. He will endeavour to do both, after his fashion; and we think we can pretty accurately anticipate the result.

ART. II.—*Kralodworsky Rukopis. Zbjrka Staročeskych Zpiewoprawnych Basnj, s niekolika ginymi Staročeskymi Zpiewy.* Nalezen a wydan od *Waclawa Hanky,* knihownjka k. narodnjho Musea; s diegopisnym uwodem od *Waclawa Aloysia Swobody* c. k. prof: tr: Human. W Praze. 1829.

Königinhofer Handschrift, &c. i. e. *Manuscript of the Queen's Court; a collection of Old Bohemian Lyrico-Epic Songs, with other ancient Bohemian poems.* Discovered and published by Wenceslaus Hanka, and translated by Wenceslaus Aloys Swoboda. Prague. 1829.

AMONG the Slavonian nations there has been of late years a strong literary excitement—and contributions have been industriously levied on all the accessible records of antiquity. The stream of inquiry has strongly set upon the traditions and the fragments of the past, while such of its remains as still live in the memories and the songs of the people, have been gathered together with the most devoted zeal. The political position of all of the Slavonic races will explain the reason of this tendency to look rather backwards on that which *has been* than forwards to that which *shall be.* In despotic countries men cannot engage in discussions which regard the present or the future without giving umbrage to those whose quiet might be disturbed, if it were discovered and proclaimed that some concessions must be made to advancing civilization. The mind fettered in its inquiries and fearful of their consequences cannot expatiate widely—nor desire nobly—nor

enlarge proudly—in the prison-house where a censorship has placed it. It seeks rather some scene—some subject—where it may revel in its own free will—pursue its unmolested dreamings, and indulge its generous affections. And this it does in the retrospect of the past. To rear up piles of policy and power out of its patriotic hopes is wholly prohibited; its only privilege is to revert to those realities which memory offers to it from the days of old. Independence, liberty, self-government, are blessings which it may dwell upon as having been—but which it would be dangerous to anticipate as yet to be. Yet it is curious, it is instructive, to see how the full tide of affection rushes back upon the events with which national glory and greatness are connected; how the love of country lingers among those circumstances where it may wander about unchecked—how fondly every name is cherished that battled for fatherland and freedom; how thoughts which may not be expressed tinge other thoughts that may, and enable one to discover in the slight motion of the surface the deep strong current below.

It has been estimated, and the estimate is probably rather under the real number, that more than sixty millions of men speak the Slavonic dialects—and occupy nearly one half of the whole European territory. Whence they came and how they spread is an inquiry with which many authors have occupied themselves with very fruitless toil. Under the name of barbarians—Goths, Vandals, Huns, Slaves, and Sarmatians, have been confounded by those who know nothing of their language, literature, or history.

The Slavonian tribes may be conveniently arranged into eight great classes—the Russian, Servian, Croatian, and Wendish, make the south-eastern division: and the north-western division consists of the Bohemian, Slovakian, Polish and Sorbian; Russia has about forty-five millions of Slavonian subjects; Austria fifteen millions; Prussia two-and-a-half millions; Turkey two millions; Cracow one hundred thousand; Montinegro sixty thousand, and Saxony fifty thousand. Of these again about forty millions are of the Greek, twenty millions of the Roman Catholic, and two of the Protestant rituals;—and the affiliated but distinct languages of the several divisions are the Russ spoken in Russia; the Servian in Servia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and with some modifications in Bulgaria—the Croatian in Croatia, west Hungary, Dalmatia and the Adriatic coasts—the Wendish, the dialect of Illyria, and in that part of Austrian Slavonia known as the land of the Wends, or of the Slovenians; the Bohemian being the language of Bohemia and Moravia; the

Slovakian that of Upper Hungary; the Sorbian that of Lausitz anciently Sorabia; and lastly the Polish of Poland and Polish Silesia. All these branches probably descend from the ancient Slavonian, the Lingua Slavica, which is still used in the church services of Russia. The Russians and Servians have preserved the Slavonic alphabet, modified, however, to more elegant forms. The Poles and Bohemians have adopted the Latin character, producing their peculiar sounds by combinations of the letters. Many of the other races have combined the two alphabets, retaining the Slavonian letters wherever they found no representative in the Roman, and using the Roman wherever they were absolutely synonymous with the Slavonian. In some respects these nations have been benefitted by the tardy birth of their literature—the Russians having discarded many supernumerary and useless letters of the old church alphabet, and the Servians have discarded more; so that the Servian orthography is simple, intelligible and beautiful, while that of the more cultivated Slavonic nations, whose books and written language have existed for centuries, is encumbered with many inconveniences, difficulties and contradictions, of which it is now not easy, from long and stubborn habit, to get rid.

It has been the fate of the Slavonian people to be visited with much contempt and vituperation from those who, without any means of accurate judgment, take pleasure and pride in flinging out their scorn upon nations. To study—to inquire—to inform themselves before-hand, is no part of the business of these precipitate misanthropists. They can judge, and condemn, and vilify millions, on a thousandth part of the evidence they would require for the castigation of a single pick-pocket. And the matter is yet worse when misfortune itself is made the ground of calumny. M. Hacquet, in describing Illyria and Dalmatia, abuses all the Slavonians as thieves, and says that they sit content and pleased under the yoke of the most odious despotism. Even Hungarians, themselves, in turn the objects of attack, have been found to fling upon their Slavonian neighbours such contumelies as "good-for-nothing, clay-soiled, miserable, head-and-foot-straw-covered *Tóts*."* One public instructor† has the kindness to bid his readers remember that the "Slavonian people are made of *other materials* than the Germans (according to him God hath *not*, as holy writ with equal truth and beauty assures us, made of one blood all nations upon earth) that they are by *nature* of another order of men—

* "Hitvány, tsapós, élhetetlen, kóróláb'ú Tótok."--Dugonics in his celebrated romance "Etelka."

† Neumanns Natur des Menschen, i. 59-62.

given by the eternal purposes of Providence to be subjects of those Germans who are the ornaments of creation, and the sovereigns of the world for ever." Ignorant and insolent calumniator! compared to whom the meanest peasant of Slavonia is an object of interest and affection in the mind of any good man. And in the same spirit does the flippant Abbé de Pradt exclaim, "For me Europe finishes at the Oder. On the other side is a language strange to Europe [strange to you, most learned Abbé!]—Poland is not Asia—but—it is not Europe."—"Among the Poles the eye loses all its expression—the dwellings are abodes of misery, filth, and vermin," * and so forth.

In the name of justice—in the name of common sense—in the name of humanity—if nations are thus to be sentenced, let it be by competent tribunals. It is beyond all endurance that such professional and shallow slanderers as these should be allowed to run about the world with their unholy missions of war and evil will. In the different branches of the Slavonian stem there is alike the greatness which imposes, and the feebleness which demands respect. They affect us by gigantic political power on the one side, and interest us by their enslaved position on the other. The might of Russia—the struggles of Poland—the old glories of Bohemia—each in its turn is an object well fitted to engage the philanthropist and the philosopher. And little indeed have they studied the history of man, and most ill qualified are they to judge of his destiny and his deservings,—who see, even in his lowest degradation, any thing but a claim upon them to help, to encourage, and to elevate him. Deep as he may be in the dust, his origin and his end are as divine as theirs—he is as worthy as they of kindness—and far worthier of mercy.

It is not intended here to indulge in any of those vague terms of laudation, which if more amiable, are just as little discerning as this language of dispraise. Yet no one can have visited the Slavonian nations without observing the patient endurance with which they pursue their daily labours, whether agricultural or commercial—the habitual serenity, which if it deny them the more violent ebullition of pleasure, saves them from the gloom of deep despondency—the love of music so universal that, as Schafferich says, "Wherever the Slavonian woman is, there is song—song that fills house and garden, hill and valley, field and forest, orchard and vineyard. She sings in the summer heats, in the labour of the day; in hunger and thirst she sings." —their nationality, which has preserved their language through

* Histoire de l'Ambassade en Varsovie, p. 71-3.

a thousand invasions; their peaceful, social spirit. In a word, their history is neither tainted with violence nor polluted with blood, while it offers all the interest of remarkable events and the relief of highly-distinguished actors.

The Bohemians, whose name is derived from *Bojohemum*, or Home of the Bojers, occupied Bohemia in the sixth century, and call themselves *Ceskians* or *Cechians*, and their country *Cechy*. Of the whole number of inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia about two thirds are Slavonians, the rest are for the most part of Teutonic race. Their language has, perhaps, been more acted on than any other of Slavonian origin by foreign dialects. It lends itself with great readiness to almost every form of verse, and has been very successfully used in most of the ancient classical measures. In the present generation it has been the object of a very patriotic attention on the part of its possessors —and a new enthusiasm for its cultivation has met the repeated attempts of the Austrian government to discourage and extinguish it. In every department of the belles lettres, and in many of the departments of history and science, writers have appeared whose pens might probably have been allowed to rest, but for the indirect attempts to suppress all Bohemian pleadings. The pride and patriotism of the nation are now engaged in the struggle for the preservation of the national idiom, whose extinction has perhaps been retarded many centuries by the measures taken to uproot it.

Waclaw Hanka, the discoverer of the curious manuscript, the title of the second edition of which heads this article, was born at Hořenowes in 1791. His father was a farmer, and up to the sixteenth year of his age, young Waclaw assisted him in the toils of the field. He passed his summers without instruction, and when in winter the inclemency of the weather put an end to out-of-door labour, he repaired to the village school, and got such knowledge as was there accessible. From the spring to the winter he usually watched his father's sheep. The elements of Latin he learned at home, and afterwards completed his knowledge of it at Hradeckrálowé (Königgratz). He studied philosophy at Prague, and law at Vienna. His mother tongue was always the object of his passion, and in his earliest days "he moralised in song." Polish and Servian troops had been quartered on his father's farm, and from these he learned those several dialects. Having excited some attention, the great philologist Dobrowsky became his patron and instructor. His Starobylá Skládánie, of which five volumes have been published is one of the most valuable contributions to the ancient literature of Bohemia. But the bringing out the Kralodworsky

MSS. is undoubtedly the circumstance which has most redounded to Hanka's fame. Dobrowsky, in his History of Bohemian Literature, speaks of them as models for facility of style, purity and correctness of language, grace and strength of expression. Their publication created a strong feeling among all the Slavonian nations, obtained for Hanka many and deserved honours, and may be considered certainly the most important addition ever made by one individual to the archives of popular Slavonian poetry.

The discovery was in this wise. In the year 1817, Hanka had been visiting one of his friends at Kralodworsky, a town which suffered with many others from the terrible visitations of Zižka. He there heard, that in an under vault of the church tower, a bundle of arrows lay, and had lain there from the time of Zižka. He descended to see them, and while walking about the place, his foot struck against a quantity of parchment documents—he found they were covered with Latin letters, and soon observed that the writing was Bohemian. To such a man the transport of such a discovery may well be conceived. He sent to the authorities of the town one of the first transcripts he made, who shared in his enthusiasm, and presented the MS. to him as a reward. He afterwards deposited it in the national Museum of Prague.

The latest date that has been assigned to the MS. is A.D. 1310, but to many of its contents a remoter origin is attributed, and with much probability. It is a collection of poems—certainly by different authors—and most likely of distinct epochs. The zeal of some Bohemian critics has unreasonably carried their authorship into the heathen age—to the time of the heroes they celebrate. The rhythmus is good, the versification generally excellent; but the pieces are all written as if they were prose, in one continuous course. The German translations, by Swoboda, which accompany this edition, are excellent —the explanatory notes useful and appropriate. Of these compositions Göthe, whose mind seems in everlasting vibration from one topic of high poetic interest to another, has often spoken with warm admiration. Admiral Shishkov has translated them into Russian; Brodzinski and Kucharski into Polish, so that no sanction seems wanting for the dedication to this topic of some of our pages.

The poems consist of epic and lyric pieces—or rather of historical ballads and songs; the whole are no less remarkable for their simplicity and strength, than for their flowing and regular versification.

The most striking of these historical ballads is certainly that

of Záboj. Its measure is various, and adapted to the sentiments conveyed. It begins by describing a black forest, where is a rock, on which stands Záboj, and having long looked around—he descends,—goes from hero to hero—and after uttering some secret words and bending himself before the gods, the heroes all meet at his summons in the Black forest. Záboj leads them to the deepest valley, and touches the *Warito** with this appeal:—"Hearts of men and brothers! with glances of flame! I sing to you a song in the deepest valley; I sing it from the deep of my heart; I sing in my sorrow. Our father has left us, and left with us orphaned children and helpless maidens. He has said to none, 'Brother, speak to them, speak to them fatherly words!' And the stranger is come, come with might, and a strange tongue is heard, and strange customs are among us, and our women and our children follow them. But our wives shall go with us from Wesna to Morana.† They bring the sparrow-hawk from the woods, and make us bend to the gods they worship. We may not strike our foreheads—we may not bring food to the gods where our father brought it, nor sing the songs where he sang them. The foes have filled the forests—they have broken up our gods." "Ah, thou Záboj, thou singest from heart to heart, in the midst of thy grief thou singest the song like Lumir;‡ whose word and song shook Wysegrad and all lands—so movest thou thy brothers all—the gods love brave bards—sing on, for it comes from the heart to sing against the foe." Slawoj looked upon the burning glances of the brothers, Slavoj thus stormed their hearts: "Two brothers were there whose voices were roughening into the voice of manhood; they went to the woods; with the exercise of sword and battle-axe and the sharp spear they strengthened their arms. They made the woods their home, and returned to their dwellings in joy. But as their hand was strengthened to manhood, and their spirits became manhood against their foes—and as these brothers grew stronger too—ha! they broke in upon the foe—they broke in like the tempests of heaven—and when they returned home—it was to be covered with blessings." The brothers sprung upon Zaboj—they pressed him in their strong arms—they pressed their heart against his heart—they repeated again and again his words one to another—the night hastened onwards to the morning—they were all scattered out of the valley—they glided home by the trees—they dispersed on every side of the forest."

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* A musical instrument. Palkowich asks if it be the Greek βαρβιτον?

† Wesna the goddess of youth—Morana the goddess of death.

‡ Lumir—the Orpheus of the Slavonians.

The poet then goes on to describe the gathering together of the heroes by the brothers. Zaboj blesses the host. Their movements are all recorded, and at every step the bard introduces his word of promise, of counsel, or of vengeance. Záboj himself takes a part in the fight, his blows are said to fall in front of the fight like a hail storm. There is a forcible description of the long-enduring battle and the progress of it. Záboj is represented as endowed with super-human strength, able to fell a tree with a single stroke of his battle-axe, destroying thirty enemies with his own hand, piercing his foes through at a distance of five fathoms, and following them without his shield with sword in hand—a very greyhound in pursuit, a lynx in perception; yet in the midst of all preserving a great self-possession, and exercising wonderful great-mindedness towards the fallen. The ballad concludes with this song of the bard:

'Brothers! the mountain breaks through the mist, and the gods have given us victory. From tree to tree the gathering people are passing—there are crowds of flying souls. The wild beasts—the forest birds fly before them—all but the never-affrighted owls. Up to the mountain—upwards.—Bury the dead.—Bring offerings to the gods—to the gods, our saviours—bring rich offerings—hymn the hymns of praise."

The second historical ballad is headed Čestmir and Wlaslaw. It narrates events which the chronicler Cosmas has recorded. Wlaslaw is represented by him as a furious barbarian, who caused the children of his women captives to be taken away, and forced them to nurse young dogs from their bosoms. Čestmir—written Čmir in the ballad—gathers his followers to attack the burner of villages—the causer of woe. The description of the assembling is in the following words:—"There are mountains to the right—and to the left are mountains—and on their tops—their high tops—the sun shines brightly—along their sides—both here and there—the armies are spread out—each hero with battle in his bosom." A long and energetic account of the storming of a mountain-castle follows, and Wlaslaw is destroyed by the hand of Čestmir.

The third ballad contains so vivid a description of a tournay, and so complete a picture of a court of the chivalric epoch, that we shall give it entire, preserving the rhythmus of the original, and forbearing to indulge even in the introduction or suppression of a single word or phrase. The repetitions are characteristic of Slavonian poetry, and are found almost universally in the ballads of Russia and Servia. To our minds the whole poem is singularly national.—We visit the princely castle—are present at the festival—accompany the nobles to the tournay—hear the

music between the different acts of the combat—witness the different jousts as they take place—and go with the victor to receive his garland. Yet no story can be more simply told. There is not the excess of a line.

LUDIŠE AND LUBOR.

Listen! young and old ones, listen!
Hear the tale of fights and tournays!

Once there reign'd beyond the Labe,§
Rich and good and highly honour'd,
Reign'd the prince, whose only daughter
Was his treasure—his and all men's;
Marvellous was his daughter's beauty,
Tall and lovely was her figure,
And her cheeks of dazzling whiteness,
While they glow'd with living roses;
Lustrous were her eyes as heaven,
And upon her snowy bosom,
Bright as gold her locks descended
Exquisitely curl'd in ringlets.

Once the prince his heralds order'd
All the nobles to assemble,
For a feasting in the castle.—
When the day arriv'd, the nobles
All assembled at his bidding,
Came from distant lands and country
To the feasting in the castle.

Horns are sounding, cymbals clashing;
On the prince attend the nobles,
Bow before the prince and princess
And the princely maid of beauty.
All at long, long tables seated,
In the order of their coming;
And the nobles' food was venison,
And their beverage drink of honey.
It was a luxurious table,
Yes! it was a sumptuous table,
Strength was waxing in their members,
Courage stream'd through all their senses.

Then the prince bespake the nobles:
"Men! I will not hide the reason

§ The Elbe.

Why I have you all assembled—
Men heroic! I will try ye,
Who may best deserve my favor,
Prudence waits in peace for warfare,
And our neighbours are the Germans."

Thus the prince—and when he ended,
From the table rose the nobles—
Bow'd them 'fore the prince and princess,
And the princely maid of beauty.

Horn and cymbals loudly sounded,
All are hastening to the tournay—
On the fields before the castle,
High, upon the balc'ny seated
Is the prince with all his nobles,
Is the princess with her ladies
And with noble dames, Ludise.

And the prince bespake the nobles:
"He, who shall the tournay open,
I, the prince, will now determine—"
And the prince to Streber beckon'd,
Streber call'd upon Ladislav.
Both then sprang upon their horses,
Grasp'd the sharply-pointed lances,
Fiercely rushed on one another,
Struggled long with one another,
Till the spears of both were broken,
Each was thoroughly exhausted—
And they quitted both the circus.

Horns are sounding, cymbals clashing,
And the prince bespake the nobles:
"Who shall lead the second tournay,
Shall the princess now determine."
And the princess beckoned Serpos,
Serpos call'd upon Spitibor.
Both then mounted on their horses,
Grasp'd the sharply-pointed lances,
Serpos sprang upon Spitibor,
Flung him from his girded saddle,
Swiftly from his own dismounted,
Swords they draw from out their scabbards,
Blows from their black shields are echoed,
Sparks from their black shields are springing,
Spitibor hath smitten Serpos,
On the chilly earth hath laid him,
Each is thoroughly exhausted,
And they quitted both the circus.

Horns are sounding, cymbals clashing,
And the prince bespake the nobles:
"Who shall be the third for tournay
Shall Ludise now determine."
And the princess beckoned Lubor.
Lubor call'd upon Bolemir,
Both sprang eager on their horses,
Grasp'd the sharply-pointed lances,
Hasten'd swiftly in the circus,
Look'd upon each other—turning
Each his spear upon the other,
From his horse Bolemir tumbles,
Far away his shield is flying,
Servants bear him from the circus.

Horns are sounding, cymbals clashing,
Lubor calls on Rúbos—Rúbos
Straight upon his steed is mounted,
Swiftly bears him down on Lubor,
Lubor's sword his lance has severed,
Lubor's sword has cleaved his helmet,
From his steed he falls—th' attendants
Bear him wounded from the circus.

Horns are sounding, cymbals clashing,
Lubor calls upon the nobles:
"He who will with Lubor battle,
Let him hasten to the circus."
And the nobles talk together,
Lubor tarries in the circus,
Zdeslaw swung his heavy jav'lin,
With gigantic bull-head pointed,
Swung it from his horse of battle,
And thus arrogantly answered:
"My forefather slew the wild-bull,
German hordes my father conquered,
And let Lubor try my prowess."
So they sprang on one another,
Head from head anon rebounded,
And of each the horses stagger'd,
Each his sword unsheath'd, they combat
Horseless on the ground,—and fiercely
Swing their swords,—whose mighty clashings
All around the circus echo.
Lubor on his side is pressing,
Smites with force his foeman's helmet
See—that helm in twain is sever'd,
Lubor's sword his foeman's follows
Lo! it flies beyond the circus,
Zdeslaw to the ground is fallen.

Horns are sounding, cymbals clashing,
All the peers encircle Lubor,
Bear him to the prince's presence,
To the princess—to Ludise—
And a wreath Ludise gives him
Of the green leaves of the oak-tree,
Horns are sounding, cymbals clashing.

The next piece is a description of the Tatar Kubla Khan's invasion of Christendom, an event which took place in the middle of the thirteenth century. The story is simply and beautifully told, in regular verses of five trochees each. An Englishman, named Weston,* (he is called Vestoň by the Bohemian bard) appears to have greatly distinguished himself. The whole poem is too long for quotation, but of its style and measure the verbal translation of a few lines—the introduction of Kubla Khan's daughter—will give a sufficient idea.

Kublajevna, beautiful as Luna,
Heard of lands, and people towards the evening,†
She desired to see their foreign customs,
Ten young men she summon'd to escort her,
And two maidens for her person's service;
Richly for her journey she provided;
All were mounted on the swiftest coursers,
And departed for the western sun-set;
As the dawn of morning brightly shineth
When it rises in the gloomy forest,
Shone in dazzling and in native beauty
And magnificence Khan Kubla's daughter;
She was covered o'er with golden garments
While her neck and bosom each uncover'd
Wore the costliest wreaths of pearls and jewels.

Such a splendor dazzled all the Germans,
And they coveted her costly treasures,
Track'd her footsteps as she hasten'd forward,
Overtook her in the darksome forest,
Murder'd her, and all her treasures plunder'd.

The description of the Tatar priests with their magic rites gives a dramatic aspect to the poem, which throughout is flowing, vivacious and pictorial. Its details are all accordant with

* The Chronicles of this period speak of an old English warrior who had in consequence of his former crimes, made a vow to serve against the infidels. See Ramner's Geschichte der Hohenstaufen; was his name Weston?

† Ze wlasti na záchodie, lands towards the evening *i. e.* lands in the west.

the narratives which exist of the defeat of the Hungarians by the Tatars in 1241; when Pest, Cracow and Breslau were taken. It was at this time the great battle of the Wahlstatt was lost, in consequence, it was said, of the Poles having misunderstood the cry *zabijejcie*, (Smite dead!) for *zabiežcie* (Save yourselves!).

The following poem (Beneš Hermanow) is in the ballad measure, thus

Sun of brightness, sun of brightness,
What hast made thee now so dark
Why on us, unhappy ones,
Look so gloomily?

It is a description of an affray between Bohemians and Germans in which the latter are put to the rout.

There are three other historical ballads, which, however, the space which the popular lyrics will occupy prevents our farther referring to here—these lyrics we shall transfer to our pages.

The Cuckoo is a happy expression of impatient affection, of uneasiness under the too-slow flight of Time.

THE CUCKOO.

On the wide plain tow'rs an oak tree,
Cuckoo sits upon the tree,
"Why," he moans and "why" he murmurs—
"Lives not spring eternally?"

Would corn ripen in the meadows
Did the spring for ever last:
Or the apples in the garden,
If the summer never past?

What should freeze the up-piled wheat-rick,
If the autumn ne'er were gone—
And how gloomy were the maiden
Did the seasons not move on?*

The "Nosegay" Göthe has translated in his Kunst und Alter-

*ZEZHULICE.

Wšírém poli dubec stoií,
na dubci zezhulice.
Zakukáse, zaplakáře,
že nenié vezdy iaro.

Kakby zrálo žítko w poli,
by wezdy iaro bylo?

kakby zrálo iablko w sadie,
by wezdy léto bylo?

Kakby mrzli klasi w stoze,
by wezdy iesen byla?
Kakby dievie tiesko bylo,
by wezdy sama byla?—p. 174.

thum. It is fanciful and full of grace. Göthe's version is a very faithful one, except that he represents the maiden as following the nosegay.

> Und so verfolgt sie
> das eilende Sträusschen
> sie eilet vorauf ihm—

We prefer the simplicity of the original.

THE NOSEGAY.

A breezelet is blowing
From forests of kings:
A maiden is going
To seek the stream.

In well-girded bucket
The water she draws,
The stream to the maiden
A nosegay brings.

A beautiful nosegay
Of violets, and roses—
She stretches to reach it,
Alas! to tell,
The beautiful maid
In the streamlet fell.

O beautiful flowers
Could I but know,
Who planted you first
And bid you grow,
In faith I would give him
A golden ring.

O beautiful nosegay
Wouldst thou declare
Who bound thee round
With gentle string;
I'd give him with pleasure
The pin of my hair.*

O beautiful nosegay
Could I but know—
In the streamlet who flung thee
I'd give him, I vow,
The prettiest garland,
That binds my brow.†

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* The head-dress of young Slavonian women resembled the Acus Comatoria of the Romans, and was fastened with a golden pin. The maiden's garland (wienek) spoken of in the following verse was laid aside on marriage; and the idea of the willingness of the damsel to wed her lover, whom she imagines to have thrown the garland into the stream, is artfully and prettily conveyed.—See Swoboda's note p. 221.

† KYTICE

Vieie vietříček
s kniézeckých lesów;
bieže zmilitka
ku potoku.

Nabiéra vody
w kowaná viedra,
po vodie k dievie
kytice plyie.

Kytice voná
z yiol a róží,
i ie sie dieva
kyticu lovit;
spade, ach! spade
w chladnú vodicu.

Kdabych viedlela,
kytice krásná,
kto tebe w kyprú
zemicu sáze;
tomu bych dala
prstének zlatý.

To "The Rose," Swoboda attributes a high antiquity. Popular traditional songs closely resembling it are to be found in most of the collections of the Slavonian *Piesnie.*

THE ROSE.

O thou rose ! thou lovely rose !
Why so early hast thou bloom'd,
Early bloom'd, in frost benumb'd
And in frost so soon decay'd
Stripp'd of leaves and withered ?

Evening came—I sat forlorn
Till the cock-call met the morn—
Till the fir-splint light was gone—
What had I to hope upon ?

So I slept—and sleeping dream'd—
And to me—unhappy thing !
Something in my vision seem'd
From my hand to steal the ring,
Steal the precious stone I wore—
And I found it never-more—
Vainly did I wait my love.*

In a few simple words, can a picture of solitude and sorrow be more touchingly delineated than in what follows. The castle of Militine is in the Bydžower district.

THE ABANDONED.

O ye forests—gloomy forests—
Gloomy woods of Militine
How in summer and in winter
Can ye ever-smiling shine ?

Kdabych viediela
kytice krásná,
kto tebe lykem
hebúčkým sváza;
tomu bych dala
iehlicu z wlasów.

Kdabych viediela,
kytice krásná !
kto tie po chladnéi
vodici pusti,
tomu bych dala
viének svói z hlavy.—p. 164 6.

* RÓZE.

Ach ty róže, krásná róže !
čemus ranie rozkvetla ?
rozkvetawši pomrzla ?
pomrzawši usviedla ?
usviedewši opadla ?

Wečer siediech, dlúho siediech,
do kuropienié sediech ;
nic doždati nemožech,
wše dřezhy, lúčky sežech.

Usnuch, sniése mi sie we snie,
iako by mnie nebošce
na pravéi ruce s prsta
swlekl sie zlatý prstének,
smekl sie drahý kamének.
Kamének nenadiidech,
zmilitka sie nedoždech.—p. 172.

Would that I could end my weeping—
And my bosom cease to pine—
Tell me,—tell me friends who love me
How to quiet griefs like mine.
Father! where art thou, my father!
Hidden in that grave of thine!
Mother! where art thou, my mother!
O the green turf is thy shrine—
Brother have I not—nor sister—
And they stole that youth of mine.*

Again, how truly poetical is "The Lark," of which we give an unrhymed, undecorated version, though it is not possible to express in English that tone of gentleness and endearment which the diminutive conveys, in the *Malitký Skřivánče*—beloved larklet.

THE LARK.

Gentle maid is weeding hemp
In her master's garden:
And a singing Lark inquires
"Maiden! why so gloomy?"

Well may I so gloomy be—
Little Lark of kindness!
They have borne my love away
To the mountain castle.

"Had I but a pen to write
I would write a letter
Little Lark of kindness, thou
On thy wings shouldst bear it.

"Paper have I not, nor pen,
May not write a letter:
Go, sweet Lark! and sing him songs—
Tell him all I suffer."†

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* OPUSTIENA.

Ach wy lesi, tmaví lesi
lesi miletinsti!
Cemu wy sie zelenáte
w zimie letie rowno?
Ráda bych iáz neplakala,
nemútila srdce;
a řekniete dobří ludié,
ktoby neplakal zdie?
Kdie mói otčík, otčík milý?—
Zahřeben w rovece.
Kdie moie máti, dobrá máti?
Tráwka na niéi roste.
Ni mi bratra, ni mi sestry,
iunošu mi wzechu.—p. 176.

† SKŘIWÁNEK.

Pleie dieva konopie
u panského sada,
pytá sie iéi skřivánek,
proč ie žalostiva.

Kakbych mohla ráda být?
malitký skřivanče!
otvedechu zmilitka
u kamený hrádek.

Kdybych perce imiela,
písala bych lístek;
ty, malitký skřivánče,
tyby s niém tam letial.

Nenié perce, nenié blánky,
bych písala lístek;
pozdravul drahého pieniém,
že zdie hořem nyiu!—p. 178.

One more specimen and we have done. It will speak eloquently and touchingly for itself; it would not be easy to give a more striking picture of tenderness and passion.

THE STRAWBERRIES.

To the green grove my maiden went
To gather strawberries red:
And her white foot a bramble rent,
And her white foot—it bled—
Sweet love! the wound is smarting so—
That the dear girl can hardly go.

O why thou most perfidious thorn
Hast thou my gentle maiden torn—
Thou from thy stem shall now be riven
And flung upon the winds of heaven.

Now linger, lov'd one! in the shade
Beneath the waving pine;
I'll hasten to the sunny glade
On this white steed of mine.

My steed shall wander at his ease
And the green grass his feast shall be—
So tarry maiden! midst the trees—
Wait in the shade for me.

I heard my love's unconscious lay;
In the fir-grove, she said:—
"And O! what would my mother say
To me, unhappy maid?

My mother always said, take care!
Beware of flattering youth—
And yet I know not why beware—
They please me well in truth."

Swift flew I o'er the flowery mead
On my snow-horse, as swift could be—
Sprung from my horse—and tied the steed
With silver curblet to a tree.

I seiz'd the maid—with passion hot
I press'd her to my eager heart—
Kiss'd her sweet lips—she soon forgot
The bramble and the bramble's smart.

And so we sat delighted there
The gathering of the eve forgetting:
"Now—must we hasten home my dear!
For see the sun is setting."

And swift upon my steed I sprung
My steed as snow-heaps white;
Upon mine arm my maiden hung
We reached her home at night.

ART. III.—*An Inquiry into the Place and Quality of the Gentlemen of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Chamber.* By Nicholas Carlisle, F. R. S. M. R. I. A. Fellow and Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of London, and One of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. 8vo. 1829. pp. 366. Payne and Foss.

IT is at all times dangerous to adopt the opinions of others without first examining for ourselves. To have done so with respect to this volume, would at once have been to fling it aside as a very dull and a very ridiculous, compilation. A careful perusal however convinced us that it is a work pregnant with ability; and one of the most admirable satires it has been our fortune to read. The difference between our judgment and that of others arises from this simple cause, that they have actually deemed the author in earnest.

Mr. Nicholas Carlisle is universally known for the erratic but brilliant qualities of his wit; and like other luminaries who have adorned our country, he sometimes evinces it in poignant sarcasm.—It is true that neither his public appointments, nor the various works with which he has favoured the world appear calculated for the display of genius, yet with the peculiar property which belongs to it, every production of his pen bears striking marks of an original mind; and he has established a reputation which is the envy of his fellow Antiquaries, and, to judge from a passage in one of his own books, a subject of honest exultation to himself.*

In the volume before us, this accomplished gentleman has proposed to himself a task not more remarkable for its concep-

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* The passage to which we allude occurs in the rarest and most valuable of Mr. Carlisle's productions, "the History of the Carlisle family" p. 264, in which an account is given of every person who ever flourished of the name, excepting Mr. Carlisle of Fleet Street. Though deeply impressed with a sense of Mr. Nicholas Carlisle's modesty, we cannot resist the pleasure of citing that paragraph, not so much to shew the affecting filial piety of the writer, as from its being the most beautiful apostrophe in our language. After mentioning his venerable parents, and stating that before their decease, they gave him birth, he thus pathetically invokes their shades:

"Blessed Spirits! with what rapture and satisfaction, would you have beheld the present situation, and the *literary productions*, of your beloved child! But I have done!"

tion than for the successful manner in which it is executed; and though we fear the example of the reverend Mr. Dillon, who undertook to ridicule books of travels by writing those of the lord mayor and aldermen of London to Oxford, deprives Mr. Carlisle of the claim to the invention, yet there is much praise due to him for applying the plan to a totally different subject, even had he not far excelled his prototype; and the author of this work will henceforward be deemed a master of burlesque, and this volume his master-piece. It was doubtless often painful to such a mind as Mr. Carlisle's to contemplate the folly which authors of Antiquarian works are in the habit of committing, by writing volumes on the most insignificant questions, and running wild in the investigation of points for which no person on this side of Bedlam cares one straw; whilst, to render the absurdity complete, they use language more inflated than that of Gibbon; and compliment all who furnish a word on the subject of their lucubrations, as if they had contributed to the discovery of a new science, forcibly reminding us of the Messieurs Trissotin and Vadius of Molière.

In one of the few intervals of leisure which his numerous official avocations allowed him, Mr. Carlisle conceived the laudable design of writing a work which should be so remarkable for all these follies, and for the omissions and errors that usually characterize the productions of those elaborate triflers, as could not fail to produce a signal reformation in the pursuits of Antiquaries. It appears to have been his object too, to satirize book-makers in general; and, with a truly philosophic spirit, to hold up to the scorn of mankind persons who lament the extinction of privileges that once shielded rogues and cheats from the vengeance of the law. To say that this learned person has eminently succeeded, is not to say half of what he deserves; for this single book has done more to produce a reform in the Society of which the author is the most distinguished member, than if, in their recent "agitations," he had joined those radicals of the fraternity, whom he then completely overwhelmed by his eloquence.

A subject suited to his purpose fortunately presented itself last year in his appointment, as one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. By writing the history of that office he was sure his motive would not be suspected, even if people could be so illiberal as to suppose that he merely wished to inform the world of his promotion; and no one can doubt that such a theme is as fair a burlesque on many antiquarian books as could have been chosen. That every department of the art of book-making might be hit at, this "Inquiry" properly com-

mences with a "dedication" to the Lord Chamberlain, he being the "author and disposer" of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. The "introduction" contains a brief outline of the state of the court in former ages, which is followed by an attempt to shew that the courts of justice are not competent to decide upon so important a question as the "rights and privileges" of his Majesty's servants, from the Lord Steward to the scullion, including of course Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. "These sentiments," the author says, "are introduced with a view to prepare the reader for that surprise which will naturally be felt on finding how much the rights and privileges of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber have been invaded, and how seldom their services are now required: and it may therefore admit of reasonable inquiry, why that well-deserved respect has been suffered to become dormant, which our kings and princes and the national councils always showed to those gentlemen."—p. xix.

After stating that he has been indebted to the labours of Pegge, and Fabian Philipps, Mr. Carlisle proceeds to burlesque the way in which authors acknowledge literary assistance from their friends, and more particularly the permission of persons in office for access to documents in their custody, by imitating, though we are aware with some exaggeration, the usual fulsome style of these addresses. Mr. Peel is thanked for "his politeness and remarkable kindness" in having allowed him to examine some documents in the State Paper Office, "which high favour I esteem it a pleasing duty to acknowledge, not only as a respectful tribute of profound gratitude to his *love of literature* [!] but as it affords me an opportunity of publicly expressing my sincere obligations to that intelligent, faithful and complaisant officer" the Deputy Keeper. To Mr. Mash, he says, he "owes all the gratitude which is so eminently due" for leave to examine the records of the Lord Chamberlain's office, a favour he describes as "an indulgence, flowing from a natural affability of disposition, which could only have been expected in a friendship of many years growth." Having been aided by another gentleman in that department Mr. Carlisle happily observes, "We look for complaisance about the court, but in no department of the household could it have been more pleasingly expressed than by those two gentlemen." To Sir George Nayler, Garter King of Arms, he offers "all the respect that either friendship can suggest or kindness dictate," nor "can he suffer the opportunity to pass without recording his warmest thanks to his steady friend" the Norfolk Herald, "whose courtesy—the emblem of his profession—was displayed

in every information and every research that could possibly be desired or supplied!" Extensive as is the bead-roll of his friends, he thus includes all his acquaintance in one general expression of thanks, lest either of them might think himself neglected:

"From other gentlemen, with whom in early life an acquaintance begun [began] which is now matured by age into the most affectionate esteem, [whether on both sides, or merely *ex parte*, does not appear] I looked for that warm and gratifying assistance which sincere friendship so cheerfully supplies,—And, need I say, that I found it exemplified with a generosity of feeling, which far outstrips the power of expression. But, why should I mention particular persons or departments [only seven persons and four departments having been specially mentioned, independently of "his ever sincere and affectionate friend Henry Ellis, Esq. the principal librarian of the Museum, who with a sensibility of heart which guides the elegance of his pen observes," &c. and his "dear friend the excellent and highly respected Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries," to whom acknowledgments are made in the body of the work], where all were desirous to contribute whatever intelligence they possessed? I may therefore, in conclusion, add, why should I deny myself the pleasure of recording my grateful regard for all those friends with whom it is the happiness of my life to be associated? but whose indulgent approbation may probably have imparted an unmerited confidence in the publication of these pages."—p. xxiii.

From this time forward, we predict, there will be an end of those nauseous compliments with which authors often crowd their prefaces; and the only thing to complain of in this burlesque of the custom is, that the public are benefitted at the expense of the several respectable parties whose names Mr. Carlisle has used, none of whom, we can assure our readers, is an imaginary personage.

The duties of "Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber" were once performed by the "Valets of the King's Chamber;" and in times when it was deemed an honour for people of birth and talents to render the most menial services to the sovereign's person, the appointments were held by gentlemen; but in our more civilized days, though the situation is not absolutely abolished, it has fallen into desuetude, for the very obvious reason, that our monarchs are assisted to dress and undress by their valets;* to have the bell answered by their footmen; and

* "It is ordained that the six gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, by seven the clock or sooner, shall be in the said Chamber, there diligently at-

to send their letters either by "messengers" or orderly dragoons. Such being the fact, no better mode of laughing at an absurd veneration for ancient customs could have been devised, than to suppose that one of the present Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber should cry and groan, and give vent to his grief in a thick octavo volume, because he is not allowed to displace the well-grown, well-laced, and well-whiskered knights of the shoulder-knot, in the truly important, most dignified, and highly intellectual employment of sitting in the king's ante-chamber in readiness to bring him his sacred small-clothes, or to tie his royal garters!

To place the satirical powers of Mr. Carlisle in their proper light, would extend this article beyond its limits; but a few specimens of the cutting irony with which he treats the follies and prejudices of antiquaries will be sufficient to make our readers hasten to the work itself. Every extract we have made shews the severity with which he punishes their wretched style and ignorance of grammar, by closely imitating their writings; and he thus parodies their common practice of drawing conclusions, not merely without data, but in direct opposition to the authorities cited for their opinions, as well as the indifference they betray to all rules of logic and composition.

It is pretended that "Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber" were instituted by Henry VII, "to give additional splendour to the ceremony of his coronation," because the household ordinances made by that monarch in 1494, nine years after that event, do not once mention such persons, though the duties of the Gentleman Usher and other servants are minutely described;† and because the first notice he has found of them, under that designation, is in the Ordinary of the King's train upon his French expedition in 1513," but which proves, on referring to the authority cited,‡ to be the "Ordinary of the King's

tending upon his grace coming forth, being ready and prompt to apparell and dress his highness, putting on such garments in reverend, discreet, and sober manner as shall be his grace's pleasure to wear."—*Ordinances made in the 17th Hen. VIII.* "The manner in which his majesty dressed is," Mr. Carlisle says, p. 41, "deserving of particular remark," and he then gravely discusses by whom his gown was to be given him!

† The author might have added as another pretended reason for supposing they were created on that occasion by Henry VII, that in the stat. 4 Hen. VII, cap. 7, which states, that whereas diverse Grooms of the Crown, and Grooms of the King's Chamber, had offices granted them in consideration of their attendance, but who did not attend according to their duty; and enacts, that if they did not, in future, attend about the King's highness according to the Ordinance of his Chamber, such grants should be void, no notice occurs of Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.

‡ Additional MS. in the British Museum, No. 5758, folio 282.

train to Bologne," not in 1513, but in October 1532, a trifling difference of nineteen years, and supporting the general idea, that the office was instituted by the Ordinances of Essham in the 17 Henry VIII, 1525. Delightful as this stroke of humour is, it is perhaps excelled by what occurs in a subsequent page:

"The Privy Garden was likewise accounted as Privy Chamber, for the ordinances of Charles II expressly command, 'that the Privy Garden be observed in all particulars as our Privy Lodgings, as concerning the service to be performed there by the Gentlemen Ushers of our Privy Chamber;'" but that the said Garden was not "accounted as Privy Chamber" so far as the Gentlemen of the Chamber were concerned, is made evident in the very next paragraph—"Their duty extending no farther than the domestic limits of the Privy Chamber."—p. 362.

Conscious that errors and omissions are the most serious faults in the works which are thus ridiculed; they are made to abound throughout this book. Whilst the author pretends to have exhausted records in tracing the origin of this "important office," he purposely takes no notice that the designation nearest to that of "Gentleman of the Chamber," is that of "Knight of the King's Chamber,"* which occurs in the 7 Ric. II being the description of a person who was sent to execute one of the duties which were afterwards intrusted to these "Gentlemen," that of conveying the king's commands; and though, with perhaps too close an adherence to fact for his object, he says they were anciently called "Valets," he atones for this accidental deviation from his design by failing to notice the "Squiers of Attendaunce†" and "Esquires for the Body‡" of the reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV.; though, following Pegge, he does speak of "Squires of the Household." Among the errors purposely committed—are confounding Sir John Dudley, one of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber to queen Mary, with the celebrated duke of Northumberland, he having been created to that dukedom nearly two years before Mary's accession. Half the book is filled with lists of persons who enjoyed the situation in various reigns; but two eminent individuals who possessed those appointments, Sir James Croft,

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* "Monsr. Robert Roys adonqes Chivaler du Chambre le Roy."—*Rot. Parl. III.* 183. As Knights of the Chamber seem to have been afterwards called "Knights of the King's Body," it strengthens the idea that they and the Esquires above-mentioned were, in fact, the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber; more especially as their duties were nearly the same.

† 33 Hen. VI. Household Ordinances, p. 17. The number of these persons was eight.

‡ Liber Niger Domus Regis, Edw. IV.

the Lord Deputy of Ireland temp. Eliz., and the still more famous Sir Kenelm Digby are omitted. As every person knew they held them, the leaving them out in this volume approaches too nearly to caricature.

To this objection, the cruel manner in which the exuberant loyalty of some antiquarian writers of the present day is brought forward, is perhaps also liable. Though sorry to make mischief, we cannot help hinting that in this Mr. Carlisle had a recent work of one of "his ever sincere and affectionate friends" in his view. Speaking of the Commonwealth, he says,

'I may easily be excused passing over with hasty brevity those years of treachery, treason, and rebellion.'—p. 117.

'Although the committee did not dare to appoint the servants who should attend upon the king, they had nevertheless the insolence to insert a qualifying clause that they should be such as adhered to the Parliament. But let us hasten to the description of this afflicting and illegal confinement, &c.'—p. 121.

In the following passages the custom of retailing truisms is well taunted:

'Upon the accession of queen Mary, it is natural to imagine that the household would undergo some changes, especially in the interior apartments, and that a queen regent should require the attendance of ladies in lieu of gentlemen in her chamber of retirement.'—p. 65.

'It is no wonder that we do not meet with ladies of the Privy Chamber antecedent to this period—for it must be remembered that queen Mary was the first queen regnant who sat upon the throne.'—p. 67.

'The pomp and gorgeous state of this renowned queen [Elizabeth] when displayed in the Progresses about her dominions, fixed irrevocably that popularity which such condescending affability [of amusing herself at her subjects expense in agreeable excursions every summer !] was calculated to excite !'—p. 72.

Her "passage" through London to Westminster the day before her coronation, is a happy hit at common-place metaphors—

'It was the rising of a brilliant sun to cheer the nation chilled with the horror of more than inquisitorial cruelty.'—p. 72.

The best, however, yet remains:—

'The Commonwealth.—Amidst the thick cloud of bigotry and ignorance which overspread the nation during the Commonwealth and Protectorship, we cannot expect to find either elegance or refinement;—and certainly nothing relating to the royal household."

i. e. That from the death of Charles I, in 1649, to the Restoration in 1660, eleven years, England was a nation of fools, (Milton of course included) because the virtuous Charles was

absent; and for the simple reason that there was no royal family, there was no royal household!

The pathetic allusions, redundance of adjectives and affected sensibility of authors, are capitally lashed.—He now speaks of Carre, James the First's favourite:

'The pampered minion, and afterwards the wicked and infamous, earl of Somerset. Who has not read and wept over [the number of pocket handkerchiefs soiled is not stated] the sad catastrophe of sir Thomas Overbury—or who can find terms of sufficient disgrace and indignation at the heinous conduct of this guilty favourite, and the still more appalling and horrible vengeance of that profligate and hideous woman the countess of Essex whom he afterwards made his wife?'

"What a dish of poison has she dressed him!"
Twelfth Night.—p. 95.

The folly of making two men play Punch, by personating the Dukes of Acquitaine and Normandy at coronations, but which was wisely omitted at the last, is thus laughed at:

'For many reigns they have been represented by two Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber usually selected for the comeliness of their person and stately demeanour, and nominated by the lord Chamberlain—they were also knighted—this being an honour of the first magnitude, as it gave to them for the moment, in their representative capacity, precedence of the archbishop of Canterbury!'—p. 301.

One of the great evils of the day, is book-making, by which we mean doing little but repeating what has been printed before, introducing old stories which have nothing to do with the subject, scraps of poetry whether applicable or not, using very large type, and, as if thoroughly indifferent whether the compilation become of any use, not giving the only thing which could make it of the slightest benefit—an Index.—Let a high price be put upon the concoction, and behold a book prepared for the present market. This system is followed with peculiar felicity in the volume before us. It is founded on Pegge's "Curiala," and the "Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household," printed by the Society of Antiquaries; and whenever our historians mention that a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber was in any way concerned in a public transaction, whether as principal, accomplice, witness, or even as having conveyed a message connected with it, Hollingshed or Stowe's account of the affair is brought in wholesale. Thus we have the History of Anne Boleyn, because some of the "Gentlemen" were accused of being intimate with her; and of Cardinal Wolsey, because a "Gentleman" conveyed the king's commands to him; Shakespeare, Scott, &c., are frequently pressed into the author's

service to eke out a page, and with what propriety the quotations occur is apparent from the following lines which are appended to the regulation of Henry the Eighth, forbidding the Gentlemen of his Chamber from gambling, but permitting them to play moderately for their amusement, whilst waiting in his ante-chamber, though without even alluding to fires, music, ladies, lamps, or wine:

> '"When fires were bright, and lamps beam'd gay,
> And ladies tuned the lovely lay,
> And he was held a laggard soul,
> Who shunn'd to quaff the sparkling bowl."'
>
> *Scott*—p. 37.

The slight biographical notices which are added to a few of the names, are as novel as interesting, and are formed after the same recipe; whilst the absence of any reference to them ensures to those who may wish to ascertain whether a particular person ever held this dignified office, the gratification of reading through nearly four hundred pages to ascertain it, thus consuming as much of his time as ought to be bestowed on a work for which he has paid "the small charge," as the itinerant venders of songs say, of one sovereign! Great care is also taken that the book shall not be neglected on the ground of imperfect eye-sight, a highly laudable consideration for aged persons, and indicative of the author's amiable disposition, for at least one third is printed in capitals, and the rest either in the largest pica or italics.

The latter part of the volume is devoted to an inquiry into the legality of the decision of the judges, as to whether a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber is free from arrest on a civil process, which is treated as one of their "rights and privileges;" and incomparable as is the ridicule which the work throws over other follies and other prejudices, the author has almost exceeded himself in his caustic irony on people who would avail themselves of, or purposely seek, an obsolete office to enable them to cheat their tradesmen with impunity. There is little doubt that whilst Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber actually performed duties to the king's person, and were paid wages for doing so, they could not be arrested for debt, and it can be proved that the office was sought by numerous unprincipled people with that express object. About the reign of Charles I they ceased to receive pay, and when the question was agitated in 1818 by one of these "Gentlemen," whom Mr. Carlisle with unmerciful severity styles "the unfortunate sufferer," the court most judiciously decided "that the necessity of the servant to his majesty must be shewn, and also fees

annexed to the office in proof of it, to entitle him to protection from arrest." It was conceded that these "Gentlemen" perform no services and receive no pay, and yet it is pretended, (with a zeal which has made some of our contemporaries very unjust to Mr. Carlisle, from believing that he was in sober earnest) that the Royal Prerogative was then invaded!—Two or three passages on this subject are so truly comic that, to supply the loss of the Pantomimes which will have disappeared by the time this article reaches our readers, we shall copy them.

'Antiquity has removed from our view the particular services of the office, as well as the particular profits, privileges, and advantages; but because they cannot at this time be specified, the known and heretofore acknowledged right of the Crown to have all the menial servants of its household in ordinary protected, is not to be broken in upon by abstract notions of reasoning, and principles drawn from the common law, to which those rights are not subservient.'—p. 275.

The Judges are then charged with having "exceeded their jurisdiction," in not protecting this "unfortunate sufferer;" and the principles which are supposed to have influenced their decision

'May for aught that is known have reason on their side if reasoning be admissible, but it was for monarchs of old and not for the judges of the present day to determine or fix them.'!,—p. 276.

'Where is the use of precedent; where the sanction of immemorial usage—where the veneration due to the king's rights—if the law is to be set afloat, and vary with the different opinions of successive judges.?'—p. 278.

'Why at this hour is the privilege to be undermined and the prerogative sapped by peevish distinctions and pitiful exceptions? The king's prerogative and the people's rights go hand in hand.—Prerogative and liberty are closely connected; and while the people and the throne are united in the support of each other there is nothing to fear for the constitution.'—p. 279.

The old ultra-tory cry—"The constitution is in danger."—Hurra!—"The royal prerogative is invaded," because a person holding a nominal appointment in the king's household may not snap his fingers at some industrious artizan whom he has defrauded. This is true Toryism with a vengeance; and very like what is still often urged by that profession, a member of which, and not Mr. Carlisle,* was the author of this precious piece of

* "Such are the arguments of a late Gentleman of the Privy Chamber who had the honor of serving his majesty twenty years, as his majesty's advocate-general in his office of Admiralty,—which we are bound to respect as containing more legal information than could be easily attested from others. The interests of all the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber are alike involved in this question."—p. 280.

rhapsodical nonsense.—Law, we are daily told, is independent of reason:—Common sense goes for nothing against precedent: Men living in 1830 must be governed by decisions made in the enlightened period of the middle ages. Every thing may change; the human mind may be acted on by the advancement of science, but law, no, prerogative is immutable; and is not to be shackled by such silly considerations as common sense, or even by real and substantial justice.

Our "conclusion" shall be in the *ipsissima verba* of this Juvenal of Antiquaries.—We reserved them for a *bonne bouche*, and as a brilliant example of the manner in which absurdities may be exposed by a philosophic spirit, when it avails itself of that scourge which cuts deeper and with a more lasting effect than any other application—Satire.

CONCLUSION.

"Such were the diversified services of the Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, as component Members of the Royal Establishment of the Kings of England from time immemorial. [Their first institution, according to the author's conjecture, being by Henry VII, and according to his proofs, by Henry VIII], but whose duties and functions having for years been dispensed with, [that is, superseded by the King's Valets, Messengers, and Footmen] they have seldom been called upon by their Sovereign. As they were attached by the strongest ties of duty, veneration, and fidelity, which were the leading and essential qualifications for obtaining their *high* office [!]; so were the Monarchs pre-eminently guided in their choice of men as worthy of such dignity from among the "sadde and auncient Knights in their Court."

"That an honour so coveted not only by men of the *highest* rank, but of *the greatest talents*, should have been dispossessed of its rights and privileges [the power to cheat with impunity, be it always remembered] is matter of much surprise [to whom is not stated], and cannot perhaps be satisfactorily explained, otherwise than by that mutability which is incident to all human affairs.

"Why the Law should lend its aid to an *unnatural* intrusion upon the *Prerogative* [!], and should treat with asperity those privileges which were confirmed by the wisest council of the state, is worthy of serious, *if not mournful*, consideration;—as an admission of even the most minute advances upon *ancient Royal Rights* may lead to *bitter Repentance*.

"But as the honour which shone with so much refulgence upon our predecessors was reflected from the Crown, to the grace and favour of that bright luminary can we now only look, and hope for reinstatement in the legitimate respect of this *high office* [! !], and in the enjoyment of the 'rights, profits, privileges, and advantages' thereunto belonging, and so graciously granted to us in the express terms of our appointment.

'From myself an Apology is certainly due for having presumed to attempt an historical description of matters of such *great importance.* Yet I trust that I have neither been led away by intemperate language, nor have compromised that independence of mind and proper pride which belong so immediately to this subject; and, however I may regret the little benefit which may accrue to literature from these imperfect Researches, I cannot but feel a degree of satisfaction in having endeavoured to explore the rights, and to shew the quality, which belong to the GENTLEMEN OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY CHAMBER. And, although I look back with poignant sorrow upon their fallen immunities [to defraud people, with impunity be it always borne in mind], I cannot but participate in the Sensibility of the Illustrious Warrior, who yielding only to numbers and to fate, magnanimously exclaimed—

'All is lost, except our honour.'

NICHOLAS CARLISLE."—pp. 364—366.

ART. IV.—*Journal of an Embassy from the Governor General of India to the Court of Ava, in the year* 1827. By John Crawfurd, Esq. F. R. S., F. L S., F. G. S., &c. Late Envoy. With an Appendix, &c. 4 to pp. 516 and 88. London. 1829. Colburn.

NOTWITHSTANDING our commercial, military, and political relations with the Burman empire, by far the greater portion of that extensive country is still a *terra incognita* to our geographers.—A few points of the coast, two or three of the numerous islands which are scattered along it in the Bay of Bengal, together with a narrow tract of country on either side of the Irrawaddy from the gulf of Martaban to the city of Amarapoora, are almost the only parts of this great empire of which we can be said to possess any knowledge. According to Hamilton, and Malte-Brun, who, however, does no more than servilely copy Hamilton, the modern kingdom of Ava, which comprehends several large provinces that formed no part of the original Burman dominions, extends from the 9th to the 26th degree of north latitude; and from the Bengal districts of Tipperah and Chittagong, to China. The space thus circumscribed was supposed to be about one hundred and ninety-four thousand square miles. Since these authors wrote, however, though but a very few years have elapsed, the "empire" has been considerably curtailed of its "fair proportions;" the kingdom of Arracan, part of the province of Martaban, and the entire province of Yé, Tavoy, and Merqui, estimated to contain an area of forty-eight thousand eight hundred English miles, having been wrested from it by the East-India company. Its southern

limits have now receded from the 9th to the 15° 45′, degrees north; and on the west, part of Arracan, and the petty states of Cassay and Assam, have been interposed between its frontiers and Bengal.

The southern, or best-known portion of the country, is a low level land, which, like the plains of Bengal, and the Delta of the Nile, is annually inundated by the rivers. The central provinces consist of a succession of hills of moderate elevation, divided by fertile and well-wooded vallies; while the northern parts of the country, approaching Tibet, are said to tower into mountains of vast height. In these lofty ridges the principal rivers of Ava, as the Saluen, the Setang, the Irrawaddy, and the Kyen-dwen, are believed to have their sources; though, like the Ganges, the Indus, and the Nile, they may be said in the language of the east, to hide their heads in heaven, since no mortal has yet traced their beginnings. A large proportion of the empire is supposed to be covered by forests, in which the wild elephant and the tiger are sovereigns, whose dominions none but a few solitary hunters have ever yet invaded. Interspersed between these vast and impenetrable woods, and among the foldings of the wild and lofty hills, are innumerable lakes, many of them so large as rather to deserve the name of inland seas, which form the haunt of immense flocks of aquatic birds, and abound in various species of fish. The coast is broken or indented by numerous arms of the sea or small bays; but there are only three harbours, which are those of Martaban, Rangoon and Bassim.

The population of the Burman empire, compared with the extent of the country, is exceedingly scanty. Colonel Symes estimated it at seventeen millions; captain Cox, the next ambassador, reduced these seventeen to eight millions; and captain Canning, who visited the country in 1810, and with whom Hamilton agrees, brings down the number to three millions. At the period of his embassy, however, the country had been greatly depopulated by war, rebellion, and famine; temples and villages were deserted; and mothers, whose husbands had been dragged away to the wars, or sold as slaves, brought their children to the ambassador, and entreated him to accept of them, and save them from starvation. Either captain Canning's estimate was much too low, or the prosperity of the country, notwithstanding the late wars, has considerably increased since 1810; for, without including the inhabitants of Arracan, and the other ceded provinces, which were of course comprehended in captain Canning's calculation, Mr. Crawfurd makes the population amount to four millions, which allows about twenty-two

inhabitants to the square mile. But all these estimates must be regarded rather as rough conjectures than as calculations, there being in reality no sufficient data upon which to base our theoretical reasoning.

Even this population, inconsiderable as it is, is far from being a homogeneous mass, distinguished by the same manners, language, and religion. The curse of Babel, one of the greatest that could be inflicted on the human race, is in full operation in Ava, where four millions of people are broken up into eighteen distinct tribes or nations, each differing from the others in those great physical and moral features which constitute a wall of separation, as it were, among men. It has not yet been decided to what variety of the human species the Burmans, and the different wild tribes which they have subdued, belong; Blumenbach and Virey classing them with the Mongols, Bory de Saint Vincent with the Chinese, while Mr. Crawfurd, whose authority on this point is of the greatest weight, considers them to be more nearly allied to the Malays. Their geographical position tends to render the question peculiarly difficult. Surrounded by four different races of men,—the Hindoos, the Mongols, the Chinese, and the Malays; dissimilar in genius, language, religion, and manners,—the Burmans have, to a certain degree, felt the influence of each; and the rays of civilization, darting across their rude country both from the east and from the west, have mingled, as it were, and kindled a pale, intellectual fire, which, however, has hitherto failed to ripen any powerful genius, or useful public institution.

To whatever family of mankind the numerous nations inhabiting the Burman empire belong, taken together they exhibit a striking, if not a complete picture, of the early movements of the human race in its progress from barbarism to refinement. The more energetic and numerous tribes, uniting together, push forward in the career of improvement, and by the very force and rapidity of their motion carry along with them smaller bodies of barbarians, who revolve like satellites around the greater mass without being absorbed in it. In Ava the proper Burmans are at once the most numerous and the most civilized, and each nation, in proportion to the smallness of its numbers, recedes farther and farther from the point of refinement attained by the leading tribe. From this account it is evident that, excepting the proper Burmans, the Peguans, or Talains, and the Shaus, or people of Lao, the remainder of the population of Ava can scarcely rank above the naked and houseless savages of the Andaman islands, apparently descended from some of these races, who, when they can get it, devour human flesh, and when

this kind of provision fails, roam about the sea-shore in search of shell-fish, or the dead bodies of animals or birds. The extreme barbarism of these tribes will, however, appear less extraordinary when it is known that even in British India small nations are found, who, possessing neither habitation nor clothing, and speaking languages unintelligible to the civilized portion of the population, conceal themselves like wild beasts in the craggy summits of the Ghauts, or in the recesses of the vast forests which encircle their bases.

But, however strikingly these tribes may differ from each other in language, religion, and refinement, they have all, according to Mr. Crawfurd, the same physical type; that is, the same cast of features, the same complexion, and the same form. Notwithstanding the theory of M. Bory de Saint Vincent, this type differs in a very remarkable manner from that of the Chinese, as well as from that of the Hindoos. The race may, in fact, be described as short, stout, and active; in complexion brown; with the hair of the head thick, coarse, black, and lank. Their beard is more abundant than that of the Siamese, Chinese, and Tartars; and they have more hair on other parts of their body. It is remarkable that the Talains, or Peguans, who inhabit a low, marshy soil, are more robust and active than the Burmans, who have the advantage of a more elevated country and a purer air.

There appears to be some difficulty in forming a proper conception of the degree of civilization at which the Burmans have arrived. Mr. Crawfurd remarks that they may be regarded as equal in refinement to the Siamese; but the intellectual and civil condition of the latter being but imperfectly known in Europe, very little is gained by this comparison. There is another nation concerning which we possess more complete information, with whom they are also said to be on a level—we mean the Javanese—while they are further advanced in refinement than the other nations of the Indian Archipelago. On this subject, however, Mr. Crawfurd's ideas do not appear to be sufficiently clear: he observes that the type of the civilization of the Indian Islanders being extremely different from that of the civilization of the Burmans, no fair comparison can well be instituted between them. Whatever comparison, therefore, is instituted between them will, in all probability, be unfair; that is, a comparison ugly, unseemly, and unjust. This style of reasoning is not very intelligible. Civilization can differ from civilization only by excess or defect, it being, in fact, nothing more than the sum of those contrivances by which men endeavour to secure to themselves their share of the means of happiness or well-being.

These contrivances can only differ from each by being more or less adapted to attain the end proposed; and can never be too dissimilar to constitute proper objects of comparison. On one point, we think Mr. Crawfurd is decidedly wrong. He conceives that the fertility and extent of the Burman dominions are so friendly to improvement, that this circumstance alone must place them above comparison with the Indian islands. But remarkable fertility is not always favourable to civilization. It is generally the reverse. It induces men to rely upon nature, and make few exertions on their own part. It indisposes them to commerce; for he who has every thing, or what he conceives to be every thing, necessary to his comfort, will of course feel no desire either to buy or sell. There have been a few exceptions; but, in general, it is the inhabitants of small and comparatively unfertile countries who have most rapidly civilized themselves, created wise political institutions, and founded great empires. In Asia, the Phœnicians; in Africa, the Carthaginians and Cyreneans; in Europe, the Cretans, the Athenians, and the English—apparently goaded on to exertion by the narrowness and poverty of their soil, have reached the highest pitch of civilization hitherto known to man. With them commerce might justly be termed the "Gold and Silver Road;" and this road, like the Bridge of Death in Milton, has been thrown with fearless ingenuity as well over the abysses of the deep, as over the barren places of the earth.

Descending, however, from these general considerations we shall examine the civilization of the Burmans in detail. In religion the more civilized tribes may be classed with the bulk of the Chinese, with the people of Tibet, with the Japanese, and, in short, with one third of the whole human race—for they are Buddhists. But Buddhism, like Christianity, has its sects and its heresies, and is modified in every country where it is professed, by the national character of the people. The form of Buddhism which prevails in Ava, though far from being the basis of a pure and dignified system of morals, appears to be mild, tolerant, and productive of serenity of mind. We behold it giving rise to none of those tremendous acts of fanatical penance, self-torture, and murder, which pain and shock us in the Brahminical system; though the priests of Buddhism are enjoined the practice of celibacy, and are expected to lead a solitary and devout life. It was, in fact, by renouncing the right of intermeddling with politics and the ordinary affairs of the world; by aiming at the formation of a priesthood of ascetics, such as the Sunnyases or Yogees of Hindoostan; and by insisting on the practice of celibacy, which struck at the very root of

the aristocratical caste, that the great reformer of Southern India, Buddha, Gautama, or whoever he was, excited the inappeasable hatred of the Brahmins. The priests of Ava are prohibited the exercise of any other profession than that of religion, and are secured from the danger of want, and the necessity of labour by the voluntary and liberal contributions of their countrymen. The number of these priests is very considerable; those of Ava and its immediate vicinity alone amounting to twenty thousand. The priestesses, or nuns, though less numerous than the priests, yet form a very large body; consisting, for the most part, of old women, and widows who have renounced the world. Of the younger portion of the sisterhood, as many as can procure husbands, joyfully consent to cast away their white garments, to let their hair grow (which is closely shaven while they are nuns), and to return to the "ups and downs" of ordinary life. The dwellings of the fair sisters are far more humble than those of the priests, and they themselves are much less respected. They cluster, however, about the more splendid dwellings of the males; from which it may be suspected that the disorders consequent upon the fashion of erecting double-monasteries in Europe are not altogether unknown in Ava.

The Burmans appear to be cheerful and happy in the performance of their religious duties. They rise early in the morning, and, while their minds are yet fresh, and their bodies unworn by toil, crowd, men and women together, to the temples, in their best dresses, and bearing offerings of fruits and flowers in their hands. Their conduct on these occasions is extremely decorous. A number of fine large bells are suspended on posts, fixed up in a circle round the area of the temple; and upon making his offerings, or completing his devotions, each worshipper strikes one of these bells with some large deer's antlers, which lie near them on the ground, to notify to the god, we presume, that he has performed his religious duties.

Mr. Crawfurd remarks, that in Siam he had not heard of the existence of any religious opinions above the level of the vulgar superstition; but that in Ava the case was different. He then proceeds to relate, by way of proof, that several laymen had attempted to alter the national religion. But although he calls these persons *reformers*, he allows, at the same time, that he does not know what their particular tenets were, that is, whether they were in fact reformers or not. Every alteration which takes place in a national religion is not necessarily for the better; and therefore the mere fact that such alterations have been attempted in Ava, does not warrant the assumption, that there are in that country any persons entertaining religious opinions above

the level of the vulgar superstition. The innovations which have been attempted, appear to have had a political rather than a religious aim; and to have been viewed by the government rather as the first movements of rebellion, than as pious reforms. The conduct of a man with respect to his religion is viewed very differently by his own countrymen and by foreigners of a different faith; his intellectual respectability being rated by the latter according to his departure from the creed of his forefathers; and according to his adherence to it by the former. The viceroy of Pegu appeared to Mr. Crawfurd to be a clever man, chiefly because he despised the religion of his country, while he maintained the appearance of respecting it. He had a miniature temple of Buddha in his apartment, together with a small marble image of the god; which was the only visible sign of his being a follower of Gautama. His example does not appear to have been followed.

Education is an equivocal term: it may mean the teaching of ignorance, as well as the teaching of knowledge, and among the Burmans must be understood in the former sense. It is, however, a proof of mental energy to feel the desire to be taught; and the man who is industrious in the acquisition of absurd ideas, would exhibit equal or superior industry in the acquisition of correct ones, if they were placed within his reach. The Burman at present is taught by the priest; and as the priest of Buddha has but one grain of knowledge to a bushel of superstition, the Burman is necessarily mis-instructed. Some philosophers have maintained, with an appearance of ingenuity, that false knowledge is worse than absolute ignorance; this may be doubted: for he who acquires erroneous ideas, gains at the same time the habit of acquiring ideas of some kind or another; whereas the man who learns nothing, naturally sinks into a state of habitual apathy, from which it would almost require a miracle to rouse him. The inhabitant of Otaheite, brought to France by Bougainville, was two years in Paris without being able to speak more than a very few words of French; while an Englishman, an Italian, or a German, would have acquired a tolerable knowledge of the language in half that time. The ingenious and accomplished navigator accounts for this by observing, that the European would at the outset possess all the ideas represented by the words of the French language, and would merely have to learn their new names. The remark is just, but it should have been added, that in Europe the chief business of education is to create the habit of acquiring languages; and that this habit once formed, men find but little difficulty in mastering a new group of signs. It

is some advantage, therefore, that the Burman goes to school from the age of eight or ten years, and that the priest considers it to be a kind of religious duty to instruct him. Education is entirely eleemosynary among the Burmans, and in numerous cases the boys are even maintained at the monasteries, in consideration of the menial duties which they perform for their teachers, and of a few trifling presents from their parents to the priests. The time employed in instruction is, as in Hindostan, about six hours a day; and the things taught are reading, writing, and the common rules of arithmetic. Reading is an accomplishment so common among the Burmans that there is not one person in ten who is not possessed of it; and the art of writing, though not so extensively diffused, is yet tolerably general. The female children are taught by the nuns, but as there are much fewer nuns than priests, learning is not quite so current among the women as among the men. In the almost universal diffusion of the first elements of education among this semi-barbarous people, we have a practical refutation of the vulgar opinion, that without the art of printing it is impossible that any nation could ever become thoroughly civilized; for if a whole people can be taught without printing to read Buddhist legends, they might with equal facility be endowed with the capacity to read history, geography, grammar, poetry, &c. that is, to acquire all the knowledge that is to be acquired from books. In the present state of their literature, the Burmans can derive but little advantage from their proficiency in the art of reading, as their compositions consist chiefly, if not wholly, of rude songs, religious romances, and histories which are no better than romances. As a specimen of Burmese history, we copy a native author's version of that of the late war:—

'In the years 1186 and 1187, the Kula-pyer, or white strangers of the West, fastened a quarrel upon the lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the king, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money in their enterprise; and by the time they reached Yandabo, their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the king, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country.'—p. 176.

That geography and navigation are not comprehended within the circle of their studies is sufficiently evident from the fact, that nearly the whole extent of their foreign adventures is bounded to the South by Prince of Wales's Island, and to the

North by the Hooghley. There is an anecdote related by the late major Canning highly illustrative of Burman notions of geography:—"Supposing," said one of the ministers, "a Burman ship, in her voyage to China, should happen to be dismasted off the island of Mauritius, would she be allowed by the British blockading squadron to enter that port?" But if the Burmese are ignorant of geography and navigation they are by no means in the same predicament with respect to the "noble science" of alchemy, in which all persons who can afford to indulge in this costly species of foolery, from the king to the meanest tradesman, plunge with the greatest avidity.

'"A question frequently put to us," says Mr. Crawfurd, "was, whether we, the English, did not understand the art of converting iron into silver, and copper into gold." They observed our comparative wealth, and thought they could not so rationally account for it, as by imagining that we were adepts in the art of transmuting metals. A similar question, "Can the English convert iron into silver?" was put by the Burmese courtiers to an intelligent Armenian merchant who had long resided among them, and who understood their language perfectly. His reply was, that the English understood the art perfectly, but not in the sense in which they meant it. He took an English penknife out of his pocket, and threw it down on the table before them, observing, that it was worth more than its weight in silver, and that this was an example of the skill of the English in converting the base into the precious metals.'—pp. 385, 386.

In the fine arts a barbarous nation like the Burmans cannot be expected to have made any very considerable progress. Among them, as among all other nations, religion has been the mother of sculpture and painting; and has hitherto monopolized the creations of her children. It has been sometimes remarked, that in the earliest stages of society men were not idolators, and the remark is just; but the reason was, that in those barbarous times men did not possess sufficient ingenuity to fabricate an idol. In the present day there are still many nations who have not yet arrived at the idolatrous period of civilization, such as the savages of New Holland, of Tierra del Fuego, and of the Andamans. Could we but see these miserable creatures setting up an idol, however rude, and flocking about it to worship, we should be sure that the religious principle had begun to develop itself, and that the career of civilization was commenced. But, although religion has given birth to the arts, it has seldom continued among Asiatic nations to foster and bring them to perfection. The Burmans have made but little progress either in sculpture or painting, and even in architecture they are infinitely inferior to the Hindoos and Chinese, and even to the people of Siam. The few re-

spectable pagodas which were found in the country were constructed after Siamese models; and when Mr. Crawfurd observed one of these structures a little more tasteful and elegant than the rest, and was about to note it down as creditable to the Burmans, he was informed that the architect was a Hindoo from Madras. Their paintings, like those of the earliest Grecian artists, are unintelligible, unless accompanied by written descriptions explaining what they represent. Mr. Crawfurd remarks, that he saw not a single statue of brass in Ava, and that, as far as he could discover, the art of casting images of metal, which is daily practised by the Siamese, was unknown to the Burmans. The marble statues of Buddha, manufactured at a small village about three miles to the north-west of Saguing, which appears to possess a monopoly in god-making, are "as rudely fashioned as possible." In the Arracan temple, about two miles distant from the city of Amarapoora, which was a very costly fabric, remarkable for its profusion of gilding, carving, and numerous wooden pillars, a bronze statue of Gautama in a sitting posture was found. This image had the reputation of having been cast in the life-time of the god, and might therefore be supposed to be a likeness; but, although the features were somewhat more animated than those of the ordinary statues, it would not be inferred from this specimen, that the art of sculpture was carried to any very high degree of perfection in those remote ages. It was brought from Arracan in 1784, and the story of its great antiquity is of course an absurd fable.

In the useful arts the Burmans are scarcely more advanced than in sculpture and painting. As is the case among all rude nations, it is the women who are the only manufacturers in Ava, if we except a few male captives of the Cassay nation, who earn their livelihood by weaving. Homer represents his queens and goddesses labouring at the loom, and speaks of some splendid fabrics, such as wrought veils, &c. which were the work of Sidonian maidens. The Burman female weavers are probably as inferior in skill as in beauty to the Sidonian girls; but they nevertheless produce good stout cotton fabrics, which appear to possess the reputation of wearing well. Unfortunately for the Burman weaving damsels, the artizans of Manchester can produce piece-goods at a cheaper rate, and undersell them, even in the interior of the country. The principal silk manufactories in the empire, which are supplied with the raw materials from China, Lao, and Pegu, are at Amarapoora, Alonchabo, the birth-place of Alompra, Pugan, &c., and the artizans in this branch of industry also are women. In enumerating the different

nations who inhabit the kingdom of Ava, according to the rank they ought to hold in the scale of civilization, Mr. Crawfurd reckons the Kyens among the very last; yet he observes that their silk manufactures were greatly superior to those of the Burmans, and consisted for the most part of heavy rich crimson scarfs or narrow shawls, in some instances embroidered with gold, and of considerable beauty. He speaks of this as "a remarkable fact;" and it is indeed so remarkable that we suspect he procured his information respecting the refinement of the Kyens from an enemy. In the passage describing the earthenware of the Burmans, mention is made of a curious mode of eluding the law forbidding the egress of persons born in the country:—

'The common coarse unglazed earthenware of the Burmans is the best of the kind which I have seen in India, and is very cheap. It is used for cooking-utensils, and for keeping grain, oil, salt, pickled fish, and similar commodities. A better description of pottery, strong and glazed, has been manufactured at Martaban, Pugan, Sengko, Senkaing, Monchabo, and Tharet. Some articles of this description, which have been long well known in other parts of India under the name of "Pegue jars," are so large as to contain two hundred viss of oil, or about one hundred and eighty-two gallons. A few of them are even of such magnitude, that it has been alleged, that the children of Europeans, born in the country, have been smuggled away in them, in former times, to elude the Burman law.'—p. 378.

Iron ore is smelted in Ava, where there are manufactories in which swords, spears, muskets, or rather matchlocks, knives, scissors, and carpenter's tools, are fabricated. All articles of steel are imported from Bengal, and the best-tempered swords are brought from the country of the Shaus. Earthern and lackered wares in a great measure supersede the use of brass-ware; but as a considerable quantity of the latter kind of articles, such as candlesticks, vessels for carrying water to the pagodas, &c. is used in the temples, a brass-ware manufactory is kept going a few miles from Saguing. Mr. Crawfurd says, he saw in the market of Ava, without being able to ascertain the uses to which it was applied, considerable quantities of antimony, reduced to the metallic state, which were said to have been brought from Lao; and adds that, "as the process of preparing this article is one of considerable difficulty, the possession of it by the Shaus would seem to imply a considerable share of skill in metallurgy." These Shaus are a somewhat mysterious people. If a good sword-blade be exhibited in Ava, and you inquire where it was manufactured, you are told, "in the country of the Shaus;" if you see prepared antimony, it comes

"from the country of the Shaus;" and a great portion of the paper, the silks, and the best lackered ware, used in the Burman empire, is brought from the same "country of the Shaus." If there is not some egregious mistake in all this, the people of Lao, who have hitherto passed for the inferior of the Burmans in refinement, must be by far the most civilized of all the Hindoo-Chinese nations.

Among the earliest fruits of civilization we may enumerate comfortable dwellings, and clothing adapted to the climate. Man's first care appears to be to provide a fine house for his idol; his second, to construct an edifice one or two degrees inferior for his king or chief. When this important business is accomplished, he considers himself at liberty to provide for the comfort of his wife and children, and erects himself a hut. The Greenlander ensconces himself in the vast skeleton of the whale, whose flesh he has devoured; the Siberian burrows, like a coney, in holes dug in the ground; the Caribbee perches his hut among the branches of a tree, like a bird; the Malay frequently passes his whole life in his boat; and the Japanese constructs himself a mansion of paper, so light that he can carry it about like an umbrella, and fix it on whatever new site he pleases. The Burman is not much more respectable in his domestic architecture; for even in the capital the houses of private individuals are light, frail fabrics, constructed with bamboos, and covered with coarse long grass, or palm-leaves. The building of a dwelling of this kind costs about £. 4; and for £. 40 what in Ava would be termed a splendid mansion may be erected. Sometimes houses are formed with strong wooden posts, and planks nailed upon them; and these are regarded as magnificent and lasting edifices. There are scarcely half a dozen brick and mortar houses in the whole city of Ava. Among these wretched huts, however, the palace of the sovereign, glittering with gold; and the tall white spires of the national idol, tower aloft, and "give to the distant view of the place a splendid and imposing appearance." The contrast between the dwelling of the king, and the dwellings of those men by whose labours he is supported, is so striking and extraordinary, that we shall here add a description of the palace in the ambassador's own words, which the reader may compare with the account given above of the huts of private individuals.

'The palace, besides the palisade, is surrounded in every direction by an inner wall of brick, which is double on the eastern or principal front: so that in this direction there are three gateways. That portion of the palace which contains the hall of audience consists of a centre and two wings; the first containing the throne, and directly

fronting the outer gates of the enclosure. The building is entirely of wood, with the exception of its many roofs, which are covered with plates of tin, in lieu of tiles. Over the centre is a tall and handsome spire, called by the Burmans a pyat-thad, crowned by the ti, or iron umbrella, which is an exclusive ornament of the temple and palace. The hall of audience is without walls, and open all around, except where the throne is placed. The roof is supported by a great number of handsome pillars, and is richly and tastefully carved. The whole fabric is erected upon a terrace of solid stone and lime, ten or twelve feet high, which constitutes the floor: this is so smooth, even, and highly polished, that I mistook it at first for white marble. With the exception of about fourteen or fifteen inches at the bottom of each pillar, painted of a bright red, the whole interior of the palace is one blaze of gilding. The throne, which is at the back of the hall, is distinguished from the rest of the structure by its superior brilliancy and richness of decoration. The pedestal on which it stands is composed of a kind of mosaic of mirrors, coloured glass, gilding, and silver, after a style peculiar to the Burmans. Over it is a canopy richly gilt and carved, and the wall behind it is also highly embellished. The palace is new, not having been occupied altogether above two years and a half; so that the gilding and ornaments were neither tarnished nor defaced, as we often found to be the case in other places. Although little reconcileable to our notions of good taste in architecture, the building is unquestionably most splendid and brilliant; *and I doubt whether so singular and imposing a royal edifice exists in any other country.* It has the same form and proportions with that described by colonel Symes, at Amarapoora; but is larger, in the proportion of one hundred and twenty to ninety. There are three entrances to the hall of audience, by a flight of a few steps—one at each wing, and one at the centre; the last being appropriated to the king alone. We entered by the stair which is to the right, at the bottom of which we voluntarily took off our shoes, as we had from the first agreed to do. We passed through the hall, and seated ourselves where our station was pointed out, in front of the throne, a little way to the king's left hand, the presents being directly in front of the throne. The king made his appearance in about ten minutes. His approach was announced by the sound of music, shortly after which, a sliding door behind the throne opened with a quick and sharp noise. He mounted a flight of steps which led to the throne from behind with apparent difficulty, and as if tottering under the load of dress and ornaments on his person. His dress consisted of a tunic of gold tissue, ornamented with jewels. The crown was a helmet with a high peak, in form not unlike the spire of a Burman pagoda, which it was probably intended to resemble. I was told that it was of entire gold, and it had all the appearance of being studded with abundance of rubies and sapphires. In his right hand his Majesty held what is called in India a chowrie, which as far as we could see, was the white tail of a Thibet cow. It is one of the five established ensigns of Burman royalty, the other four

being a certain ornament for the forehead, a sword of a peculiar form, a certain description of shoes, and the white umbrella' His Majesty used his flapper with much adroitness and industry, and it occurred to us, who had never seen such an implement but in the hands of a menial, not with much dignity. Having frequently waved it to and fro, brushed himself and the throne sufficiently, and adjusted his cumbrous habiliments, he took his seat. The Burman courtiers, who were seated in the usual posture of other Eastern nations, prostrated themselves, on his Majesty's appearance, three times. This ceremony, which consists in raising the joined hands to the forehead, and bowing the head to the ground, is called in the Burman language, shiko, or the act of submission and homage. No salutation whatever was dictated to us; but as soon as his Majesty presented himself, we took off our hats, which we had previously kept on purposely, raised our right hands to our foreheads, and made a respectful bow.

'The Queen presented herself immediately after his Majesty, and seated herself upon the throne, at his right hand. Her dress was of the same fabric, and equally rich with that of the king. Her crown of gold, like his, and equally studded with gems, differed in form, and much resembled a Roman helmet. The little Princess, their only child, and about five years of age, followed her Majesty, and seated herself between her parents. The Queen was received by the courtiers with similar prostrations as his Majesty, and we also paid her the same compliment as we had done to the king. When their Majesties were seated, the resemblance of the scene which presented itself to the illusion of a well-got-up drama, forcibly occurred to us; but I may safely add, that no mimic exhibition could equal the splendour and pomp of the real scene.'—pp. 132—135.

Like all other Orientals the Burmans consume a great deal of rice, and pretend, in obedience to the commandments of their religion, to abstain from the flesh of certain animals. They eat, however, according to Mr. Crawfurd, every species of fish which is found in their country, without exception; and make this kind of animal food a principal article of consumption. Their belief in the doctrine of transmigration does not seem greatly to interfere with their culinary operations, for they make no scruple to dispossess the souls of their ancestors of their habitations, when these happen to be poor and mean, though they appear a little loth to kill large animals. Perhaps this may proceed from a humane principle; as it is possible they may believe that by killing fish, poultry, and other small creatures, they hasten the arrival of the souls which inhabit them at a state of beatitude, or at least at a comparatively happy and honourable condition in the bodies of buffaloes, horses, or elephants. Wild animals not being desirable residences for souls, are hunted and killed without mercy; and Mr.

Crawfurd observes that venison is extremely plentiful at Rangoon. We are afraid, however, that even in the respect which these Buddhists profess for large animals there is some slight tinge of hypocrisy, for it has been discovered that the flesh of elephants is occasionally eaten under the name of buffalo beef. Pickled tea, and the edible birds' nests, which have been known to sell for their weight in gold in China, are enumerated among the luxuries of the Burmans.

We do not appear to have as yet included in our list of animals that may be eaten all those which nature intended us to devour. To say nothing of snails and frogs, about which we are still in debate with the French, there are crickets, a much more lively and delicate animal. Mr. Crawfurd, with the true spirit of an Englishman, appears to have disrelished this Burman dish, though it was served up in a vessel of gold. "There was," says he, speaking of an entertainment at Ava, "but one article decidedly objectionable—a dish of crickets fried in sesamum oil!" Why objectionable? What is there in the habits of a cricket to disqualify it from figuring on the dinner-table? Is it less delicate than the hog, or the eel? Is it an uglier animal? Why are not crickets as good as larks; since man is omnivorous by nature, and every day eats worse things, let him fulfil his destiny to the letter, and eat crickets.

In dress the Burmans, though decently (at least as far as the males are concerned), and not meanly clad, are greatly inferior to the nations of Western India, and even to the Cochin Chinese and people of Tonquin. The principal part of the male dress which covers the loins and reaches half-way down the leg, consists of a double piece of cloth about ten cubits long, and is loosely wrapped about the body. Over this a frock with sleeves, open in front, and reaching below the knees, is worn. This frock consists in summer of white cotton, broad-cloth, or velvet; and in winter is quilted. The head is covered with a small, square handkerchief, commonly of English book-muslin, worn like a turban. The description which Mr. Crawfurd gives of the dress of the Burman women reminds us strongly of Euripides's satirical allusion to that of the Spartan females, who walked, says the poet γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς, about the streets. "The principal portion," observes the Envoy, "of a woman's dress goes under the name of a Thabi, and is a petticoat, more or less open in front, according to the condition of the wearer. With the lower classes, both for economy and convenience, the breadth is so scanty, that in walking, the knee at least, and often half-way up the thigh, is exposed to view at every step." The ladies wear the petticoat fuller, and allow it to cover

a little more of the thighs. Both sexes wear the hair long; the men tie it in a knot on the crown of the head, the women on the back. Fashionable young beaux, or dandies, frequently tie the knot on one side. Sandals are frequently worn, but neither boots, shoes, nor stockings. Every man, woman, and child, however, carries an umbrella.

In contemplating this portion of Burman manners, we were immediately struck by the universal prevalence among the male part of the population of the barbarous custom of tattooing the skin. Traces of this practice, which appears to have prevailed in early times among almost all nations, may still be found even in France and England among soldiers and sailors, and others of the lower orders, who often tattoo their own names and those of their mistresses upon their arms or breasts. The Mussulmans and courtezans of Mesopotamia tattoo the lower part of the abdomen with verses from the Koran; and a modern traveller of some reputation had the curiosity to attempt the decyphering of some of these singular inscriptions, no doubt from respect to the words of the prophet. The tattooed figures of the Burmans appear, when finished, of a black or blue colour, upon a brown ground; and are produced by a kind of lamp-black procured from the root of sesamum oil, mixed with the gall of the *mirga* fish. The objects thus depicted are animals, as lions, tigers, monkeys, crows, certain fabulous birds; and gnats, or gads, Balús, or demons, with which cabalistical letters and figures, intended as charms against wounds, are often joined. When the figures have been painted on the skin, they are pricked in with needles dipped in the pigment. The upper part of the body, the arms, shoulders, &c., are less profusely tattooed, and the figures are of a red colour produced by vermillion. This absurd process, which is both painful and expensive, is not supposed to conduce to the beauty of the individual; but is submitted to, because not to be tattooed is regarded as a mark of effeminacy. Few of the nations beyond the Burrampooter, except the Burmans and Talains, have preserved this ancient custom, although several of the smaller tribes, among whom it had fallen into disuse, have again adopted it since the conquests of the Burmans.

The absurd practices of savages are worth noticing only when they tend to throw light upon their condition, physical or moral. Nations among whom the use of clothes is recent, or who wear but few garments, must necessarily be greatly at a loss for pockets; and it was this want, probably, that first led to the practice of boring the ears, and sticking valuable things in them. That savage, however, was an in-

genious fellow, who first thought of making a pocket of his ear. It was afterwards discovered that bits of gold, silver, or any other glittering thing, stuck in this part of the body, looked well as an ornament, and hence ear-rings, &c. In Hindoostan ladies frequently carry their whole fortunes about them, in the shape of ear-jewels, nose-rings, necklaces, armlets, anklets, &c. Among the Greeks the practice of boring the ears, at least in men, was always regarded as a mark of barbarism, of which we find a proof in the "Anabasis," where a soldier is discovered not to be a Greek by his ears being bored. The Burmans have proceeded but one step beyond the original intention of the practice, for the hole is made very large, and even to this day is frequently used by both sexes as a pocket to keep their cigars in. On other occasions, when ornaments of gold or silver are not to be procured, a bit of gilded wood or paper is substituted, and looks very respectable.

When travellers complain of the degraded condition of women in Asiatic countries, they forget to remark another circumstance, which is the cause of the degradation of the women—and that is, the degraded condition of the men. Mr. Crawfurd, who, on this point, is not altogether free from the prejudices of an European, remarks that during his conferences with the Siamese minister, in 1822, he was disgusted by the servile demeanour of the man's officers and servants; but that in his interview with the Burmese Privy-counsellor at Henzada he observed nothing of the kind, excepting in the case of the bearer of the minister's spit-box, who lay prostrate in the Siamese fashion, with the precious utensil on his head, and without daring to lift up his eyes. It is not merely such wretches as the bearers of spit-boxes, however, who are degraded in the Burman empire. Judges, ministers, and generals, are liable to the same or still greater humiliations.

An example, strikingly illustrative of the dignified condition of Burman courtiers, and of the royal mode of chastising stupid politicians, adopted by his majesty of Ava, occurs a little further on in the volume.

'The ministers last night reported to the king the progress of the negotiation. His majesty was highly indignant, said his confidence had been abused, and that now, for the first time, he was made acquainted with the real state of affairs. He accused the ministers of falsehoods, malversations, and all kinds of offences. His displeasure did not end in mere words; he drew his Dá, or sword, and sallied forth in pursuit of the offending courtiers. These took to immediate flight, some leaping over the balustrades which rail in front of the hall of Audience, but the greater number escaping by the stair which

leads to it; and in the confusion which attended their endeavours, (tumbling head over heels,) one on top of another. Such royal paroxysms are pretty frequent, and, although attended with considerable sacrifices of kingly dignity, are always bloodless. The late king was less subject to those fits of anger than his present majesty, but he also occasionally forgot himself. Towards the close of his reign, and when on a pilgrimage to the great temple of Mengwan, a circumstance of this description took place, which was described to me by an European gentleman, himself present, and one of the courtiers. The king had detected something flagitious, which would not have been very difficult, his anger rose; he seized his spear, and attacked the false ministers. These with the exception of the European, who was not a party to the offence, fled tumultuously. One hapless courtier had his heels tripped up in his flight: the king overtook him, and wounded him slightly in the calf of the leg with his spear, but took no farther vengeance.'—pp. 235, 236.

A worse example, however, is yet to come.

'Through the night of the 1st, a fire broke out in the populous suburb which lies between the walls of the town and the little river, and property to a considerable value was destroyed. The house of the widow of the Saya-coungyi, who had been the king's tutor and favourite, was in great danger; and this old lady, who had the reputation of being very frugal, if not avaricious, irritated at her loss, repaired forthwith to the king, and made complaint that, during the conflagration, the ministers and especially Kaulen Meugyi, who was her husband's successor, and of whom she was very jealous, were not at their posts; for it appears that it is their special duty to attend upon such occasions. The king, who was still very much out of humour, summoned the ministers, before him; sent for a sword, drew it, and ordered them, one by one to come forward and swear upon it that they were present at the conflagration, and assisting in extinguishing it. Kaulen Meugyi came forward and avowed that he was not present; but that he had gone as far as the Rung-d'hau, or Town-hall, to give the necessary instructions upon the occasion. He was immediately ordered to be taken out of the Audience-hall; and, to avoid being dragged thence by the hair of his head, according to usage, voluntarily made as rapid a retreat as could be expected from a man between sixty and seventy, and of a weakly constitution. An order was given that he should be punished after a manner which I shall presently describe. The other ministers, none of whom were present at the fire, escaped under various pretexts of business or sickness. The punishment now awarded to the first minister is called in the Burman language, *Ne-pu m'ha l'haw thé,* or "spreading out in the hot sun." The offender who undergoes it is stretched upon his back by the public executioners, and thus exposed for a given number of hours, in the hottest part of the day, with a weight on his breast, more or less heavy according to the nature of the offence, or rather according to the king's opinion of it. It was at first thought that

the sentence on the part of the king, was a mere threat. Not so; the most faithful and zealous of his ministers underwent the punishment this afternoon, from one to three o'clock, and not as is customary, on such occasions, with culprits of distinction, within the palace enclosure, but in the public road between the eastern gate of the palace and the Town-hall, and in the view of a multitude of spectators. The old malefactor whom I once or twice before mentioned as being at the head of the band of executioners, superintended the infliction.'—287, 288.

The author afterwards adds that "the stretching and sunning process is the punishment of mere peccadillos, and is a very frequent infliction on persons of condition."

Travellers in the East, very frequently we suspect, lament the partial seclusion of the women more on their own account than on that of the sex. In Ava this cause of lamentation does not exist, for the women mingle with the men as freely as they do in Europe. Mr. Crawfurd doubts, however, whether the ladies gain anything by this circumstance, as they are treated, he says, with less delicacy and consideration than in Mohammedan and Hindoo countries, "where the most absolute seclusion is insisted upon." The author does not appear to perceive the consequences of his doctrine of seclusion; for if it took place in any country, whether Mohammedan or Hindoo, he could assuredly know nothing of the delicacy and consideration with which the women were treated. The notion, however, of "absolute seclusion," is altogether unfounded; a few princes, and proud or jealous great men, anxious to imitate their betters, are found to shut up their wives; but the practice is not generally prevalent among any people, and least of all among the Hindoos, who, with the exception of the Brahmins, and a few Rajahs to the north of the Nerbuddah and Mohamiddy, allow their women as much freedom as Europeans, and are far more indulgent to their vices. The lower orders of women in Ava certainly appear to be no strangers to hard work, and may be daily seen carrying heavy burdens consisting of cotton, fire-wood, and coarse esculent greens culled from the marshes or forests, to the capital. In the Mysore, also, and other countries of the Dekkan, the same thing may be observed; and at Seringapatam the stranger will be astonished to see crowds of beautiful and elegantly-dressed females entering the city every morning with baskets of cow-dung, which is used for fuel, upon their heads. His surprise will increase when he learns that these women are often of very high caste; but when he considers that the cow is a sacred animal, and that to gather up its dung, and even to smear the body with it, purifies from sin, he will cease to

wonder that voluptuous women, who daily commit sins, but wish "to rub out as they go along," as an Italian lady once observed to an Englishman, should submit to this species of penance. It will not do for us, however, or for any European nation with which we are acquainted, to set down the employing of women in hard labour as a proof of barbarism. Perhaps no country should be regarded as truly civilized until the women are emancipated from all public labour, as they were in Greece, and confined to their proper duties as mistresses of families, mothers, and nurses.

Like the ancient Germans the Burmese appear to believe that women sometimes possess supernatural knowledge. They have a number of women, whom Mr. Crawfurd regards as sorceresses, and who really appear to be afflicted with insanity; and in the late war with the English as many of those female magicians as could be found in Ava, were collected, and sent down to their army before Prome, to put a spell upon our forces, and unman them. These Pythonesses are supposed to maintain a kind of intercourse with the Nats, or inferior Gods, of the Buddhist mythology, and to be endowed in consequence with supernatural powers. It need scarcely be added that, as in all other Asiatic countries, a man has in Ava the consolation of possessing as many wives as he pleases.

On the *form* of government in Ava, there remains but little to be said. It is a coarse, rude despotism, as vexatious in its operation as it is arbitrary in character. The king is absolute lord of the life and property of his subjects, and is seldom disposed to curtail in practice the extent of his prerogative. The mode in which the royal power is exercised upon those who immediately surround the throne, has been already shown; the following anecdote will convey an idea of the manner in which it is exerted upon the people.

'The workmen who built the present palace committed some professional mistake in the construction of the spire. The king remonstrated with them, saying that it would not stand. The architect pertinaciously insisted upon its stability and sufficiency, and was committed to prison for contumacy. Shortly afterwards the spire fell in a thunder-storm, and about the same time, accounts were received at court of the arrival of the British expedition; upon which the architect was sent for from prison taken to the place of execution, and forthwith decapitated.'—p. 400—note.

The emperor Adrian, however, put a Greek architect to death for less than this.

Plato somewhere remarks that governments always believe they were instituted for the exclusive benefit of the governors; and regard the notion that the happiness of mankind in general was the object, as a mere absurdity. Notwithstanding this,

however, governments have always been desirous of appearing wise, brave, and powerful in the eyes of the multitude, and have sometimes exercised great ingenuity to keep up the delusion. Even the barbarians of Ava, enlightened on this point by living in a court, have shown some tact in deception, of which the history of the negotiations with the English at Yandabo, furnishes more than one example. At first the court, assuming a dignified tone demanded as a *sine qua non* that the conferences should be held in a Burman vessel lying in the river between the two armies. In answer to this the British troops advanced, and the Burmese were defeated. Thereupon the court became more humble, and consented to stoop from its lofty bearing. But at first some little dread of the people was felt, and attempts were made to conceal from them the weakness and ignorance of their rulers, by conveying down the river in covered boats the gold and silver they were compelled to pay to the English. This mystery was soon found, however, to be troublesome; the mask was thrown off, and public opinion set at defiance.

As in Ava the king is every thing and the people nothing, whatever relates to the "golden monarch" must possess a paramount interest. His character, his opinions, his amusements, occupy a large portion of the thoughts of his subjects, and necessarily obtrude themselves a great deal upon the notice of travellers. Among the amusements of the present owner of the "golden foot" there is one which Mr. Crawfurd thinks too barbarous and boyish to be believed: this is, riding on a man's shoulders. No saddle is used, but a narrow slip of muslin put into the mouth serves for a bridle. The present king inherits his fondness for this kind of exercise from his royal ancestors, many of whom were much addicted to it. The freaks of the Roman emperors, who dressed themselves in the habits usually attributed to the gods, and made profession of divinity, are well-known; and if this ridiculous practice be traced to its source, it will be found that in riding on a man's shoulders, the king of Ava was only imitating a god. In the Hindoo mythology we discover no less a divinity than Vishnoo addicted to this species of exercise, and in the sacred paintings of the Brahmins he is represented arriving in the assembly of the immortals on mount Merû, riding on the shoulders of the winged man, Garodhe, the Ganymede of the Indian Olympus.

The royal amusement next in dignity to the above is that furnished by the dancing-girls, who form the charm and delight of all Eastern courts. Like the Almè of Egypt, and the voluptuous gipseys of Spain, these light and graceful girls seem to feel intense pleasure in representing by their movements the

whole pantomime of love. Mr. Crawfurd describes them as displaying great agility in their way, sometimes throwing back the body until the head touched the ground, and again recovering the erect position without the assistance of the hands. Their motions, he says, were violent, and their gestures ungraceful and indecent. In an Eastern court indecency constitutes the principal charm of the exhibition, as it does also in the dances of the opera girls in England; but we imagine that his Burman majesty's troop of dancing-girls must have been of a description very inferior to those who "sport the toe" in the Zenanas and temples of Hindoostan, for the latter, whatever may be their offences against decency, have seldom been thought wanting in gracefulness.

We must not close our account of the "golden monarch" and his court, without saying a word or two on the subject of the White Elephant. This animal is not, as has been erroneously supposed, an object of worship among the Burmans, but merely forms an indispensable part of the regalia of sovereignty. The king, in fact, would not be king without it; and the greater number of these animals that are possessed by a prince, the more auspicious, it is supposed, his reign will be. For this reason the taking of a white elephant is an event more important than the conquest of a province; and the hunter who is fortunate enough to discover and capture one, is loaded with presents, titles, and estates. While the English embassy was at Ava, a report was circulated that a white elephant had been seen in the forests in a remote province of the empire, but it was at the same time said, that the taking and transporting of it to the capital on a sledge, would cause the destruction of ten thousand baskets of rice: with the enthusiasm, says Mr. Crawfurd, of an amateur, his majesty exclaimed—"What signifies the destruction of ten thousand baskets of rice, in comparison with the possession of a white elephant!" And the order was given for the hunt.

Another species of amusement in which the Burman king delights, is boat-racing, and an excellent account of an exhibition of this kind, which took place while the embassy was at the capital, is given by Mr. Crawfurd; but it is too long to be here extracted. The royal barges were remarkably splendid and fanciful; and in his description of the boat-races, the author speaks of one of these vessels which was in the form of two huge fishes, swimming side by side, with a spire at least thirty feet high in the centre, and the whole covered with rich gilding. The king and queen sat under a [illegible] at the bow of the barge, which in Ava is reg[illegible]

honor. The umbrellas of the royal family are white. The whole of that part of the river in which the royal barge lay was covered with boats which appeared to be of gold, with gay banners and streamers, bands of music, and dancers exhibiting their powers on the benches. As the boats moved to and fro in the royal presence, the rowers, an expert, cheerful, and animated race, accompanied their labors with songs.

Notwithstanding the personal correction which his Burman majesty occasionally inflicts upon his courtiers, the latter always appeared most pertinaciously intent upon elevating his dignity, of course in the hope of conferring more importance on themselves. On these occasions they showed themselves greatly superior in the invention of arguments to our western courtiers. One of these orators, being desirous of insisting upon the most cogent reason why peace should be maintained between England and Ava, observed, that the same sun enlightened both countries; a discovery which the Burmans appear to have made only since the war. To make it seem as if the king of Ava and the king of England were the only great potentates on earth, the orator described his Burmese majesty as the sovereign holding dominion over that part of the world which lies towards the rising sun; and the king of England as the sovereign ruling over that portion of the world which lies towards the setting sun. A most admirable specimen of rhetorical amplification!

Society, both among the Burmans and Talains, is divided into seven classes; viz. the royal family; the public officers; the priesthood; the merchants, or "rich men;" the cultivators and labourers; the slaves; and the outcasts. With the exception of the Saubwas, or tributary princes, no class of public officers are hereditary; the rest being all liable to be dismissed by a nod, without the power of transmitting their rank, their titles, or even their property, to their descendants. As in Turkey, men are raised from the lowest ranks, those of slaves and outcasts excepted, to the highest offices in the state, and their titles always keep pace with their promotion in office. A poor merchant appears to belong to no class; for it is only when a man has acquired considerable property that he is regularly admitted into the caste, as it were, and registered as a "rich man." This title being generally allowed to become hereditary, a man very frequently belongs to the class of "rich men" who has not a shilling. Those merchants who possess wealth are placed under the protection of the court; that is, instead of being liable to be plundered at uncertain intervals, they are subjected to regular periodical extortion, which is an advantage.

At all public festivals, which of course are multiplied for the purpose, they are compelled to make presents to the king; and the princes of the blood, with a truly royal condescension, together with the principal officers of the court, borrow money of them without the smallest intention of repaying it. It would appear that the air of the court is not regarded by the merchants as extremely propitious to virtue; for shortly after the arrival of the English embassy, a merchant of Saguing, whose daughter had been invited to receive her education in the palace, paid a thousand ticals (100*l.*) to escape the honour. The labouring class of the population is divided into proprietors and common labourers, the latter constituting the great majority. Every man in the country is regarded as the king's slave, and his services may at any time be commanded by the government in any way it may judge proper. Being the king's property, every man desirous of travelling must obtain his owner's permission, which is granted for a limited time; but women, who are apparently considered to be more valuable than men, are never permitted to quit the country under any consideration whatever. Regulations not greatly dissimilar existed among the ancient Spartans, though founded on a very different basis.

The present work of Mr. Crawfurd, like all those which he has already published, contains a large store of information, and many sound and judicious remarks on the institutions and manners of the East.

Art. V.—*Satan.* By R. Montgomery, 12mo. p. 391. S. Maunder. 1830.

It would be a satisfaction to the Arch One to see the price at which he is rated in Mr. Montgomery's list. *The Omnipresence of the Deity* is valued at seven shillings and sixpence; *A Universal Prayer* for the same money; while Satan stands at half a guinea! He is not only highly-priced, but he is particularly distinguished. The *Omnipresence of the Deity* is plumped up with "other poems." *The Universal Prayer* clubs with "Death" and "other poems." Satan alone has a book to himself. The pride of Lucifer, proverbially abundant, must needs be swelled by these marks of consideration, and thus it is, that men are prone to send apples where there are orchards. To him who has much, more is given; bad qualities are fed with compliments delicately indirect, and so the pattern people of this virtuous age demoralize the very Devil himself. When Mercury made experiment of his estimate among

experienced a far different treatment. "Buy the other Deities," said the dealer to the disguised God, "and I will fling you that fellow into the bargain." Should Satan go in masque as a Saint to Mr. Maunder's in Newgate Street, he will find a more flattering treatment of his fiend-head, for, with the exception of the place of publication, which seems rather more personal than consists with taste, he has every reason to be gratified with the consideration in which he is held, and the value put on him—and as for the *venue*, which savours of disrespect, he would hardly have been at home in Paternoster-Row.

Tony Lumpkin makes the profound remark, that he reads the superscription of letters addressed to himself without difficulty, while the interior, which is by some considered the cream of the correspondence, is all buz to his eyes, and baffles his comprehension. Similar to this is our remarkable case with regard to a certain or uncertain kind of poetry. We chiefly relish the title pages, which are easy reading, and generally the most unexceptionable page in the book. Mr. Montgomery begins well—Satan, by Montgomery, a bold and original authorship. Then turning the leaf, we are somewhat startled by these three words on the next page, To my Friend. As there is only the difference of the dog's letter between friend and the quality of the subject, we looked to the Errata, thinking it probable there was a misprint of *fiend;* but as none is acknowledged, we suppose the friend is one whom it is not decorous more distinctly to particularize. It is the fashion of the day to make biography a work of friendship. Moore writes the life of Byron; Campbell is the historian of Lawrence; Paris takes the life of Davy, and Mr. Montgomery handles Satan. Indeed, on looking again at the Address, we discover the ingenuity of the device, on one page stands "To my Friend," "Satan, Book 1st," is the next title, completing the Dedication. As thus, *To my Friend Satan his First Book.* Horace instructs us that neither gods nor man endure mediocre poetry, and consequently Mr. Montgomery had no course, but to address his song to the third estate, whose liberal patronage of every thing bad may reasonably be reckoned on. The arch enemy's ear for discord must needs be gratified by such verses as we see before us, and as a lover of deceit he will be pleased with lines simulating poetry by the capital letter at the head of each,

> 'Like dead-sea fruits that tempt the eye,
> But turn to ashes on the lips.'

As Milton may be read in Heaven so this is precisely the book fit for Hades, and though we trust we hate the Enemy as

vehemently as all good Christians ought to hate him, yet we own we wish him no worse than a patient perusal of this work to his honour. He will here bathe in a stream of molten lead. Every page is fraught with the weariness that protracts time, and makes a duodecimo a doomsday book.

For the common-place of the thoughts, and the lumbering awkwardness of the verse, where shall we find lines more fit for vexation than these:

> 'The bloom of life, the bright deceit,
> The heavenliness of youth is o'er,
> And joys that blossom'd once so sweet,
> Array them in their spring no more.'

'*The heavenliness of youth is o'er,*' Ye nymphs of Nick what a line is there for ye to sing! How suited to adust lips, and tongues parched to coal. This heavenliness passes away with the crunch of cinders! What demons mouth can twirl it off without a contortion trebly demoniacal. It is a precious Pierian gargle for throats of the tunefulness of Tartarus. Our poet obviously knows how to strike the Infernal Lyre or Liar—we care not how the Printer sets it.

From the following, indeed, it appears that Mr. Montgomery is hand in glove with Satan, and qualified from intimate acquaintance with his sentiments, opinions, observations, and feelings, to give an account of his travels:—

> 'And such a wanderer on earth,
> The viewless Power I've dared to draw,
> And humanly have given birth
> To all he felt and all he saw.'

He says he understands him particularly well,

> 'And what art thou? the dark Unknown
> Thy name to mortals bound and blind;
> Yet, like a faint-heard mystic tone,
> Thy meaning hovers o'er my mind.'

He is completely possessed of the Devil.

> 'I see thee in the vigil star
> I hear thee in the thunders deep
> And like a feeling from afar,
> Thy shadow riseth o'er my sleep.'

Mr. Montgomery puts the devil through three books, but we cannot pretend to give an account of his representation of his views and feelings, because we have not the fortune of comprehending the meanings of the Prophet of the Evil one, whose language is of appropriate darkness. An idea does l

upon us—that, like St. Dunstan, he takes the enemy by the nose, but we cannot speak with certainty. He represents him, however, as a good believer, which is some praise for so bad a character (and indeed we question whether without a profession of faith, the devil himself could make his way through the world), and gives us to understand that he is greatly indebted to the Press, which is the fountain of all mischief, a Versailles Jet of pus and poison.

ART. VI.—1. *Thoughts on the present State of the Law of Arrest and Imprisonment for Debt.* William Benning, Fleet-Street. 1828.

2. *Remarks on the practical Effect of Imprisonment for Debt, and on the Law of Insolvency.* By Henry Dance, Provisional Assignee of Insolvent Debtors in England. Ridgway. 1829.

3. *Observations on the Insolvent Debtors Act; miscalled "An Act for Relief of Insolvent Debtors."* By William Jones, Esq., Marshal of the King's Bench. Hatchard and Son. 1827.

4. *Opinion de M. le Duc de Broglie, sur l' Article 3 du Projet de Loi relatif à la Contrainte par Corps.* Seance du 13 Mai, 1829. Chambre des Pairs.

5. *Reform of the Bankrupt Court: with a Letter to John Smith, Esq. M.P. and an Appendix.* By C. Sinclair Cullen, Esq. Barrister at Law, and Commissioner of Bankrupts. Second Edition. 1830.

TO say that the law relating to Debtor and Creditor in this country is in a worse state than any other part of the law, or, indeed, that any one part of the law is worse than any other, would be hazardous, for there are certain radical defects which pervade the whole field: in deformities—and in deformities alone—is there any degree of uniformity. But as the mere bodily suffering needlessly inflicted by the laws on this subject, is so enormous and so notorious, the demand for amendment has become more busy and strenuous. It is no wonder, then, that worthy individuals, in their great anxiety to get completely rid of the cause of the evil, should have been led into an extreme, and endeavoured also to remove that which was really no cause of the evil, although at first sight it might appear to be so.

Previously to entering into an examination of the state of the existing laws on this subject, it will be desirable to have some standard of reference, by which their propriety either in part or in the whole, may be tested. We propose, therefore, in the first instance, to inquire what the law would be under a system founded on the greatest happiness principle; a system of law which would clearly define the various rights and obligations of

individuals, together with a system of procedure which would afford protection to those rights, and compel the performance of those obligations, in the least expensive, least troublesome, and most expeditious manner.

A Debt is a species of contract, written or implied, and entered into by two or more parties, whereby a right is conferred on one party to receive something; and an obligation on the other party to give that something, which is most commonly a certain sum of money.

Smith, a tradesman, for example, sells to Jackson a quantity of goods for 50*l.*; if Jackson, when called upon to pay that sum, refuses to do so, Smith must appeal to the law to enforce the contract: he goes before the judge, relates the facts of the case, and calls upon him to compel Jackson to perform the obligation imposed upon him by the contract—to pay him the fifty pounds. Upon hearing this statement, the judge may call upon Smith to give him security, that there is some ground for it, and that it is not a false story invented for the purpose of injuring Jackson, in which case the money given as security might be awarded to Jackson as a compensation for the injury. Unless the security be given at this period of the proceedings, any compensation at all to the injured party would be doubtful, at least, and most assuredly could not be so speedy. The security being given, the judge sends for Jackson, and on his appearing, tells him what has taken place, and he either pays the fifty pounds, or gives some reason why he will not. It is absolutely necessary that the judge should have Jackson before him, in order that he may hear from him whether he entered into the contract or not, and if he did, why he refuses to comply with the terms of it: another object is, that the parties may be examined and cross-examined in the presence of each other, or cross-examine themselves, as nobody can know so much of the transaction in question as they do. And a third object in having them both before him is, that either of them may be subjected to immediate punishment if called for,—the one for making a groundless charge, and the other for refusing to pay a well-grounded demand.

If Jackson refuses to come when sent for, the judge must compel his attendance, or the laws might be evaded, and injustice committed with impunity. Here, then, it is necessary, to arrest for debt, on *mesne** process as it is called in law: and the judge will issue his warrant accordingly.

Should Smith know, or have good grounds for suspecting, that

* This means arrest at any time between the commencement and conclusion of a suit, and is used in contradistinction to arrest on final process.

Jackson intended to abscond, and the judge being told as much, were to send a message or citation to Jackson to come before him, the probability is, that instead of going before the judge he would go any where else, and Smith in addition to the loss of the fifty pounds would have to put up with the vexation and loss of time attendant on this fruitless application to the judge: the protection said to be afforded by the law would in his instance be merely nominal. To make it real as well as nominal in this case, a warrant should be issued for the apprehension of Jackson, the instant the judge heard from Smith, that there was a probability of his decamping: this proceeding would also be an arrest for debt, and at the very commencement of the suit; but it is not the less necessary to the ends of justice for being so called. The evidence necessary to prove the existence of the debt may not be forthcoming at the time of the arrest, in which case the party arrested must be detained in safe custody until it is forthcoming; the time allowed for this purpose being always at the discretion of the judge. Before a summary process of this kind is allowed, a greater security will be required from the applicant, than in ordinary cases, inasmuch as the injury to the party arrested is so much the greater.

It must thus be evident that cases may occur in which arrest of the person will be required; the judge should, therefore, have the power of causing arrests to be made whenever he thinks any such case is made out by the parties applying for them.

Suppose the suit brought to a close, Jackson being ordered to pay the fifty pounds, with or without an additional sum of money as a compensation to Smith for his trouble and loss of time. Jackson persists in his refusal to pay the money, by doing which he commits a legal offence, that is, an act, the committing of which the law has forbidden: but futile and inefficient to the last degree, would be that law for the infringement of which no punishment was provided. Punishment must, then, be inflicted on Jackson, not for the satisfaction of Smith, but in order to deter other men from refusing to fulfil their contracts. The mode of punishment may be either by fine, by imprisonment, or both together. At the same time it would be desirable that Smith should have his fifty pounds; or, if that is not possible, as much of it as may be possible. This can be done by selling the property of Jackson, or so much of it as will produce fifty pounds, and any other additional sum awarded by the judge as compensation. If there is no property, or only sufficient when sold to pay off a portion of the debt, in either of these cases, the judge might order Jackson to be set to labour during his imprisonment, the produce of it, to go towards satisfying the debt, until the whole was paid off.

In the course of the suit, should Jackson prove that he had not the means of paying the debt, and that it arose from no fault of his, but through misfortune, as, for instance, robbery, the failure of his banker, or other person owing him money, then there is no demand for punishment; there has been no wilful infringement of the law. The judge, however, might make an order for the payment of the debt by instalments: but to imprison the debtor in such a case as this would be a gross injustice, for which the judge himself should be punished, and punished severely.

Should it be proved that Jackson's inability to pay the money arose from a fraudulent disposal of his property, from extravagance, culpable imprudence, or carelessness, or that when he contracted the debt, he had no prospect or intention of repaying it; in any of these cases, there must be punishment according to the degree of culpability. Punishment by fine is here out of the question, it must of necessity be in the shape of imprisonment.

Such would be the wise and proper course of proceeding, and the ground has been thus gone over to show the necessity of giving to the judge the power of causing parties to be arrested either at the commencement, or any other period of the suit; as also of inflicting punishment, by means of imprisonment, or otherwise, at the end of the suit.

When a man has a number of creditors whose demands he is unable to meet, it would be a manifest injustice, to suffer any one of them to recover the full amount of his debt, to the detriment of his brother creditors. To obviate this injustice, it might be made obligatory to a man in such circumstances to go before the judge and declare as much, so soon as he should discover his insolvency; if he neglected to make such a declaration, he should be liable to punishment. On the declaration of such insolvency being made either by the party himself voluntarily, or through the instrumentality of a creditor, the judge would cause notice to be given to all his creditors to come forward: all the property of the debtor would, of course, be available for the satisfaction of their debts, as far as it would go; being distributed among them in rateable proportions. Any other proceedings, either as regards future payment of the debts to the full amount, or the culpability and consequent punishment of the debtor, would be guided by the same rules, as in the case of Smith and Jackson.

On these different points, namely, arrest at the commencement, or during the progress of the suit, imprisonment at the conclusion of the suit, and the proceedings to be adopted when an insolvent debtor has more creditors than one—we shall now show what is the state of the English law.

Under the old common law,* arrest for debt was unknown. If a man wanted to recover a debt, he applied to the Court of Common Pleas, or Common Bench, as it is sometimes called, which took cognizance of civil actions, and was the regular court for the recovery of debts. In consequence of the creditor's application, and on paying the necessary fees,† a writ was issued, called an *Original.* This writ is directed to the sheriff, informing him that Jackson owes Smith fifty pounds, and that on Smith's giving security to prosecute his claim, he is to *summon* Jackson to attend on such a day at Westminster. This writ leaves it to the option of Jackson whether he will attend or not; if, at the appointed time, he did not appear, he was not forced to appear, but what is called an *attachment* was issued, which orders the sheriff to make Jackson find two sureties for his future appearance, and if he could not do this, the sheriff is to take some of his goods, which, if he did not appear, would be forfeited. The *attachment* not being attended to by Jackson, his goods were to be distrained from time to time, until he did appear; when all the goods were distrained, or if he had none that could be distrained, there was an end of the suit, and Smith was left to meditate on the perfection of the common law.

The King's Bench took cognizance of all matters not belonging to the Common Pleas and Exchequer, and was to all intents and purposes the Criminal court, having an original jurisdiction in all actions of trespass, or other injury alleged to have been committed *vi et armis.*‡ The writ issued by this court was called a Bill of Middlesex, which ordered the Sheriff not to summon, but to *bring*, the defendant to Westminster, to answer to a plea of trespass, why he broke the plaintiff's close—*quare clausum fregit.* It is supposed, however, that originally an attachment first issued, which failing to make the defendant appear, then the bill of Middlesex issued. §

It is clear enough that the King's Bench folks had then nothing whatever to do with the recovering of debts: but they understood the value of money, and saw with a jealous eye the

* Glanville de Leg. et Consuet. fol. 74.

† Thus the very threshold of the justice-shop is not allowed to be passed without paying toll: fees must be paid at every subsequent step, or justice will be denied, and yet it is endeavoured to delude some people by means of that grand nullity, *Magna Charta*, which says, "Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus aut differemus, justitiam vel rectum."

‡ It would be an endless task to point out here all the fictions *i. e.* falsehoods which are made use of in all proceedings at Common law. It is a hard run between fees and fictions.

§ Tidd's Pract. 7th ed. 166.

profits which accrued to the Common Pleas from this species of suits: and they determined by hook or by crook to have a share of those profits. They accordingly did not stand upon trifles, but issued their bill of Middlesex against any debtor, which bill as just stated, charged him with committing a trespass, although they knew he had done no such thing. Having him within their power, they could do what they liked with him: he was told he would not be proceeded against for trespass, but for a debt which he owed the plaintiff, and which he must pay before he obtained his liberty. This summary way of proceeding against debtors, soon transferred the business of the Common Pleas to the King's Bench. In this dilemma the Common Pleas having no other remedy against this unwarrantable usurpation of its rival, inserted in its Original, the plea of trespass—*quare clausum fregit* * which belonged to the King's Bench. By means of this instrument they also were enabled to arrest the person of the debtor, and thus recovered a share of their former business. So that arrest for debt owes it's origin to the avarice and mutual jealousy of these two Courts,†—not only arrest for debt in necessary cases, but arrest in every case that it was called for, by the creditor or self-styled creditor. The injustice and oppression resulting from these arbitrary and illegal proceedings may be readily imagined. The statute of Charles II. was passed for the "remedy and prevention" of the iniquities which they gave rise to: instead of doing which, however, it did in fact sanction and perpetuate the abomination, and gave to it the authority of Statute Law.‡ It recites that many persons are kept prisoners for a long time for want of bail, the sureties required being for such large sums, that few have dared to become sureties for the appearance of such persons, "although in truth there hath been little or no cause of action; and oftentimes there are no such persons who are named plaintiffs, but those arrests have been many times procured by malicious persons to vex and oppress the defendants; ... and by such evil practices many men have been, and are daily undone and destroyed in their estates, without possibility of having reparation." It then speaks of these arrests, as a matter of course, but requires for the future that the true cause of action should be expressed in the writ. This made it necessary to change the writs, for as

* This was previous to the reign of Henry the Seventh.

† The Court of Exchequer, to get some of the business, invented the *quo minus*, which assumed that the plaintiff (being a debtor to the King,) was less able to pay his Majesty, in consequence of the defendant's refusing to pay what he owed him.

‡ 13. Car. II. St. ii. c. 2.

they then stood, instead of expressing the true cause of action which was debt, the one declared that it was for a trespass, the other for breaking a close: if the writ expressed nothing more than the true cause of action, namely the debt, the power of arrest* would be taken away, and along with it their profitable trade. To prevent such a calamity, the King's Bench continued to make use of the old writ, and tacked a clause to the end of it, which expressed the cause of action, *and also to a bill of debt.* This was known by the name of the *ac etiam,* being the first words of the interpolated clause. The Common Pleas were obliged to revert to its special originals; but in a few years, finding the profitable business monopolized by the King's Bench as before, the expense and delay of suing out originals, deterring suitors from going to the Common Pleas—Lord North in imitation of the King's Bench, added the *ac etiam* to the *clausum fregit* † The injustice and oppression were now carried on just as before; all the plaintiff had to do was, to swear that the defendant owed him more than five pounds, ‡ the amount of the debt being stated in the writ. This is the law at the present day, except that the amount of the debt below which no person can be arrested for, has been gradually raised to twenty pounds. Any creditor who wishes to injure or annoy any man who owes him a small sum of money, has only to swear that he owes him a large sum of money, according to his circumstances, say 40,000*l.* and this sort of thing is by no means uncommon, —the poor man is arrested, and is of course unable to procure sureties for his appearance, or *special bail* § as it is termed: he is still less able to deposit with the sheriff the amount of the alleged debt ‖ together with ten pounds as costs: not being able to do either of these things, he is taken to prison ¶ and there remains at all events until the return of the writ, and should the cause not then come on, he may remain there for any number of months. The trial comes on, and so far from the plaintiff's proving that the defendant owes him 40,000*l.* it turns

* By writ of *capias.*

† North's Life of Lord Guilford.

‡ The sum was raised to ten pounds by the 12 Geo. I. c. 29; to fifteen pounds by 51 Geo. III. c. 124, and 57 Geo. III. c. 101; and to twenty pounds by the 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 71.

§ By the 12 Geo. I. c. 29, the Sheriff is not allowed to take bail for any other sum than that sworn to by the plaintiff. In spite of this act of the Legislature, it is the custom to take bail for double the amount so sworn, and should the costs added to the original debt amount to that sum, the bail are held liable to the full extent. See Tidd's Pract. 246.

‖ 43. Geo. c. 46.

¶ Those who can afford it may be taken to a lock-up or spunging-house.

out that he does not owe him *forty* pounds, notwithstanding which the plaintiff will have a verdict, for "it is now settled (and it occurs in every day's practice), that the plaintiff in an action of debt, may prove and recover less than the sum demanded." * Having proved that a something was owed, the defendant, even if he were able to purchase it, has no remedy for the injury he has sustained at the hands of the plaintiff. But if a man wishes to torment another who does not owe him a *single farthing*, he may do the very same thing, provided he takes the oath, which he may do either in his own name or a fictitious one; or if he does not like that, he may hire a man of straw to take the oath, (and there are always plenty ready for such a job) either in his own name or a fictitious one. The trial comes on and the fraud is apparent. In such a flagrant case as this what is the remedy of the injured man? Next to none. If he can pay for it he may bring his action for false imprisonment, and recover damages, supposing he can find out the plaintiff: if he has not money enough to bring this action, then he has no remedy;—if he can afford it, and the plaintiff is a man of straw, he is equally † without a remedy.

Formerly every plaintiff was obliged to give security by two substantial pledges at the commencement of the suit: by this means he was liable to punishment in case his was deemed a malicious, frivolous, or needless suit. This held out no lure to dishonest plaintiffs, and by so many diminished the number of customers to the courts—what was to be done?—the real pledges were done away with, and imaginary ones substituted, who figure away at the present day under the names of John Doe and Richard Roe.

Such is the state of the English Law, named the perfection of reason; that it is so, is as false, as that it is the perfection of legal oppression is true. The power of imprisoning others is granted to any scoundrel who chooses to ask for it: and this monstrous abuse was originated by, and is now sanctioned and upheld by, our independent judges, and what is worse, it is sanctioned and upheld by the legislature. Whenever they have been called upon to abolish this barbarous practice, they have either done nothing at all, or they have invented a pseudo remedy similar to that afforded by the act of Charles the second. And let it not be forgotten, that instead of shewing the public their sincere approbation of the practice, and setting them an example

* Coleridge on Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 155.

† A case of this kind occurred only the other day. See the Morning Chronicle, 27th of October, 1829.

by respectfully submitting themselves to its visitations, *they have exempted themselves from its operation.* What honourable men! They first obtained this exemption for themselves and servants, by petitioning Queen Elizabeth; and in the following reign they established their own and their servants privilege of disobeying the law with impunity, in a pretty *tranchant* manner: an unfortunate officer who had arrested a Member was severely punished by the House, and the creditor at whose instance he did so was sent to the Tower. Two bailiffs for arresting the servant of a Member, were sentenced to ask pardon on their knees, and "to ride on one horse bare-backed, back to back, from Westminster to the Exchange, with papers on their breasts signifying their offence; which sentence was put into immediate execution"*

The remedies we have alluded to, as being now and then applied by the legislature were in the shape of acts for preventing frivolous and vexatious suits, and acts for settling what precise amount of debt was sufficient to entitle a creditor to send his debtor to gaol, to the latter of which we have already referred. The first of these "frivolous" acts was made in Elizabeth's time,† and was intended to prevent trifling suits from being brought to Westminster Hall, which ought to be heard in the inferior courts. This, however, it did not effect, as we learn by the preamble to an act of the following reign,‡ which says, that these trifling causes have been brought into the superior courts; "to the intolerable delay of justice and great expenses of money, and loss, and trouble to those which justly and honestly by such actions and suits, have sought only to recover or get satisfaction for debts, duties, or wrongs; owing, due or done unto them." What a remarkably correct picture is this, of the working of the system at this very day. This act, as usual, provided no remedy for the abuse. It forbade the removal of the suit, when the demand did not exceed five pounds, unless by writ of error or attaint.

By the act of the 4th George II c. 26 it was required that *all* legal documents and proceedings in any of the courts of justice, should be in the English "tongue and language," and a subsequent act,§ requires that all proceedings should be in English, in causes for less than ten pounds! the minor not being included in the major according to parliamentary logic. In consequence of these acts, with some exceptions English words are made use of in legal documents, but in the place of the English

* Farley on Imprisonment for Debt, 1788. p. 101. 2.
† 46 Eliz. c. 6. ‡ 21 Jac. I. c. 23. § 5 Geo. II. c. 27.

language we have got a legal galimatias, as intelligible to the vast majority of non-legal minds, as is the language of China.

The reason why the practice of indiscriminate arrest is not abolished by the legislature, although carefully hidden from the people, does not lie very deep: as it was the sinister interest of the lawyers which gave birth to this infamous scourge, so is it their interest at all times to maintain it, and this is the real reason why it is maintained; the legislature on all legal subjects being entirely controlled by the lawyers.

No other civilized country is disgraced by such a system; Scotland is free from it, so are Holland and France,* even degraded Spain is not subjected to this curse.

The warrant for an arrest in London, is issued from the Secondary's office, respecting which so much has been lately said. That abuses existed to an enormous amount, and of a nature pre-eminently disgraceful, was not denied by those who derived profit from them. The defence set up was, that the office had been purchased and therefore they had a right to perpetrate injustice, in order to indemnify themselves for the money they had so laid out. Hereupon arose a violent out-cry against the sale of the office, some being against the legality of the thing,† but the vast majority being against the principle of selling any office. Their error consisted in admitting the defence to be a valid one: having done this it was no difficult matter to imagine that the selling was a bad thing. To suppose that, from having purchased any office, a man is entitled thereby to commit injustice on other men, is to suppose that medical men would be justified in uselessly tormenting their patients because they have purchased their diplomas. The sale of offices whether judicial or not, is no more a bad thing,

* Imprisonment for debt at the end of the suit is forbidden by the French Civil code, and allowed by the Commercial code if the debt is a commercial one: the consequence has been, that creditors have in almost every instance required the formalities to be observed which constitute a commercial debt, and the prisons are filled by non-commercial men. In 1828 there were imprisoned in St. Pelagie 249 debtors: of these only seventeen were commercial men; 103 were landholders, officers, lawyers &c. and 129 were labourers or servants. The Duc de Broglie has ably exposed this gross inconsistency.

† They seem to be in the right, for the 3 Geo. III. c. 15. declares, "it shall not be lawful to or for any person or persons whatsoever, to buy, sell, let or take to farm the office of under-sheriff, deputy sheriff, &c. or any other office or place pertaining to the office of high sheriff of any county, or shire in England;" and inflicts a penalty of 500*l.* on any person so offending. There is no exceptions whatever in favor of any particular places, which are sometimes made in acts regulating the office of high sheriff, as for example the counties palatine.

than is the sale of any thing else. Suppose lord Lyndhurst had paid into the public Treasury 50,000*l.* for the office of Chancellor, where would be the harm? His lordship could do no more than he does now; and the public would be richer by the 50,000*l.* No person can imagine, that it would justify the noble lord in doing any thing more as Chancellor, than is allowed by law. If instead of the public's receiving the purchase money, it is received by an individual—still is there no harm done: that individual might have given the office away, but like a wise man preferred obtaining what he could for it. Abuses are not got rid of, by *giving* to a man an office in which they are practised; neither can *selling* it confer any additional authority for continuing the abuses. It is undoubtedly desirable that abuses should be got rid of, and whenever those who have had the power, have had at the same time a sincere wish to effect this, the means have never been found wanting. Take some office which is free from abuse, or rather we should say imagine one,—imagine the Secondary's thus transformed: if any person will pay a sum of money for the situation, in consideration of the certain salary, a liking of the occupation, or what not—it will be so much clear gain: in case he acts improperly, he will of course be treated as any body else would who had not paid for the situation. An obvious objection is, that individuals might in this manner be appointed who were not properly qualified; and so they might if there existed an obligation to appoint those who were ready to pay for the place: but no such obligation does exist, and in order to provide as far as may be for the requisite qualifications, Bentham proposed sale by auction,* so that if the highest bidder was found unfit some one of the lower bidders might be found duly qualified,—if not, then one of the bidders would be appointed. There would be no great danger as things are managed in this country of finding unfit persons bidding for offices; for one is as good as another for filling most of them, from the highest to the lowest.

We now come to imprisonment at the close of the suit. Magna Charta declares, that no lands or rents shall be seized as long as there are goods and chattels to satisfy the debt: † if the principal debtor fails to pay, then his pledges are to answer for the debt, and they are allowed to indemnify themselves from

* The sale, and sale by auction, of judicial offices was first recommended by Bentham in his "Judicial Establishment" written for the French nation. The principle was applied by him to the Secondary's office in an unanswerable manner during the late discussions, in a series of short, and searching questions.

† 9 H. III. c. 8.

his (the debtor's) lands and rents until their debt has been satisfied. If the king's debtor should die, his majesty's debt must be paid out of the property belonging to the debtor, before any other debt is satisfied.* The first law which authorises imprisonment for debt, was passed in the eleventh year of Edward I., for the benefit of merchants, and was called Statutum de Mercatoribus.† By this act, the merchant who would be sure of his debt, is to bring the debtor before the mayor, that he may be a witness to the debt: the clerk is to enter a recognizance of the debt, and the day of payment, in a roll. The clerk is moreover to make a "bill obligatory," to which the debtor's seal, and the king's seal are to be attached. The day of payment arrived, and the debt not paid, the creditor goes before the mayor and clerk with his bill obligatory, and if it be found by the roll and the bill that the debt was acknowledged, and that the day of payment has expired, the mayor would immediately cause the moveables of the debtor to be sold, to the amount of the debt. If the debtor had no moveables within the jurisdiction of the mayor, the recognizance was sent to the chancellor who thereupon issued his writ to the sheriff in whose bailiwick the moveables of the debtor happened to be. If the debtor had no moveables, then his body might be taken and kept in prison, until he or his friends had made satisfaction: if he could not support himself, the creditor had to find bread and water for him, the cost of which he had to repay to the creditor along with the original debt, before he was let out of prison. If the creditor took pledges, as security for payment, and they were bound by recognizance before the mayor as in the case of the debtor, then in default of moveables belonging to the debtor, the creditor might levy on the goods of the pledges or mainpernors. ‡

When viewed with reference to the particular object for which it was framed, and to the time *when* it was framed, it cannot but be regarded as an admirable piece of legislation: the acknowledging and enrolling the debt before the mayor, by which the forthcomingness of sufficient evidence of the existence of the debt was secured,—the immediate sale of moveables for payment of the debt at the hands of the mayor—and the provision in case the moveables were in another jurisdiction, were well calculated to secure the prompt payment of the debt. Its imperfections are more negative than positive, as for example, its operation is not extended to all debtors, to non-merchants as

* 9 H. III. c. 18. † 11 Ed. I. or Statute of Acton Burnel.

‡ The form of proceeding under this act was called "knowledging a Statute Merchant."

well as merchants, and only allows satisfaction to be taken on the moveables and not on the land: then in case the debtor has no goods, and has been to blame, he should be imprisoned for a definite period according to the nature of the case, as a punishment for his breach of contract, and not at the will of the creditor, as long as he chose to keep him on bread and water. If the debtor possessed lands and no goods, satisfaction should have been taken on the land at once, the debtor being imprisoned or not as the judge might see fit. The most objectionable part of this statute, is the clause which says, in case he has no goods he is to be kept in prison until he has satisfied the debt or *his friends* for him, the injustice of which is manifest: it is punishing the innocent instead of the guilty. The period of imprisonment should in every case be fixed by the judge as above proposed.

This act was altered in the thirteenth year of the same reign*, and altered for the worse. If the debt is not paid, the new law authorises the immediate committal of the debtor to prison, to remain there at his own cost until he has paid the debt: within a quarter of a year after he is imprisoned, his chattels and lands are to be delivered to him, "so that by his own (will) he may levy and pay the debt." † And if at the end of the quarter he has not paid the debt, then his lands and goods are made over to the creditor, until by a reasonable extent the debt is paid; when that is done, his body is to be free and his lands delivered to him. These merchant creditors are to be allowed for their damages, and all costs, labours, suits, delays, and expenses reasonable. The first defect is the imprisonment of the debtor without inquiry into the merits of the case; then there is the option given to the debtor during a whole quarter, whether he will pay or not, which puts an end to one of the greatest benefits secured by the former act, which gave immediate execution, on the goods, whether it was agreeable to the debtor or not. The term of imprisonment is fixed the same for all cases, and is to continue till the creditor has received the amount of the debt from the possession of the lands: although any imprisonment in many cases would be manifestly unjust; and when it was required, it might be for a shorter or longer period than that indefinitely fixed by the statute. Moreover it makes no provision for the case, where the debtor has neither goods nor lands, though probably it was

* 13 Ed. I. St. iii. c. 1.

† "Ses chateus e ses terres delivres issint qe par les soens puisse lever e paiu la dette, e bien lui list dedenz le quarter terre et tenement vender." That is, his chattels and lands are to be at his disposal, although in prison, that he may sell them in order to take off and pay the debt.

intended to continue that which was enacted in the first law, namely, keeping the debtor in prison till he made an agreement, or his friends for him, the objectionable nature of which we have already pointed out.

The common way of recovering debts was by means of the King's Court:* and upon debt or damages being proved, the creditor might either have a writ of *fieri facias* directed to the sheriff, to levy the debt on the lands and goods; or that the sheriff shall deliver to him all the chattels of the debtor,† and one half of his land, until the debt be levied upon a reasonable price or extent.‡ The reason for allowing the creditor to choose between these two modes of proceeding, is not apparent: if one mode was more onerous to the debtor than the other, the creditor possessed so far the power of oppressing him gratuitously. No punishment whatever is inflicted for the breach of contract by this act, any more than that of Henry III.: consequently non-merchants might refuse to pay their debts with comparative impunity. Although Blackstone says, that the body might be taken if there were no lands. Imprisonment of the person was made lawful by the 25th of Edward III.,§ on a writ of *capias.*

During the same reign was passed the Statute Staple,‖ which provides for the recognizance of the debt before the mayor in the towns where the staple was held, nearly in the same manner as by the Statute Merchant. The body of the debtor may be taken, and his goods and lands likewise.

As these statutes gave, comparatively speaking, so certain and speedy a remedy against merchant debtors, it is not surprising that creditors who were not merchants, should also take the security afforded by them, and have their debts recognizanced before the mayor of the staple. We accordingly find that this practice prevailed to a considerable extent in the reign of Henry VIII., when an act was passed ¶ to put an end to the practice; which act inflicts a penalty on any mayor or constable of a staple, for taking recognizance of any debt, other than between merchants, and for merchandise of the same staple.

The "inconveniences" and "damages" mentioned in the preamble, as resulting from the practice above alluded to, can only have happened to the dishonest debtors, and the lawyers:

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* West. 2. 13 Ed. I. c. 18.

† "Saving only his oxen and beasts of his plough."

‡ The creditor as long as he held this land was called tenant by *elegit.*

§ 25 Ed. III. St. v. c. 17.

‖ 27 Ed. III. St. ii. c. 9. see also 15 R. II. c. 9.

¶ 23 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

to the dishonest debtors, because they were made to pay their debts, and to the lawyers, because it diminished the number of their customers. As far as the interests of the people were concerned, the mode by statute-staple was by far preferable to that of the ordinary mode; what their interests required was, that the benefit of the statute-staple (with certain modifications) should be extended to all classes of persons; what the interests of the lawyers required was, that its operation should be restricted to as few persons as possible,—and so it was restricted.

The king was not to be neglected however. It was enacted that for all *his* debts, he should have process, judgment, and execution, in the nature of a statute-staple.*

By the ordinary mode of proceeding the debtor is sent to prison by a writ of *capias ad satisfaciendum,* † there to remain until he pays the debt. ‡ Neither his lands nor his goods can be touched in this case. If the debtor is rich, he may live sumptuously in the prison and laugh at his creditor, supposing that he thinks the paying of his debt is a greater evil than the confinement of his person. § This was found to be the case at a very early period, and, to mend the matter, an act was passed in the reign of James I. "for the relief of creditors against such persons as *die* in execution," and recites that "daily experience doth manifest, that divers persons of sufficiency in real and personal estate ..... have obstinately and wilfully chosen rather to live and die in prison, than to make any satisfaction according to their abilities." ‖ When any such death takes place, it allows a new execution to be awarded against the goods and lands of the deceased. The lawyers had astuteness enough to discover a method of relieving creditors against rich debtors *dying* in prison, but could find none against those same rich debtors *living* in prison, and have not found any down to the present time: and this too with the ancient statutes merchant and staple staring them in the face.

If the debtor is poor and has no possible means of paying the debt, still he must stay in prison as long as the creditor pleases. The notion seems to be, that the confinement of the person of B is a compensation to A for the loss of his money, than which

* 33 Hen. VIII. c. 39. § 73.

† The writ established inactions of debt by 25 Ed. III. St. v. c. 17.

‡ Members of parliament and other privileged persons are not liable to be imprisoned for debt, unless they are bound by statute-merchant or statute-staple.

§ Which must generally be within the walls of the prison, in contradistinction to the rules and liberties, the privilege to range in which a debtor may purchase when arrested on mesne process.

‖ 21 Jac. I. c. 24.

nothing can be more foolish. The imprisonment can only be justified as being a mode of punishment for an offence against the laws; namely, the breach of a contract attended with such circumstances as according to the law constitutes an offence. Imprisonment for debt on any other ground, is an oppression and injustice, whether it be sanctioned by the law or not sanctioned by the law. Why should the creditor be called upon to maintain the debtor while in prison though it be at ever so small an expense? It is true the creditor has already suffered from his delinquency, and if that be the reason for his being maintained in prison at the creditor's expense, so should every other delinquent be maintained at the expense of the individual for injuring whom he has been condemned to imprisonment. If the creditor cannot afford to keep him in prison, then is the delinquent set free,—the guilty will go unpunished: because it will not surely be avowed that the demand for punishment or no punishment in every case depends on the length of the creditor's purse. Again, here is another inconsistency, the debtor who owes thousands of pounds, may be let out of prison either at the will of the creditor, or in consequence of his inability to keep him there; and the debtor who only owed another creditor tens of pounds, may be imprisoned as long as he lives. Yet this is English even-handed justice. If the debtor is no delinquent—that is, if the non-fulfilment of the contract in question, was imputable to no fault of his—then it would be as just to imprison the creditor as such a debtor. English justice is aptly represented as blindfold, for it can see no difference between honest and dishonest debtors, it sends them all indiscriminately to gaol. The scandalous cruelties * practised under cover of this imprisonment-law, have called forth from time to time pretended remedies, under the title of Relief Acts, which shall be noticed presently.

But first we must crave the reader's attention to a set of laws intimately connected with the subject under discussion, known by the name of the Bankrupt Laws. These laws were passed for the more speedy and effectual recovery of debts, than was afforded by the usual proceedings in the regular courts of law. Their operation is unfortunately restricted to traders; generally speaking, the proceedings which take place under these laws, are something after this plan.† If a trader commits any one

* It would be a work of painful supererogation to recount any of the heart-rending cases, hundreds of which are on record, and more or less known to every body.

† We do not profess to give a detailed account of the working of a bankruptcy—it is not necessary to our purpose. Those non-lawyers who

of a number of specified acts, such as secreting himself from his creditors, for instance, it is called committing an act of bankruptcy, and thereupon a creditor to whom he is indebted in the sum of 100*l.* may petition the lord Chancellor, who will issue a commission of bankruptcy against such debtor, who is then called a bankrupt. An examination into his affairs takes place before Commissioners appointed for that purpose.* If it is apprehended that the bankrupt will abscond, he may at any time previous to the determination of the proceedings, be arrested by the authority of the Commissioners, if a creditor produces sufficient reasons for his suspecting the existence of such an intention.

The bankrupt is required to surrender his person at the third meeting of his creditors before the Commissioners; if he does so, he is then free from arrest. The various debts having been proved* the bankrupt's estate is vested in assignees (who are creditors) and they are required to convert it into cash as soon as may be, and then a rateable dividend is paid to all the creditors: if more property comes into the hands of the assignees, another dividend is paid, and so on as long as there are any assets. If there is sufficient property to cover all the debts and more, then the surplus is paid over to the bankrupt, and he receives a certificate, which secures him against arrest, or any other legal proceeding for the recovery of any debt prior to the date of the commission of bankruptcy, and he is set at liberty: if there is not sufficient property, he still receives his certificate, his liberty, and an allowance of money that he may not be left destitute. This is on the supposition that the bankrupt has fairly given up all his property, and offered every facility in the investigation of his affairs, producing his books and accounts and any other documents which may be required. But if he secretes any of his property, or makes a fraudulent conveyance of any part of it to another person, gives false information, withholds his books, or has committed any other fraudulent act, then he may be punished by imprisonment, and by having his certificate refused him. No creditor can petition the Chancellor to

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may be desirous of tracing the history of these laws, may refer to the following statutes:—34 and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 4.—13 Eliz. c. 7.—2 Jac. I. c. 15—21 Jac. I. c. 19.—13 and 14 Car. II. c. 24.—10 An. c. 15.—7 Geo. I. St. i. c. 31.—5 Geo. II. c. 30.—9. Geo. II. c. 18. § 2.—16 Geo. II. c. 27.—19 Geo. II. c. 32.—24 Geo. II. c. 57. § 8, 9, 10.—31 Geo. II. c. 35. § 2.—4 Geo. III. c. 33.—46 Geo. III. c. 135.—49 Geo. III. c. 121.—56 Geo. III. c. 50. § 11.—5 Geo. IV. c. 98.

* The notice of the bankruptcy must be inserted in the London Gazette, that his creditors may come and prove their debts.

grant a commission without giving security to the amount of 200*l.* to compensate the party, if he does not prove him to be a bankrupt.

One of those short-sighted regulations, so many of which pervade all our statutes, was introduced into the act of George the second,* which we cannot refrain from pointing out. If any bankrupt or witness refuse to answer any lawful question, such person may be sent to prison without bail, by the commissioners: and if the gaoler permit any such prisoner to escape, he is to forfeit 500*l.* to the creditors. It is not likely to do much mischief we grant, but still it is foolish, and may in some cases be the means of defrauding the creditors successfully of their debts, which case may happen in this manner. Suppose a dishonest tradesman determines to defraud his creditors; he turns as much of his property as he is able into cash, (say some thousands of pounds) with the intention of decamping with it. His creditors having some notice of this, sue out a commission of bankruptcy and have him arrested, and he is sent to the county gaol: here he is safe enough, because if the gaoler lets him escape, he will subject himself to punishment by imprisonment or otherwise. The bankrupt however is brought before the commissioners, and refuses to answer a lawful question and is committed by them: now he is by no means secure, for the gaoler may suffer him to escape on paying the creditors 500*l.* as this specified forfeiture excludes the idea of ulterior punishment; but as gaolers are not supposed to have so much money to spare, it is also supposed that no such case can occur. This bankrupt having several thousand pounds at his disposal, (in the hands of a friend) and as his wealth is comparatively useless to him in a prison, he will make a good bargain, if by giving five or six hundred pounds he has a fair chance of enjoying the remainder at liberty. He proposes to the gaoler to let him escape, at the same time offering him the 500*l.* and a douceur for himself, say 100*l.* The gaoler is not only exempted from punishment, he is almost invited to let the prisoner escape, it is a sort of privilege guaranteed to all such gaolers by Act of Parliament on paying a certain fee. It is not merely in this instance, there are hundreds of instances in the statute book, in which the payment of a particular sum of money is named as the punishment for committing many offences. It must be apparent that on one supposition alone can the fixing of a particular sum be reasonable or just, and that supposition is an absurdity: it is neither more nor less than this—that all the members of the community, capable of

* And continued by 5 Geo. IV.

committing the offence whatever it be, for which the sum in question is to be paid, possess an equal portion not only of the matter of wealth, but also an equal portion of it in the shape of ready cash.

In our inquiry as to what regulations were likely to be adopted under a rational system of law and procedure, we alluded to the case of a debtor having numerous creditors, whose claims he could not, or supposed he could not satisfy: and the only difference it appeared necessary to make from the course pursued when there was but one creditor, was the giving due notice to all the creditors to come and prove their debts. Instead of a simple proceeding of this kind, we have the complicated machinery of these bankrupt laws—a distinct court, with distinct knots, or clusters of judges, and their subordinate functionaries. In this court, there is a different form of procedure from that of the other courts: the number of meetings for doing certain things, is fixed alike in all cases, although in some they may be less, in others more than sufficient: there are different rules of evidence, and throughout no opportunity is let slip for exacting fees from those who are faultless, distressed, and scarce able to pay them, as well as from those who are culpable, whether able or unable to pay:* this is an inconvenience, but it must be a consolation to those who suffer from it to know, that in these matters the English law acts with perfect impartiality. If, when a debtor has but one creditor, one sort of law and procedure is provided; and for a debtor with several creditors, another sort of law and procedure is provided; if this we say be reasonable, then was it reasonable to make two distinct apertures in the same apartment, for the ingress and egress of two animals of different sizes.

But as these laws afford in comparison with the regular proceedings in the superior courts, a ready means of satisfying the creditor as far as there is property to satisfy him, and inflict but little unnecessary annoyance on the honest debtor, while at the same time they award punishment to the dishonest debtor; such being the effect of these laws, it is difficult at first sight to conceive on what grounds any of his Majesty's loving subjects should be deprived of the benefit of them; and yet they are in large numbers so deprived, and reasons have been given why they should be so deprived. All persons who are not traders are excluded from their operation, and Blackstone's defence of the exclusion is this: "If"† says he "persons in other situations

* Not that we approve of fees under any circumstances—a more mischievous system of remuneration could hardly in our opinion be invented.

† Book ii. c. 31.

of life run in debt without the power of payment, they must take the consequences of their own indiscretion, even though they meet with sudden accidents that may reduce their fortunes: for the law holds it to be an unjustifiable practice, for any person but a trader to encumber himself with debts of any considerable value. If a gentleman, or one in a liberal profession, at the time of contracting his debts has a sufficient fund to pay them, the delay of payment is a species of dishonesty, and a temporary injustice to his creditor: and if at such time, he has no sufficient fund, the dishonesty and injustice is the greater. He cannot therefore murmur, if he suffers the punishment which he has voluntarily drawn upon himself." It is really pitiable to see a man of education and in some respects a clever man reduced to the necessity of putting forward such absolute nonsense, because he thought it a duty to endeavour to defend that which is indefensible. When he was about it the profound commentator might as well have pointed out the difference between the two sorts of indiscretion, that of the trader, and that of the non-trader, which renders it necessary in the one case, that the consequences should fall on the party himself; and in the other, on somebody other than the indiscreet party. The fact is, Blackstone's "indiscretion" has made him lose sight of justice. The consequences of the indiscretion also fall on the *creditors*, and wherever this may be prevented by the law, and is not prevented, an injustice is committed: these laws on his own shewing can prevent it, but are not allowed to do it, therefore the exclusion which he has attempted to justify, is an injustice established by law. The exclusion would be justified if it could be proved that the creditors of one set of men were entitled to justice, while the creditors of another set of men were not entitled to justice. Blackstone was satisfied with shewing that a man ought not to murmur at the punishment he has brought upon himself; he forgot to show that such punishment with or without murmuring was any compensation to the defrauded creditor. As there is no reasonable objection to admitting all persons to have the benefit of these laws, there must have been some objection stronger than reason,—interest, or prejudice: but prejudice, although it may by possibility have some little share in maintaining the exclusion, could have had none in the formation of it—interest then must have been the sole cause of it: that is, the interest of those who made the exclusion, the particular interest of the lawyers, the same which caused the exclusion from the statutes merchant and staple. And what is it but the interest of the lawyers, which at this time retains the exclusion? If all persons could recover their debts as effectually as by the proceed-

ings under a commission of bankruptcy, notwithstanding its imperfections, who would sue for debt in Westminster Hall?

Being confined to traders however, it became necessary to give some sort of a definition of a trader: and this has given rise to numerous inconsistencies. The act of Elizabeth mentions those who "used the trade of merchandize," or who "sought their livelihood by buying and selling." This being excessively vague, subsequent acts enumerated several occupations and trades, still retaining the words "and all those who seek their living by buying and selling." Blackstone was not always satisfied with giving his general approbation of any then existing regulation, however ridiculous or mischievous it might be, as we have already shewn, but must offer something which he thought would pass as a reason in favor of it. In his time innkeepers could not be made bankrupts, "for," says Blackstone,* "his gain or livelihood does not arise from buying and selling in the way of merchandize, but greatly from the use of his rooms, his furniture, and the like." In spite of this cogent objection, innkeepers and victuallers are now liable to be made bankrupts.† No attempt at classification has yet been made, and, indeed, when the principle is to exclude as many as may be, no rational classification can be expected. It is no answer to say, that if the real object was to exclude as many as could be excluded, none would have been exempted from the exclusion, because there is a point beyond which exclusion becomes dangerous—dangerous to the well-being of the whole community, including the well-being of the lawyers themselves. What would have become of the trade and commerce of this country had they not suffered these laws to pass?

The abominable oppression exercised by creditors on their miserable debtors, have from time to time produced, not a reform of that part of the law which authorized the oppression, but a palliation of it, by means of laws for the relief of poor prisoners confined for debt. The very titles of these acts pass condemnation on those laws which have created the necessity of relieving prisoners for debt.‡ If the law was a proper law which condemned debtors to prison—a law for relieving such debtors must be an improper law; if, on the other hand, the law for imprisoning debtors is a bad law, then it should be altered or altogether repealed.

The first law avowedly for the relief of imprisoned debtors, was passed soon after the fire of London, and declares that in

* Book ii. c. 31. † 5 Geo. IV. c. 98.

‡ The state of prison discipline is here out of the question.

consequence of the said fire, or their own misfortunes, many persons "are totally disabled to give any satisfaction to their creditors."* No debtors under this act are to be taken to any tavern or alehouse without their consent, or charged for any refreshments which they themselves have not ordered; no fees are to be demanded by any officer for arresting, keeping in, or discharging from, custody any debtor, except such as are allowed by law. The amount of these fees is to be settled by the judges and the justices of the peace, and a list of them is to be written in a fair hand, and hung up in every gaol and prison. Debtors and felons are not to be lodged together, but kept separate and apart one from another in distinct rooms.

By the *Habeas Corpus* act, † on paying the established fees and giving security, ‡ any prisoner may be brought before the judges, that the true cause of his imprisonment may be ascertained. This however does not apply to persons who have been convicted or are in execution on legal process, consequently it does not extend to debtors who are so confined.

Sometimes the Declaration of Rights is referred to as affording relief to debtors among other persons, because it declares, § "that excessive bail ought not to be required," which declaration it is almost needless to observe is so excessively vague, that it can be of no practical avail. Any bail, to what amount soever it might be unnecessary, will never be deemed excessive by the functionary who requires it.

An act for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors was passed in the reign of George I.: ‖ the relief consisted in giving every prisoner who did not owe 100*l.* to one person, his discharge on delivering into the quarter sessions a schedule of his whole estate—the estate to be assigned over to the creditors. Thirty days notice to the creditors was required to be given in the London Gazette. ¶

An act was passed for the relief of debtors with respect to the imprisonment of their persons, in the next reign, ** which

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* 22 and 23 Car. II. c. 20. What a satire is this on the law which sent such persons to prison.

Previous to this time laws had been made for the melioration of the condition of prisoners in general. See 1 Ed. I. St. i. c. 7.—14 Eliz. c. 5.—43 Eliz. c. 2. § 14.—19 Car. II. c. 4.

† 31 Car. II. ‡ Prisoners for felony or treason are excepted.

§ 1 Will. and Ma. St. ii. c. 2. ‖ 11 Geo. I. c. 21.

¶ An act had been passed in the ninth year of the same reign, affording the relief to persons owing less than 50*l.*, who were residing in Suffolk-place and the Mint, which were alleged to be privileged places.

** 2 Geo. II. c. 22. For the same purpose were passed the 8 Geo. II. c. 24., and the 14 Geo. II. c. 34.

also re-enacts with some alterations the 22nd and 23rd of Charles II. for putting an end to "oppressions and exactions." The operations of this act are limited to those who are confined for a sum or sums of money not exceeding in the whole 100*l.* On giving up his estate, the debtor may be discharged if the creditors agree to such discharge. But a creditor may, notwithstanding, keep the debtor in prison (if his debt is not paid) as long as he likes on allowing him two shillings and fourpence per week!

About twenty years after this, another act passed for the relief of insolvent debtors—"such unhappy debtors," says the preamble, "have always been deemed proper objects of public compassion." What a mockery was this: although they were deemed objects of "public compassion," they were at the same time "deemed proper objects" of private injustice, or the law would not have suffered them to be kept there: the hundred pounds, which was the limitation of the act of George I., was now extended to five hundred; and the current price of indulging creditors in the pleasure of tyrannising over their debtors was raised to 3*s.* 6*d.* a week.

We have then three successive acts* for relieving debtors (now called insolvent debtors) whose debts, according to the first act, did not exceed 100*l.*; to the second, 200*l.*; and according to the last, 300*l.* After they had been imprisoned three months, their creditors might compel them to produce a schedule of their estates, after giving them twenty days' notice; if the debtors refused to comply with this demand, they might be transported for seven years. On complying with the notice, and giving a satisfactory schedule, and making over their property, they might be discharged, unless any creditor or creditors wished to have the satisfaction of keeping him in prison—and on paying 2*s.* 4*d.* any creditor might have this indulgence granted to him. By a subsequent act† this sum was raised to 3*s.* 6*d.*, the price charged under the then last Insolvent act; and if there should be more than one detaining creditor, they were each charged two shillings.

We have already had two or three sorts of Relief acts, but there is one of another sort still,—for the discharge of small debtors; these small debtors were persons confined for sums of money amounting to less than twenty pounds.‡ After being confined in a gaol for twelve calendar months, they might

* 32 Geo. II. c. 28.—26 Geo. III. c. 44.—33 Geo. III. c. 5
† 37 Geo. III. c. 85. See also 39 Geo. III. c. 50.
‡ 48 Geo. III. c. 123.

obtain their discharge, but even then notwithstanding all that suffering, their estates were still liable.

The forty-ninth Geo. III.,* included persons confined for contempts of equity and not paying fines imposed in consequence, as being within the operation of the relief laws.

An Insolvent court, was established in the fifty-third year of the late king,† but with comparatively very limited powers. For different species of frauds, loss by gaming, damages for crim. con., and seduction, insolvents were liable to five years imprisonment; in the following year, this was changed to ten years. Various other insolvent acts passed,‡ making trifling alterations and additions to former acts, at the same time that they gave additional and necessary powers to the commissioners, until the consolidating act appeared, in the seventh year of his present majesty. A general outline of this act, is what we now propose to lay before our readers.

A court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors is established, with judges under the name of commissioners, having various functionaries acting under their control; they have the same powers for compelling the attendance, and examining parties and witnesses on oath, as are exercised by the judges of the superior courts, also for the production of any written or printed evidence. All persons who are imprisoned for debts of any kind, except such as have taken the benefit of this or any former relief act within five years, or uncertificated bankrupts, are entitled to relief under this act.§ Any person wishing to be relieved, may petition the court after having been in custody for fourteen days within the walls of a prison; he must state in the petition when he was first in custody, at whose suit, and for what cause, whether he has petitioned the court before, or has been a bankrupt, and if so, whether he has a certificate: he must then pray to be discharged from all debts, at the time of presenting this petition. At the same time he must execute a conveyance and assignment of his estate and effects, with the exception of his (or his family's) wearing apparel, bedding, &c., and tools, not to exceed in value, twenty pounds in the whole, to the

* 49 Geo. III. c. 6. See likewise, 52 Geo. III. c. 34.

† By the 53 Geo. III. c. 102.

‡ 54 Geo. III. c. 23. 54 Geo. III. c. 28. 56 Geo. III. c. 102. 1 Geo. IV. c. 119. 3 Geo. IV. c. 123. 5 Geo. IV. c. 61. 6 Geo. IV, c. 121. 7 Geo. IV. c. 57.

§ This does not extend to debts due to the Crown; in this case the consent of the Treasury must be obtained. Those detained under writ of *capias* in cases of extent at the instance of a surety may, on giving a month's notice, petition the barons of Exchequer, who have power to grant a discharge.

provisional assignee of the court. The conveyance must vest in the assignee, all the rights which the petitioner has or may have in any kind of property whatsoever.* Should the petition be dismissed, the conveyance is void; if it is received, it is filed. To those subject to the bankrupt laws, this filing of a petition constitutes an act of bankruptcy, and if a commission should declare a petitioner to be a bankrupt within two months, it stops the operation of this act, otherwise not. The provisional assignee may be directed to sell the estate, if there is real property, by public auction, thirty days after the consent of a majority in value of the creditors has been obtained, at a meeting, of which fourteen days notice must be given in the Gazette, and a daily newspaper. An assignee or assignees may be appointed, being creditors: to these assignees is transferred the conveyance made to the provisional assignee, and they are vested with the same rights. An allowance may be made to the prisoner out of the proceeds of the sale of his property. Money may be raised by mortgage instead of sale, if likely to be more beneficial to the prisoner. In the case of military and naval officers and all functionaries in the service of government, application for a portion of their pay is to be made to the departments to which they respectively belong. Any transfer of property with intent to defraud creditors within three months before imprisonment, and any other fraudulent transaction, is declared void. Within three months the assignees are to give in their accounts, and if there is a balance, a dividend is to be made on giving thirty days notice to the creditors. Fourteen days after filing the petition, a schedule is to be presented of all his property and debts, together with a balance-sheet of his receipts and expenditure. A time is appointed within four months to hear the matters of the petition and schedule, and any creditor swearing that his debt amounts to five pounds may oppose his discharge, which may be done successfully by proving some fraudulent, or very imprudent transaction, or habits of extravagance, and he will then be liable to a further term of imprisonment not exceeding three years, or two years as the case may be. If the opposition fail, the prisoner may be discharged forthwith, or declared entitled to it at a future period not exceeding six months, and he may, in this latter case, go free at once, unless the creditor at whose instance the future discharge was adjudicated, chooses to detain or arrest him; such detaining creditor may be made to allow the prisoner a sum not exceeding four shillings a week. Before a discharge can be obtained, a

* Presentation to a benefice or curacy is excepted.

warrant of attorney must be executed by the prisoner, to confess judgment to the amount of the debts in his schedule, by authority of which an execution may take place whenever he is able to pay, or if there are assets after his death. The adjudication is final, unless it may have been obtained on false evidence, and then there may be a rehearing, and the insolvent taken into custody again, and if any fraud is proved he may be punished, as for instance, if he has excepted out of his schedule and detained any property, the value of which exceeds twenty pounds, he is liable to three years imprisonment and hard labour. Attorneys, with the permission of the commissioners, are allowed to practise in this court.

We hope we have succeeded in conveying some general idea of the provisions of this act, and of the mode of proceeding under it. As we observed before, it is a miserable palliation of unjust and oppressive laws. It is an attempt to do that which is done by the bankrupt laws, but at a very different stage of the proceedings. The creditors can only come at the property, when every opportunity has been afforded to the debtor to make away with it, or when the whole or great part of it has been wasted in law proceedings. It is not pretended however to consult the interest of the creditor, but only that of the debtor, provided he be dishonest; for this is the *sine quâ non* to the measure of relief: for that cannot be called relief which avowedly continues to inflict an unjust punishment, for however short a time.

It would have been something more like a remedy to the evil complained of, if the provisions of the act might have been enforced at the beginning of a suit, before there were any insolvent prisoners to relieve. The effect of such a regulation, it is true, would be a virtual extension of the bankrupt laws,* and

* Mr. Cullen has clearly pointed out the defects in the constitution of the Bankrupt court.—'If it be a great grievance, that not merely the occasional accidents, but the necessary results and characteristics of a court for the administration of justice should be inefficiency, ignorance, delay, expense, fraud, disappointment, despair—then is there no grievance connected with the administration of the law in England greater than that of the Bankrupt court.' Making allowance for high-colouring, a great deal of this is true. There are seventy Commissioners, who are divided into fourteen lists, as they are called, which gives five Commissioners to each list: of these five three make a quorum. To obtain the attendance of this quorum is frequently a matter of some difficulty, and the consequence is needless delay and expense to the parties. Each list acts independently of every other, which produces sad confusion in their decisions on particular points. Sometimes a Commissioner makes his appearance in the middle of a cause for the first time, and requires points that have been already argued, to be gone over a second time, thus wasting the time of the court and of the suitors.

justice would be afforded to creditor and debtor: but, is this advantage to be weighed for one moment against the loss of business which it would cause to the courts of law; this is the consideration accordingly which has all along guided the legislature in framing its enactments, and which instead of rational and just laws, has produced abominable incarceration acts, and pretended relief acts. Notwithstanding, the proper course to be adopted must be perfectly obvious to all who will bestow any moderate attention on the subject, we continually behold the disgusting spectacle of senators, supporting the present disgraceful system in reality, while in appearance only are they trying to reform it.

The principle of the act being erroneous and mischievous,* it is not surprising that its application should be attended with all sorts of evil doings; it would be surprising if it were otherwise. The Insolvent Debtors' court being a court of record, has most of the abuses connected with such an establishment, and among others is the inexorable demand for fees on every occasion. Six hundred persons contrive to get good incomes by practising in this court as attornies or agents. The expenses

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Mr. Cullen proposes to reduce the number of Commissioners from seventy to fifteen, who shall devote their whole time to the business, giving them a fixed salary proportioned to their increased labour. This would unquestionably render the Bankrupt Court much more efficient in administering justice, and the public interest requires that the change or something like it should take place; but that which stands in the way of all reforms, stands in the way of this, viz.—vested interests. It cannot be supposed that the Lord Chancellor will be very ready to part with the patronage of fifty-five Commissioners, and if Mr. Cullen wishes to see his suggestions carried into effect,—he must propose in addition to handsome pensions of retreat to the supernumerary Commissioners, and pensions to those who now expect to be made Commissioners, a moderate grant to the Lord Chancellor, say fifty thousand pounds as compensation-money. The theoreticality, wildness, and impracticability of the scheme would then vanish, and honourable gentlemen would say, they thought the number of Bankrupt Commissioners would admit of reduction, without endangering the safety of our judicial establishment. Mr. Cullen has spared no pains in collecting evidence from all quarters, to make out his case; and his pamphlet may be taken as a favourable sign of the times. Here we have a Commissioner of ten years' experience exposing the abuses of his own court, and proposing real reforms: he has even the hardihood, in his long dedicatory letter to Mr. John Smith, to express a profound veneration for Bentham and his writings.

It must be borne in mind, that the objections apply to the *constitution* of the Bankrupt Court, and not to its forms of procedure, many of which are excellent, such as the appearance and examination of the parties themselves.

* This is very like retaining a law which allows villains to break men's heads, and making a law to relieve men with broken heads by allowing them to buy plaisters.

of obtaining a discharge amount to about five and twenty pounds, and yet every body who does obtain his discharge must declare on oath that he has given up all his property: in fact Mr. Jones declares—"It is universally allowed, that the present insolvent act has been productive of more frauds and perjuries than any act that ever was passed in this country, because it is hardly possible for any insolvent to take the benefit of it, without being guilty of perjury."*

For the details of the abuses we must refer to that gentleman's "Observations," and Mr. Dance's clever and independent "Remarks."

To conclude, arrest on mesne process should not be totally abolished; but a power given to the judge to cause any person to be arrested, debtor or not debtor, whenever he thinks there is sufficient ground for such a proceeding; to prevent as far as may be any malicious or unnecessary suit, whether for the recovery of a debt or for any other purpose, the plaintiff should in every case be required to give such security as will satisfy the judge.

Neither should imprisonment for debt at the end of a suit, be totally abolished: but used as a punishment for fraud, extravagance, gross indiscretion, or other culpable misconduct,—the object of punishment being to deter others from committing offences, and not to satisfy the malignity of creditors. Those who advocate the total disuse of imprisonment for debt, say that it is no satisfaction to the creditor, which may be very true but it is frequently required for the satisfaction of the public, as we have pointed out. Hanging a man for murder is no satisfaction to the individual he murdered: the murderer is hanged to prevent other men from committing murders,—and the same reasoning applies to all punishments.

Some apology may be considered necessary for having made so many references to the statutes. It was not we can assure the reader from there being any thing so inviting in examining into such a mass of folly, inconsistency, contradiction and injustice, that induced it, but because unpalatable statements are frequently met by a general denial of their accuracy; and by giving authorities in every case, general denial cannot so easily be given, or if given, be regarded as a sufficient refutation.

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* p. 21.

ART. VII.—*Random Records.* By George Colman the Younger. 2 Vols. 8vo. Colburn and Bentley. 1830.

WHAT antic have we here, in motley livery of red and yellow, with cap on head, and dagger of lath in hand, which he thrusts at every honesty? It is the king's jester, a professed droll, strangely gifted in all grimace, who pulls faces, and sells grins by the yard. For the impudent joke, the abject sycophancy, or the ignorant scoff, he has scarcely an equal. He is of two colours, as becomes his cloth, and can at will enact buffoon or prude; indulgent to his own excesses, and rigidly censorious on the freedoms of others.

Foote has drawn the female Cole, worthy Mistress Cole of *The Minor*, and had he submitted a farce to the pruning of our licenser, he might have seen occasion to mate her with a Colman, whose practice and sermons are no less diametrically at variance. There are persons who grant so much to themselves, that all their denials are reserved for their fellows. A master of Christ's Church used to say that his college should be the greatest depositary of learning in the University, for every one brought a little, and nobody took any away. By the same rule, it is commonly observed, that those who have never employed any modesty in their own government have the largest fund of it in reserve for the censure of the rest of the world. Hence the rigorous fitness of making the licentious a licenser. *Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?* was the question in antiquity, but mankind has, since Juvenal's day, become more patient of the inconsistencies between action and pretension.

We remember to have read some pleasant grossnesses by Mr. Colman, and he has the reputation of being a vastly funny person; but alas! poor Yorick!—we have here his empty skull, sans eyes, sans teeth, a saddening example of what the droll may come to. There is the grinning jaw, but it is of sheer bone, and apter for moralizing than laughter.

If it was desirable, as it might be for certain stations in life, to educate a youth for all meannesses, and the suppression of his better capacities, we should say train him in the *coulisses* of a play-house. Thus give him the habit of considering mainly all vulgar effects, and confound his judgment by that custom of laying much stress on little matters, which so prevails in theatres. There he will learn to fence with gibe and jeer, and to heat his mind with petty squabbles, and form it to despicable intrigue. The habit of looking at all things in false proportions of importance, will grow upon his judgment; and, above all, he will catch the infection of sycophancy, for the mimetic class

may be observed to be generally sycophantic. There are actors, and dramatic authors, *meliori luto compositi,* who have escaped these corruptions, but they are commonly incident to the vocation. An affinity, indeed, seems to act upon the amateurs, and on running over the names of the great theatrical patrons, one cannot but be struck by the general quality of their characters.

Early in life, Mr. Colman's taste and opportunities brought him behind the scenes of the Haymarket theatre; and, accordingly, the book before us smells pestilently of orange peel and the lamp, not the lamp of patient study, but the lamp which typifies the genius of the writer, the oil of adulation, and the flare on trumpery properties; nor is the *fuligo* wanting.

Our wag writes under an obvious persuasion that whatever he puts to paper will be accepted as very clever or very droll; and he relies more on his character for fun with the public than the matter which he offers to it. He presumes on his readers as boys presume on the swans of the Serpentine, when they fling the poor birds any rubbish which they greedily and gratefully swallow, under the persuasion it is the accustomed bounty of bread. Thus the waggish author deals in passages of wearisome flatness, going off at the end of the paragraph with the glance at the pit, expressing "am I not a funny dog?" He plays to the life Mathews's old Scotch lady, fags up a story with great preparation of point, and leaves expectation staring about for the humour.

These court jesters never distinguish the things with which they should not meddle; and Mr. Colman commences with a view of the prosperity of the country, which ministers possibly adopted in the King's Speech. The cause of the vision lies in the dedication.

'*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty.*

'Sir.—To Your Majesty I have the honour of dedicating, by Gracious Permission, these desultory records of my life;—and from Your Majesty's long-continued patronage and favour I, now, chiefly derive "the means whereby I live." With feelings proud of such exalted protection, and a heart most truly grateful for such constant beneficence, I have the honour to be, Sir, Your Majesty's ever dutiful subject, and most devoted servant, GEORGE COLMAN.'

The gratefulness of Mr. Colman's heart produces an effect on his intelligence which has no parallel. Certes, he ought to have been in parliament to correct the believers in some distress, and to confound the asserters of general suffering.

'What revolutions, wars, dismemberment of States, with

"moving accidents by flood and field!"

at home, what shocks, from within and without, has our little Island proudly sustain'd, while scoundrel traitors croak of the ruin which they wish, but are unable, to effect!—Ruin'd are we?—Then what merry undone dogs are Englishmen!!—Ride through our laughing land, and what is now to be observed?—The residences, parks, and wide domains, of the noble and the rich; gay boxes of the tradesmen, snug tenements of the yeomanry, and comfortable cottages of the peasants; morasses drain'd, and wastes cultivated: excellent roads and canals intersecting the country, in every direction; commodious vehicles, high-fed horses, and luxurious inns; hills bored or levell'd, and bridges stretching from bank to bank, where lately the traveller was forced to climb the steep, and ford the torrent, in peril of his life.—Then, drive to the metropolis; be quick, or, before you have got within twenty miles of it, it will have met you half-way;—there you behold art and science improved, with a rapidity beyond the most sanguine expectation; new spacious streets and squares, throng'd with equipages; mansions whose external grandeur betokens the gorgeous decorations to be found within; publick offices rebuilt or beautified; even hospitals, and other structures of charity, towering like palaces; churches multiplied, theatres enlarged, clubs in clusters, hotels in swarms, brilliant assemblies, and Lucullan feasts.—Shops, too, where the costliest articles of home and foreign fabrication are display'd, while the worth of many thousand pounds lies glittering in a show-glass;—and in various districts of the town, where, not long since, a few miserable lamps wink'd at dismal distances, to make "darkness visible," a joyous blaze of gas now gladdens the passing population, and illuminates the night-scene.'—vol. i. p. 17.

An anecdote illustrative of this *mentis gratissimus error*, is told of the little *Duc de Bordeaux*, who observing one of his attendants to be sad inquired, "What grieves you? What can be the matter? Why are you melancholy? For I am quite well."

He continues:

If this be Ruin, thanks to Him, who, under Providence has thus ruin'd us!—Thanks to the King of England, who, during his regency and his reign, has evinced energies, and pursued measures, which, by endearing him to his people, have doubly fortified him in the power of guarding his dominions!—Thanks to the illustrious George the Fourth, and the wisdom of those counsellors whom his judgment selected, in the midst of convulsions which shook the world to its centre, for not only preserving our Constitution, when the storm was at its height, but for enabling us to quell the tempest, and dictate peace to Europe.*

* It is almost redundant to observe, how greatly and triumphantly the zeal and talent of the executive government, the skill and gallantry of our naval and military officers, and the proverbial valour of our men, have

We do not think the note by any means redundant, for, without it, posterity, for which such good things are written, might have inferred that his majesty had accomplished all these wonders *proprio marte,* with his own hand, or his own unaided wisdom, and the labours of George would thus have been accredited superior to those of Hercules. It was absolutely essential to truth to state that the executive, and the army, and the navy had co-operated with the monarch and slightly aided in the results. The king following in the course of his royal father, of obstinate memory, and assisted in some poor degree by a few millions of people put the Bourbons on the throne of France and the debt on the people of England, which last exploit certainly exceeds any recorded in history or fable of antiquity.

A sense of his own importance has moved Mr. Colman to give a particular account of his childhood—What nasty physic he took at one school, and what nice puddings he ate at another, with divers other anecdotes of the same interesting order. With this matter most readers would gladly have dispensed, but we are greatly obliged for an account of Master Colman's introduction to Dr. Johnson.

'On the day of my introduction, he was ask'd to dinner at my father's house, in Soho-square, and the Erudite Savage came a full hour before his time. I happen'd to be with my father, who was beginning his toilette, when it was announced to him that the Doctor had arrived. My sire, being one of the tributary princes who did homage to this monarch, was somewhat flurried; and having dress'd himself hastily, took me with him into the drawing-room.

'On our entrance, we found Johnson sitting in a *fauteuil* of rose-coloured satin, the arms and legs of which (of the chair, remember, not of the Doctor,) were of burnish'd gold; and the contrast of the man with the seat was very striking;—an unwash'd Coal-heaver in a *vis-à-vis,* could not be much more misplaced than Johnson thus deposited. He was dress'd in a rusty suit of brown cloth *dittos,* with black worsted stockings;—his old yellow wig was of formidable dimensions; and the learned head which sustain'd it, roll'd about in a seemingly paralytick motion; but, in the performance of its orbit, it inclined chiefly to one shoulder,—whether to the right or left, I cannot now remember;—a fault never to be forgiven by certain of the *Twaddleri,* who think these matters of the utmost importance.

'He deign'd not to rise on our entrance; and we stood before him while he and my father talk'd.—There was soon a pause in the colloquy; and my father, making his advantage of it, took me by the hand, and said,—"Doctor Johnson, this is a little Colman." The Doctor bestow'd a slight ungracious glance upon me, and, continuing the

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co-operated with the Monarch and his ministers, in establishing the pre-eminence of Great Britain, during the difficulties we have surmounted,

rotary motion of his head, renew'd the previous conversation.—Again there was a pause;—again the anxious father, who had fail'd in his first effort, seized the opportunity for pushing his progeny, with—"This is my son, Doctor Johnson." The great man's contempt for me was now roused to wrath;—and, knitting his brows, he exclaim'd in a voice of thunder, "I *see* him, sir!"'—pp. 107, 108.

Mr. Hood has a clever sketch under the title of 'My Son, Sir,' which hits off the spirit and circumstances of this scene to perfection, striking out the difference between presentation and acceptation.

One would think that Johnson must have penetrated the future Colman when he uttered that "I see him Sir," but Mr. Colman is decidedly of opinion that for this indignity the Doctor "deserved to be quoited down stairs like a shove-groat shilling."

The droll takes his revenge by quizzing the offender's mode of feeding, his manners, and style of dress, and he gives the finishing stroke to the odium of the character by describing him as "a learned Attila, king of the Huns, come to subjugate polished society."

Think of that, good people; a monster come to subjugate polished society; come to tyrannize over gentlemen in well-fashioned coats and decorous small-clothes. What are Ramblers and Rasselases compared with this mighty mischief. Consider the great value of the members of polished society who sit discreetly and make handsome bows, and the enormous evil of shocking their tastes or troubling their self-complacency by the association of a mere genius. There is this single advantage, that for one Johnson we have a hundred thousand of those polished things, that manner it in drawing-rooms and at dining-tables.

Our droll obviously looks at mankind with the eye of a dancing-master. Speaking of some French regiments of the old regime he observes, "Each of those corps was excellently appointed, and the officers belonging to them were the *élites* of well-bred military men. How different from those who so soon preceded them, the *canaille* who started into command in the Revolutionary army!"

And who spread the terror of their arms over Europe, having been thought not so well bred as their noble predecessors, considerably better skilled in their business of fighting. These men, like Johnson, fell under the reproach of disturbing polished societies, and giving the fine gentlemen of the world extremely painful shocks and disagreeable sensations.

The stupidity and ignorance of this man's sneers are equally conspicuous. In volume i. p. 147, after quoting some bald composition he observes,

'Not to criticise too minutely the above barbarism of Messrs. Daniel De Foe, Richardson, and other "Gentlemen of the Literary World," their account is, I trust, sufficient for my present purpose of explanation.'

And lest his opinion of De Foe should not be sufficiently indicated by these expressions, he in a note describing him as 'the celebrated Daniel de Foe' prints the celebrated in italics with the intention of irony! Has the droll to learn that the writer whom he thus notices is second only to Swift in excellence of English composition, to say nothing of a skill in the management of fiction even yet unrivalled. In another place to display his taste he writes thus of Beaumarchais' Figaro.

'There is a soliloquy in the above-mention'd play, spoken by Figaro, which delighted the audience, and is nearly as long as some of our modern sermons.—How comes it that Frenchmen, who are reckon'd a much more volatile nation than we are, not only tolerate, but admire, upon the stage, long-winded speeches, and listen eagerly to narratives, and declamations, which make sober John Bull either hiss or go to sleep?'—vol. ii. pp. 229, 230.

This judicious criticism applies to the well-known soliloquy of Figaro, the wit of which is the delight of all people, of all nations, and furnishes such frequent matter of allusion and topics of illustration.

Beaumarchais' method of writing was not indeed precisely that of Colman, who having succeeded in one farce, thus explains his feelings of encouragement and indicates the mode in which he proposed to push his success:

'I conceived that, having once felt the pulse of the publick, I was thoroughly acquainted with its constitution;—that I had taken measure of the Town's taste, and knowing, now, exactly how to fit it, I could lead the play-going world in a string.—"Oho!" said I mentally, "if Two to One has tickled them so much, I shall tickle them a great deal more the next time."'—vol. ii. p. 274.

It is thus that instead of leading the public taste (for which indeed they have no power), our poor wags servilely apply themselves to following it, and write farces to fit the town's fancy, as tailors make clothes. Measure is taken of the public taste; how significant is the phrase of the *metier*. Imagine the sweet pursuit of groping the gross play-going public for the discovery of the ticklish place of its taste, and then rejoicing in the great discovery, and shaping the humour with mechanical exactness to the aptitude for its reception. Can it be wondered that wit is low where such is the scheme of composition.

A piece called "Turk and no Turk" was the result of Mr. Col-

man's glad discovery of the set of the public taste, and though he confesses it to have been puerile and contemptible, it never occurs to him that the plan was as despicable as the performance.

Our facetious person's history of his productions is interrupted by his father's illness, of which he gives a curiously characteristic account. The elder Mr. Colman was seized at Margate with a paralytic fit. The consequences of this attack seem to have been misrepresented, and our author labours with great earnestness to prove that his father was deranged, but not imbecile in understanding. Having instanced proofs of lucid intervals, he says with a warmth the reason of which is not intelligible.

'Did all this look like a gradual descent to drivelling? a term, which let me be permitted to acknowledge, I cannot quote when applied to my father, without impatience and disgust."—vol. ii. p. 288.

Why the idea of imbecility should be so much more offensive than that of madness, it is not easy to perceive, unless indeed the illustriousness of examples reconciles to the latter sad calamity.

Mr. Colman went down to Margate on his father's illness, and to shew how something pleasant can be made of the most unhappy circumstances, he amused himself with quizzing the physician and apothecary who attended the invalid. Having committed the mistake of bringing down to Margate the treasurer of the theatre instead of a physician, our author sent back his mis-chosen travelling companion for Doctor Warren, in default of whom he returned with Doctor Harvey. The appearance of the medical succour gives occasion to some funny observations, which prove that such was the abundance and vigour of the younger Mr. Colman's humour, that under no circumstances could his apprehension of the ridiculous be blunted. With the tear in his filial eye he could see the grotesque in the succouring physician.

'This *Locum tenens* of Warren was Doctor Harvey; the Registrar, I believe, at that time, of the College of Physicians; a gentleman of repute in his profession, and of formality in his appearance:—he seem'd to cherish those outward personal dignities, which had, even then, almost disappear'd, of the old-school doctors; and wore a grave suit (in which he might have gone to court, instead of coming to Margate), with his hair in a bag. Jewell and he form'd a grotesque pair of travelling companions;—the Treasurer's *nankeens,* and blue silk stockings, which I have already celebrated in my journey to Scotland, were a fine contrast to the Registrar's full-dress'd *sad-colour'd* clothes, his stand-up collar, his three cut steel buttons on the cuffs of

his coat, and his three more, on the flaps of each pocket, over his rump.'—vol. ii. pp. 291, 292.

When a man has only a doctor and apothecary to quiz, he must not be very nice in his jokes, he must say what he can laugh at, not what he would laugh at, and consequently Mr. Colman may be excused for the pass of pleasantry to which he was reduced, for the badgering of the man of medicine at Margate.

'If my attempts at pleasantry were unacceptable, or incomprehensible, to the Doctor, they were better understood, but much worse received, by the Apothecary;—I beg pardon,—I should have put Surgeon before Apothecary, and Accoucheur after it,—for so did this personage designate himself.—He was a constant resident at Margate, and kept one of those show-shops for chymicals and galenicals which you pass, at night, in peril of being blinded by the glare of cochineal, and other dies, from huge globular glass-bottles, stuck up in the windows;—while those in the dark, who espy you at a distance, take you for a red man, or a green, or a blue, or an orange-tawny.—His name was *Silver*,—and, when things began to go well, he dropt in only twice in the twenty-four hours, to inquire—"how are we to-day?" and "how do we feel ourselves this evening?"—previously to this, he had been in daily attendance for hours together.

'I had but one solitary jest to shoot off against this Knight of the Pestle;—but, from its repetition, and its absurdity, it excited great irritation in the party at whom it was levell'd:—It consisted simply in applying to *Mr. Silver* the old proverb, which states that "all is not *Gold* that glitters,"—and, in pronouncing it according to the orthography of former days;—of which we have innumerable instances in the old Authors;—particularly in Shakspeare, who introduces this very adage in his Merchant of Venice, where the Prince of Morocco reads a scroll contain'd in one of Portia's caskets, beginning with

"All that Glisters is not gold."

'Wherever I met Mr. Silver,—whether I met him in my father's chamber,—or popp'd upon him at the turning of a corner in Margate, which happen'd at least ten times a day,—I was always sure to salute him with,—"*Mr. Silver*,—all is not *gold*," &c. &c., and he was as sure to answer, in great wrath,—"Sir, you have told me that before." He must have hated me in his heart;—had I "needed poison," he would have been not only "the caitiff wretch to sell it me," but to give it me for nothing.—Between my extreme nonsense, and his being in a passion at it, it may be difficult to say which was the greatest fool of the two.—vol. ii. pp. 295—297.

There can be no doubt of which was the greater fool and the most unmannerly coxcomb to boot, but surely sufficient for the day was the nonsense thereof, and why should the absurd grossness be thrust before the public, who can have no

interest in all the idle and coarse jokes in which it may have pleased the humour of Mr. Colman to indulge.

The wag promises us some more volumes of Random Records, and we promise not to read them, as we prefer reserving ourselves for 'Grimaldi's Commentaries,' or, the 'Secret History of Richardson's Merry Andrew.'

Art. VIII.—*On Financial Reform by Sir Henry Parnell, Bart. M. P.* 8vo. pp. 310. Murray, 1830.

IF the late Finance Committee whose announcement awakened so much expectation—whose labours elicited so many useful facts, and whose extinction caused so much disappointment—had led to no other public service than the production of this volume by its chairman, that Committee was not instituted in vain. The work is a striking monument of the zeal, industry and talents of the author, and an evidence of remarkable aptitude for the honourable situation which he was called on to fill. It has thrown out many important suggestions of which a wise government will hasten to avail itself, and has put into the hands of the public invaluable materials, by which to estimate at their true amount the professions of friendly dispositions, towards economy and reform which now and then fall from the lips of the great state authorities. Sir Henry Parnell is an excellent example of a new order of statesmen; statesmen less disposed to dazzle a deceived and delighted auditory by the fine and flighty coruscations of eloquence, than to fix in their minds those quiet truths, those arithmetical and logical deductions, which keep constantly in view the cheapness and the goodness of that machinery which is called government. He has learnt that, though *within* the honourable House, the honourable occupant may feel a far deeper interest in the personal jarrings of any two of its members than in the fate of nations, or the questions which concern the whole of the human race, *without* that honourable House, a very different estimate is formed of the duties of the Senatorial office. Weary of the squabbles of parties struggling for power, awakened to a conviction that the weight of the burthen and not the name of the driver, is the real question for the poor suffering beast; the people, they, the people, have seen the confusion of the different aristocratical factions with uncommon content, and know that this chaos of sinister interests only leaves a surer, a safer, and a straighter way for those few public men, increas-

ing, however, daily, "who have made unto themselves a law," the law of useful, individual, independent exertion; and who keep in their eye the great maxim that it is their duty to provide the greatest portion of national felicity, at the smallest rate of national expense; Sir Henry Parnell's book is from beginning to end, an application of this important principle. It would have been a gratification to transfer in a complete analysis, had space allowed it, the whole of its contents to these pages; but the topics of the volume and the name of its author will undoubtedly secure for it a great portion of attention—and the meed of public approval will doubtless encourage and cheer Sir Henry onwards in his career of efficient usefulness. He may be assured that his exertions find their recompense now; and will have their triumph hereafter. The power that resists improvement is weakening; the power that demands improvement is strengthening from day to day, and the chinks in the rotten old edifice of corruption not only evidence its tottering character, but let in the light to guide and to encourage those who are engaged in endeavouring to remove the rubbish which has been gathered up by time.

No book ever appeared on financial topics, bearing with it a greater claim to attention than this. When, on former occasions, such productions have emanated from any part of the ruling few, their motives and interests must have been hostile to the exposure of abuses; if they have come from any of the subject many, their means of information are necessarily limited. But here are the statements and suggestions of an able, disinterested, and pains-taking man, grounded upon evidence of the highest official character. This volume may be received as that which would have been the Report of a Finance Committee composed of those to whom alone such inquiries ought to have been delegated. It shows in all its departments how little has been done, how much remains to be done; and it gives to that discontent which before was the vague murmuring of imperfectly instructed opinion, the irresistible evidence of dates, figures and facts. Sir Henry's volume naturally branches into the two great departments of Income and Expenditure, and it closes by summary suggestions of practical reforms. In gathering together, condensing and arranging his various and complicated data, Sir Henry has shown most commendable diligence and skill, and we can hardly do better than rapidly glance over the different chapters, referring to the volume itself for their arithmetical details which are, in all appropriate cases, diligently given.

It is certain that the demands of the revenue must be sup-

plied by those who have property, and not by those who have none. The great mass of the labouring poor, can only be enabled to pay an increased rate of taxation by an increased rate of wages, so that, after all, the means of taxation must be furnished by the wealthier classes; and it follows that the farther taxation is removed from capital, and the more indirect its operation, the greater must be the cost of its collection, or in other words the greater must be the sum lost in gathering it together; and the greater the gross amount required for the services of the state. Nothing can be more unequal than the pressure, nothing more expensive than the collection, of revenue from the great masses of population. If the labourer is to pay one shilling, the capitalist will have to supply him with much more than one shilling, in order to make up for the waste and profits of capital while passing upwards and downwards through so many hands; downwards from the capitalist to the labourer, and upwards again from the labourer to the tax-gatherer. The ultimate saving to the community by a system of direct taxation would be incalculable. The waste of labour and of wealth consequent on the cumbrous machinery of indirect taxation; the impossibility of tracking the consequences of its operation; the quantity of corrupt instruments which its numerous agents necessarily places at the disposal of the executive, all make it extremely important to the public prosperity that the public revenue should, as far as possible, be collected by an immediate application to capital in the hands of its possessors. It is under the covering of indirect taxation that monopoly with all its miserable consequences is allowed to stalk over the land. It is only because the evil is not discovered in its natural hideousness that a bread-tax in the shape of Corn-laws, or a tea-tax in the form of an East India Company's charter, is allowed to carry on its inordinate exactions. Let the wants of the state be supplied from the property of its members, without any circumambulations. If, for the public service, the people are to be burthened with fifty millions of taxes, let it be openly and directly taken from them, and let them be relieved from the abstraction of fifty millions more, which is to be accomplished by the concealed operation of restriction and prohibition for the benefitting of the few and to the boundless prejudice of the many, for as Sir Henry very properly says:

'If the effect of the corn laws is, at least, to raise the price of corn five shillings a quarter, this advance on the quantity annually consumed, taken at 50,000,000 quarters creates a charge on the public of 12,500,000*l.* a year. If the protecting duties on East Indian and foreign sugars advance the price of sugar only one penny a pound,

this advance on the quantity annually consumed, namely, 380,000,000 pounds, is a tax on the public of 1,500,000*l.* a-year. If the East India Company's monopoly makes the price of tea (exclusive of duty) double what it is at New York and Hamburgh, as is the case, it imposes a tax of at least 2,000,000*l.* a-year in the form of increased price; and the monopoly of the timber trade enjoyed by the ship-owners and Canada merchants, costs the public at least 1,000,000*l.* a-year; so that by these monopolies and protections, 17,000,000*l.* a-year are taken from the pockets of the people, just as if corn, sugar, tea, and timber, were taxed to that amount, and the produce paid into the Exchequer.'

Sir Henry's views of the prospects of the country are by no means discouraging; and it is clear to us that with the due husbandry of the resources of the state, and the removal of the barriers which prevent labour from finding its fit outlets, there is no difficulty in our financial situation which may not be ultimately overcome. The simple fact, that the national income at this moment probably exceeds three hundred millions, proves that an energetic effort to diminish the amount of the national debt, accompanied by a real economy in the disposal of the Public revenue, would relieve the country from the inordinate pressure of taxation—without any of those fictions and frauds, which have been so long and busily palmed off on the world, as remedies for national complaints,—frauds, it cannot be too often repeated, which might shift the existing distress to other shoulders, but would only ultimately aggravate its amount, and leave the Parliament which should propose and the People which should adopt such short-sighted projects with stained reputation—broken strength—and a yet darker futurity.

Sir Henry objects, and with great reason, to the taxes on raw materials—the amount of which exceeds six millions sterling. This species of imposts is an impediment to production, and attacks the earliest development of industry. It is a great hinderance to foreign commerce, and a great oppression upon native labour.—Nor are the taxes raised on manufactures, the nett produce of which amounts to nearly two millions, less objectionable. Of the gross sum collected in this way, nearly half is returned in the shape of bounties and drawbacks, making the cost of collection and return a pure waste of the public resources. Attached to these taxes are all the annoyances produced by the constant *surveillance* or *espionage* of the excise system,—while some of them, as, for example, the tax on paper, have an evil moral influence by increasing the price of books, maps and other instruments of instruction, or, in other words, by throwing obstacles in the way of knowledge, whose consequences are injurious alike to the virtue and the happiness

of the commonwealth. Their effects on the prosperity of the manufactures themselves are equally instructive. Take glass bottles as one of the manufactures selected for taxation. In 1793, when the tax was 4*s*. per cwt., the average of four years was a production of 881,000 cwts.—In 1825 with a tax of 8*s*. per cwt. the same average gave only 697,000 cwts. and this, notwithstanding the great increase of the population.

It is now pretty well understood, that the imposition of an inordinately high duty is the offer of premium to the fraudulent trader,—and it is also certain, that an extravagant taxation of any article will occasion, not a profit, but a loss to the revenue. There is in all things a restorative principle which at some point or other checks mischievous legislation. The common interests, if they cannot flow in the channels marked out for them by restrictions and interferences, find in the evasion of the laws an outlet and a protection. In countries where fiscal regulations prevent the introduction of foreign enjoyments, the smuggler is considered as a public benefactor; he is the chivalrous and heroic adventurer, by whose toils and perils the happiness of the community is provided for. A *contrabandista* in Spain, for example, is a generous Rob Roy, without any of the stains of violence upon him. There is no error more frequent, nor more fatal in the calculations of governments, than the supposition that excessive duties can be friendly to large revenues. A low duty not only shuts out the smuggler from the competition for a portion of its amount, but it extends consumption at the same time. Sir Henry has gathered together a multitude of facts demonstrative of this proposition,—one will suffice.—For four years before 1798, the duty being 8*d*. per lb., the average consumption of tobacco was eight millions of lbs.—In four years to 1829, with a duty of 3*s*. per lb., the consumption—*i. e.* the consumption which pays duty—has fallen to four millions. Had the duty been lowered,—had it even been stationary, there is reason to believe, the consumption would not have been less at the present time than 16,000,000 lbs. The motive to smuggling, of course, rises with every rise in duties, and at the present moment, it appears that no less than 700,000*l*. per annum is spent in the attempt—the vain attempt—to prevent the introduction of contraband goods.

As the powers of legislation are almost exclusively vested in the landed aristocracy, it was to be expected that they would obtain for their monopoly the greatest protection, and visit their foreign rivals with the highest rates of duties. And such has been their conduct. Except in a few articles competition is shut out, and the difference between the English prices and the average

prices elsewhere, glides not into the coffers of the state, but into the pockets of the landlords. The evil and suffering therefore are not to be estimated. On the corn, butter, cheese, &c. imported, we can easily calculate the duties received by the government, and the taxation inflicted on the people; but the amount of taxation levied by the landlords through the instrumentality of their monopoly is beyond the reach of even an approximating estimate. Manufactures have happily been favoured with a smaller portion of protecting care, but it may be some satisfaction for those who have been so loud in their clamour against Free Trade, so ready to attribute all existing suffering to its operation, to be told that the whole amount of foreign manufactures imported into England since 1825 amounts but to a few days consumption, [p. 73]; should they not be able to understand the undoubted fact that even these few days' consumption has been paid for by some other sort of merchandise leaving of course to the exporters and the importers the average rate of profit. It is a sad truth to learn that the whole of the amount of imports and exports between France and England does not exceed three millions a year. We believe that under a better system they would speedily deposit more than this amount in annual profit. As evidence of the effect of the reduction of taxes in increasing consumption, Sir Henry quotes the important testimony of the fourth report of the Committee of Finance, that though the same rate of consumption would on the reduced duties have left a difference of more than nine millions; the real difference turned out to be only 3,300,000*l.* and he suggests that if duties were levelled on foreign agricultural produce, for revenue only and not for protection, that some millions might be annually collected from this source.

After stating his opinion that a considerable reduction ought to take place in the public expenditure, and after exposing many of the fallacies which are brought forward to oppose retrenchments, Sir Henry proceeds to examine in detail the different departments which present opportunities for carrying his economical views into complete effect.

The collection of the revenue is the first topic, and he commences with the extraordinary fact that in 1806, fifty eight and a quarter millions of revenue were collected at a charge of 2,800,000*l.* while in 1826 a revenue of less than fifty-five millions, cost more than four millions for its collection. The charge is therefore seven and a half per cent. Of the Customs more than nineteen millions are collected on fifty-six articles alone, while five-hundred and ten articles only produce about 600,000*l.* Sir Henry suggests the repeal of the duties on these latter, the col-

lection of which is necessarily expensive, and we think he is right. And in the same way there are sundry small sources of revenue from the Excise, producing about 150,000*l.* which are topics of great vexation, and which might certainly be relieved from the visitation of these laws.

The system of bounties is manifestly bad. It is an encouragement to transfer capital from a more to a less advantageous employment—it is a tax upon the public for the encouragement of imprudent speculation. They cost the nation about 400,000*l.* a year, and it were well if the nation were relieved from it. If these adventures cannot be carried on with profit, they should be abandoned. The adventurers have no claim on the public purse for making these losses good, or for adding to their gains.

The charges for managing the public expenditure amount to about 780,000*l.* per annum. The expense of the Treasury, now about 80,000*l.*, has nearly doubled since 1797. The Exchequer, which annually costs 48,000*l.*, should be immediately blended with the Treasury. It serves no one purpose which might not be properly transferred thither. The Bank of England receives about 270,000*l.* per annum for paying the dividends; an extravagant and onerous bargain, which sir Henry appears to think will be got rid of at the expiration of the Bank Charter. Of the Army Extraordinaries sir Henry says:

"The vote of parliament for the Army Extraordinaries is explained, as "not being matter of previous estimate or specific grant,"* such as is contained in the Army Estimates. It includes, among other items, the pay, clothing, allowances, recruiting, &c. for the forces serving in India; and, although the sum annually voted is no more than 800,000*l.* or 900,000*l.*, the payments that are made, and stated in the annual account, which the paymaster of the forces lays before parliament, commonly amounted to 3,000,000*l.*† This arises, in part, from payments made nominally for army extraordinaries during the year, comprehending a considerable number which do not belong to that head of service, but which are of the nature of temporary advances for other services provided for by parliament, and which it is convenient to pay, in the first instance, under the name of army extraordinaries, and afterwards to adjust by repayments from specific grants.‡ The consequence of thus making the paymaster of the forces pay for those services that are not belonging to the army is, the producing annually to parliament of an account with a perfectly false title. This scheme of army extraordinaries serves to conceal from parliament and the public a great deal of wasteful and illegal expenditure: for instance, the sums paid at home to colonial agents, and the sums drawn from

* Report of Messrs. Brooksbank and Beltz on Public Accounts, p. 55
† Ib. p. 53. ‡ Ib., p. 3,

abroad for colonial expenses, although they are wholly for civil colonial purposes, are paid as army extraordinaries, and without any previous vote of parliament; in point of fact, as what constitutes, in reality, the vote of the army extraordinaries, is the balance of the account of every expense called by this name, and any expense may be so called, there is no kind of expense that may not be covered by this sort of parliamentary sanction.'—pp. 142—144.

Surely such a state of things as this demands revision and reform. At every step of inquiry evidence of the most lamentable want of aptitude crowds on the attention. Our legislators, for the most part, exercise their authority by virtue of birth, or station: their right to govern being the same as that by which they hold their coronets or their acres, without any even the least evidence required of their fitness for so important, so delicate a trust. And in most of the departments, as if for the purpose of keeping the heads in countenance, the same incapacity and ignorance distinguish the subordinate functionaries. What private establishment, possessing the meanest machinery of clerks and assistants, would not feel itself ashamed, if its accounts were kept in the confused and slovenly way which disgraces many of our public departments. Who but the half-informed blunderers who gave evidence before the Finance Committee would doubt the practicability of applying the simple principles of book-keeping to the records of the means and expenditure of the state. No doubt the gentlemen of the Exchequer thought their notched sticks as good as any other instrument of figures, and there were those who mourned over that impeachment of 'ancestors wisdom,' which, not very long ago, flung the notched faggots into the fire.

England,—commercial and intelligent England,—is perhaps at this moment the only civilized country in Europe whose public accounts are not kept in the simple and intelligible forms universally adopted by commercial men. What, as respects its money matters, is a government, but a vast commercial concern? Under a properly-organized system the balance-sheet of the chancellor of the Exchequer should be produceable from day to day, as clear, as easily understood, as that of a banker in Lombard-street. Instead of inquiry following inquiry in order to obtain a result, instead of elaborate investigations, and uncertainty after all, his ledger should present at any time, and at all times, the real state of income and expenditure; a uniform system should pervade all the departments, for the variety of detail and the dissimilarity of operations in the different offices have nothing whatever to do with their ultimate journal and ledger. Let the matter be mystified as it may, receipt and expenditure, debtor

and creditor, will be seen to make the sums total at last. The chapter of sir Henry on the management of the public expenditure, is full of evidence of the imperfect and unsatisfactory way in which the accounts are kept of many of the public offices, and gives the weight of his authority to the sensible and simple suggestion that the public accounts should, without exception, be submitted to the double-entry system; and that a uniform plan should pervade all the departments, superseding the incongruous and discordant methods which have been introduced into many of them.

The excessive proportion of superintending clerks in the Dock-yard—the improvidence of allowing the navy and victualling and ordnance board to manufacture articles for the public service, the want of security for large sums of money placed at the disposal of sundry individuals* for contingent services pass under sir Henry's revision, and lead to valuable suggestions.

The charge of the civil government is about two millions, of which, about one half goes to his majesty's civil list. On the whole, sir Henry insists that 150,000*l.* might be saved. In about thirty years the offices of the then Secretaries of State have increased in cost, from 58,000*l.* to 137,000*l.* per annum. Why, he asks, is the office of lord lieutenant in Ireland continued, which costs 100,000*l.* a year? Indeed it is hard to say. On the question of pensions and superannuations, sir Henry concurs with Mr. Bentham. The state stands in the same situation as any other employer, and ought to pay its servants at the same rate; what merchant thinks of guaranteeing a salary to his clerks when they are too old for service?† The clerks of government should, like others, make out of their gains in active service a provision for the necessities of illness, or of age. It is a foolish error to suppose that a high rate of wages is a security for better service; on the contrary the minimum of reward will, for the most part, produce the maximum of exertion. As most of the salaries of the public servants were raised on the plea that the value of money was lessened,—it is but fair that all future nominations, at least, should be made at a reduced rate, equivalent to the improved value of the currency.

The great sources of expense on the army and navy—to the

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* In 1827, the sum which was at the disposal of Mr. Sarjeant was, 2,000,000*l.*; he has sometimes a balance of 250,000*l.* at the bank. He can draw by his own draft for any sum he pleases; his clerk has the same power, and they do not give security." p. 188.

† The amount of civil super-annuations has increased from 94,550*l.*, which it was in 1810, to 480,081*l.* its present amount.—p. 209. [a monstrous accumulation!]

army more than fifty thousand men have been added since 1792. To add—add—add—to the public burthen would appear to be of all things the easiest—but to diminish them is met by asseverations of impossibility—clamorous—loud—repeated;—because we *are* at war is the reason during hostilities—because we *may be* at war again, the reason when hostilities are over, that our military establishments are not lessened. To argue from what *is* or from what *is not*, would seem equally to serve the turn of those who oppose retrenchment. And so of the navy—we had enormous fleets, because the enemy was to be subdued—but notwithstanding "the glorious fact announced to the committee of Finance by sir T. B. Martin, that England *had* swept from the face of the ocean the fleets of her enemies" sixty-three millions have been since granted by Parliament—and "the force now employed if contrasted with former periods of peace, approaches more to a war than a peace establishment." [p. 227.] Similar observations apply also to the ordnance department.

Sir Henry recommends the abandonment of the grants of 400,000*l.* per annum for suppressing the slave trade, which are asserted to be a total failure as to their objects. He suggests, and with great propriety, the reduction of the 4 per cent stock at the earliest opportunity, and the repeal of three millions of taxes, instead of the application of that surplus amount to the payment of the national debt, by the sinking fund. This latter suggestion the government has had the wisdom to adopt.

As to our colonies we have often had occasion to bring forward, and hope again to repeat our objections to the system *in toto;* that system is a source of manifold corruption and an instrument of immense direct and indirect taxation. Our colonies for the most part are impediments to commerce, drawbacks on prosperity, pumps for extracting the property of the many for the benefit of the few, the strong holds and asylums of despotism and misrule. If they were allowed to open their ports to all nations the evil would be lessened; it will never be wholly removed till the government of the colonies passes into the hands of their inhabitants.

Sir Henry anticipates considerable financial assistance from Ireland. The prospects appear, however, rather vague, in the run of competition with England; and looking to the character of the government of Dublin, and even to the unsound views of most of those whose opinion is most influential, as to the sources of error in our political treatment of Ireland; we see little present prospect of any considerable present improvement.

Sir Henry suggests both with a view to present relief, and to future contingencies,

'1st. Such a revision and reform of taxes, and of commercial regulations, as shall remove all existing obstructions in the way of extending industry and national wealth; so that the sources of war-taxes may be increased as much as possible.

'2ndly. Such a revision and reform of the public expenditure as shall carry retrenchment into every part of it, and reduce the peace establishment to the lowest point consistent with the public service.

'3rdly. The imposing of an income tax of one and a half or two per cent, in order that one of ten or twelve per cent may be brought into full operation the moment a war becomes inevitable.

'4thly. The funding of at least two-thirds of the unfunded debt.'—p. 284.

Sir Henry points out the enormous losses suffered by borrowing a nominal capital at a fixed rate of interest, instead of a real capital at the current rate of interest, and suggests the creating long annuities for the unfunded debt, the 4 per cent, and afterwards for the 3½ per cent, stock; these are topics worthy of very serious consideration.

In the power we again repeat of the British nation to surmount its financial difficulties, we entertain, with our excellent financier, unbounded confidence, and shall conclude with a word or two of warning and of counsel.

Let the nation not forget that the government is only the Treasurer and the Trustee of the national taxation; that it has no right to claim one farthing nor the fraction of a farthing except for some purpose of public good; that it is bound to give satisfactory reasons why the revenue is gathered in one form in preference to another, and why applied to one purpose in preference to another. In judging of the merits of any system of rule, let the people apply to all the details of its administration the principles which wise and honest men apply to their individual concerns. Under any circumstances they will pay a high price for their government: let them take care that the high-priced commodity is at least worth something; and that they are not put off with a bane or a bauble, instead of a benefit. As in their private transactions they learn to be on their guard against all dishonest puffing, so in public matters let them especially beware that the flash words of 'dignity,' 'station in society' and such like, are not used merely as instruments of depredation, or employed as shields over depredations committed. Let them in short, look closely into the affairs which so nearly concern them, and as an important step to their relief let them encourage by their approbation, and second by their co-operation, such valuable labours as are represented in Sir Henry Parnell's volume, to which again and again we call the attention of our readers.

ART. IX.—*Lawrie Todd, or the Settlers in the Woods.* By John Galt, Author of Annals of the Parish, &c. &c. Colburn and Bentley. London. 1830. 3 Vols. Post 8vo.

LAWRIE Todd is the supposed auto-biography of a humble Scotsman, who rose to opulence as a settler in the woods of America. If it were not too evidently the composition of a practised writer and a man of genius, it would be easy to mistake it for the production of the hero of the story: so minute is it, so real, so consistent, so probable, so like the writing of a man who is looking into himself for his original.

If the disappointment of any man could give us pleasure, we should have rejoiced at the circumstances which brought back Mr. Galt to his native shores, rejoicing in his natural powers of invention, and enriched with his experience in the New World. We missed this truest of painters of national manners, and though his subject was always Scotsmen and Scotland, there is variety enough in that interesting country to furnish inexhaustible materials for him who has the gift of observation. The truth is, that the groundwork of the novelist, the passions of human nature, are pretty much the same all over the world; it is the colouring which differs, and which may be said to represent, with a few accidental effects of light and shade, all that we mean by national characteristics. Mr. Galt is an artist as profound in his general knowledge of the workings of the human heart, as he is familiar with those modifications of and variations from the general standard which occur among his shrewd and logomachical countrymen. This mastery over his subject, enables him to venture on new ground: he is as much at home with his Scotsman in America as in Peebles: the transplantation only shews the peculiarities likely to be developed by a new soil.

In the former works of this author, it is probable that he looked for no higher end than to amuse his readers, and gratify himself by the exercise of his own powers: but in Lawrie Todd, it is impossible not to remark that a more practical view has been entertained. He does not tell us that Lawrie Todd is to be considered the settler's *Vade mecum* or American Emigrant's guide; but we have no doubt that the fiction has been intended to be subservient to such a purpose. It is remarkable how similar modes of genius fall into similar modes of operation. Defoe's views in fabricating his fictions, was simply that of instruction, that, which with others assumed the principal importance, was with him secondary: in order to instruct the world in the nature of the civil war, he naturally fell into the

memoirs of a Cavalier, and had he had to furnish instructions to settlers in new countries, he would undoubtedly, as in his Robinson Crusoe, have invented a Lawrie Todd. And it is singular enough, that Lawrie Todd has his original as well as Robinson Crusoe his Selkirk. We are told by the author, that his work is founded upon the memoirs of a real and remarkable person with whom he is acquainted; some of whose original letters he has added by way of appendix to the end of the book. The author has also stated in his preface, that he has had in view the information necessary to an emigrant, and has further told us, that such as is to be found in his book may be relied on as authentic.

Lawrie Todd begins his life with that epoch of it which an autobiographer can only know by report, his birth: a man generally, however, has the facts connected with it on such undeniable evidence, that he may be allowed to speak of it as a circumstance of which he is cognizant. Born in a little village on the Esk, the son of a pious father, by trade a nail-maker, Lawrie lost his mother in his infancy, and with her care, he lost his strength and infant robustness. It appears that he narrowly escaped being a cripple from bad nursing; and that if he was not actually a dwarf, he never rose above the lowest standard of men. This diminutiveness is much dwelt upon all through the work, and it appears to have been the secret spring of many of the characteristics and peculiarities of the future Lawrie Todd. As the key to Byron's oddities was in his club-foot, so did those of Lawrie grow out of his littleness. It is probable, that were men looked into more narrowly, personal formation would be found as commonly modifying character as more far-fetched influences. The greatness of little men is as proverbial as the pride and loftiness of bearing in hunchbacks whom the vulgar promote to the hereditary legislature under the title of my lord. Be this as it may, Lawrie dwells with apparent truth on the influence of his crippled and curtailed proportions on his infant mind; and finds in it the parent of much reflection, and the spring of much ambition, not to call it conceit. In this early part of the work, there is much to be pleased with: humble domestic life in Scotland is so marked by strong affections, piety and principle, that we never fail to be interested in the pictures of it; and how many, and how admirable are the painters of it—Galt, Wilson, the author of Mansie Wauch rise instantly to the recollection. The earliest event which remained in the memory of the young Lawrie, was the death of his mother; this misfortune, greatest of all in the poor man's cottage, is touched upon slightly, but so marked by

a true home stroke, that it will not be forgotten by the most careless reader.

'"I was then in my third year: of herself I bear no recollection, but the death-bed spectacle is still vivid. I yet see the family weeping around her—and I hear a fearful sound: my father gives her drink from a small white porringer which, long afterwards, as it stood untouched in the cupboard, I regarded with awe and sorrow, I knew not wherefore. He softly withdraws his arm from behind her—he rises from the bed-side—the sound is gone—and she moves no more,"'—i. p. 3.

His father was a pious, upright and good-natured man, who shewed that he also possessed good sense, by sending his hopeful son to America: for Lawrie, as he grew up, was moved to reform the parliament, joined the society of the Friends of the People, and managed to secure his own apprehension for high treason. His father took this as a hint, that America was a fitter scene for him than Scotland, and sent him and his brother packing with twenty shillings in their joint purse for the city of New York. On the passage, Lawrie gave signs of the spirit within him: he composes differences, regulates the mess, and seems to have been elected a kind of moderator of the goodly crew of Scotch emigrants, with which the vessel was charged, and of whom he does not fail to give some characteristic touches of description. Theology, after treacle and fresh water, seems to have been the principal source of discord, which was, however, partly got under by a royal "ordonnance" of the captain, who took up the matter *en roi.*

'"We had men" says Lawrie, "of diverse religions and of no religion; and it was not uncommon, when the wind was fair and the weather fine, to see an anti-burger minister, one of whom was on board, holding forth on the quarter-deck and singing the old version of the psalms of David, and at the same time a batch of eight or ten universalists chaunting the Winchester hymns on the forecastle. At last their controversies grew to such a pitch, that the captain was obliged to put a stop to their strivings, by declaring the Presbyterian religion to be the established religion of his ship."'—s. I. p. 33—4.

The two brothers arrived off New York, with the better part of a crown remaining of the "pound which their loving father had bestowed upon them, with the tear in his eye, and his blessing." But besides these treasures, he had endowed his only sons with an old family chest, containing a great many useful articles of dress, and other needs. Among these was a bottle of wine, and the management of this bottle of wine may be considered a good augury of future success.

'"While we were conversing," writes Mr. Todd, "a passenger who had been on shore returned, and having changed a guinea, he

paid me six-pence which he owed me for a glass of wine to one of his children when it was sick. At the time there was none but ours remaining on board, all that had been provided for the cabin passengers was drank out: we had been then eight weeks at sea. I should here note as a matter worthy of remark, and creditable both to my brother and me, although we could afford to bring with us but one bottle of wine, we yet, by a judicious economy, had the last wine in the ship.'" —i. p. 38—9.

Nail-makers, for such was the trade of both the youths were in request: employment was quickly found and the career of Lawrie Todd in America began. Labour produced dollars, and dollars begat the idea of a hardware store: the desire both to make nails and sell the contents of the shop, put the idea of a helpmate into the head of the industrious nail-maker. Chance led him to board in the habitation of Rebecca, a pious and beautiful girl whom the diminutive and swarthy nail-maker contrived to carry off from a wealthy and comely suitor. Lawrie's perseverance and industry deserved his prize, for he carried them into love as well as nail-making.

'"My nail-shop-window opened into the yard of the house where I boarded, and where Rebecca lived; and after I came from the store in the evening, she used to come like a dove to the window: I helped her in where she stayed, sewing or knitting, till midnight—I working and courting—killing two birds with one stone."'—i. p. 61.

It is good to know what an amiable and thriving pair may commence upon in a primitive country; the simplicity of Lawrie's establishment will make some people laugh, others will sigh or sneer at the necessary superfluities which the progress of what is called civilization has created in the shape of "traupeaus," jewels, carriages, footmen, houses, and French cooks.

'"We had a bed," says Lawrie, speaking of himself and the sweet tempered Rebecca, "and bedstead, good and most comfortable of their kind—a fine table worth no less than half a dollar—three Windsor chairs, one for each of us and a spare one for a friend—a soup-pot, a tea-kettle, likewise a tea-pot, six cups and saucers, three soup-plates, which on days of fish and steaks served as well as plain ones could have done—three pewter tea-spoons and two soup-ditto of the same material: three knives and forks, a girdle for cakes, a frying-pan and a gridiron—it was enough, it was all we wanted, we were all the world to one another. Then was, indeed, the midsummer of my life; for now that I have carpets to be shaken, brasses to scour, stairs to scrub, mahogany to polish, china to break, servants to scold, and a cat that plays the devil, I often say to myself, in the words of Solomon, 'Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."'—p. 69. 70.

Rebecca was one of those sainted persons who seem by nature to be disposed to more than mortal excellence, and

formed of those fine and frail materials apparently only calculated to last just long enough to show what woman may be when "made perfect." After the birth of a child, and even after resisting the ravages of the New York plague, the yellow fever, she died, or rather was removed, in her own good time. Lawrie makes a reflection afterwards naturally produced by the experience of so sweet a character. He says "that in all his after-life, he never could consider the death of his first wife in the light of a loss, it always seemed to him as if she had only been removed to her natural element." The idea of a second marriage is put into his head by a gentleman who has a niece on hand. Mr. Zerobabel L. Hoskins is one of those unaccountable oddities, the peculiar growth of Transatlantic civilization. For the living picture of Natchitoches gentlemen, we must go to the humorous representatives of Jonathan in England. Mr. Zerobabel L. Hoskins had originally been a settler on the then borders of the European clearings: latterly he had joined privateering and codfish speculations to farming, which frequently brought him down to New York where Lawrie Todd was progressing in life. The oddities of Mr. Hoskins, and perhaps the richness of his dialect and the splendour of his metaphors had attracted the attention of our auto-biographer, who professes to have had always a leaning to the study of character; and one evening as they were sitting together, Zerobabel broached the subject of his niece in such Yankee as follows:—

'"I guess, squire Lawrie," said he, "the squire has considerable muddy time on't since his old woman went to pot."

'Ah! Rebecca, she was but twenty-one!

'"Now squire, you see," continued Mr. Zerobabel L. Hoskins, "that ere being the circumstance, you should be making your calculations for another spec," and he took his cigar out of his mouth, and trimming it on the edge of the snuffer-tray, added, "Well, if so be as you're going to do so, don't you go to stand like a pump, with your arm up, as if you would give the sun a black-eye, but do it right away."

'I told him it was a thing I could not yet think of, that my wound was too fresh, my loss too recent.

'"If that be'nt particular," replied he, "squire Lawrie, I'm a pumpkin, and the pigs may do their damnedst with me. But I a'int a pumpkin, the squire he knows that."

'I assured him, without very deeply dunkling the truth, that I had met with few men in America who better knew how many blue beans it takes to make five.

'"I reckon, squire Lawrie," said he, "is a puffing of a parley-voo, but I sells no wooden-nutmegs. Now look ye, squire Lawrie, there be you spinning your thumbs with a small child that h'ant got no

mother, so I calculate, if you make Jerusalem fine nails, I guess you can't a hippen such a small child for no man's money—which is tarnation bad."'—i. p. 91.

After some further arrangement of his cigar, Mr. Hoskins comes to the point in a speech beginning,

'"Well, I guess that 'ere young woman, my niece—she be'nt five and twenty—she'll make a heavenly splice."

And dwells upon her power and adroitness in milking thirteen cows in a morning before eight o'clock.

Lawrie naturally observes that he had no cows, his only live stock being a "sucking bairn." Upon which his friend breaks out into the following eulogy:

'"By the God of Jacob's father-in-law! she's just the cut for that. But the squire knows I a'int a going to trade her. If she suits squire Lawrie, good, says I—I sha'nt ask no nothing for her, but I can tell the squire as how Benjamin S. Thuds—what is blacksmith in our village—offered me two hundred and fifty dollars—gospel! by the living jingo! in my hand right away; but you see, as how, he was an almighty boozer, though for blacksmithing a prime hammer—I said No, No;—and there she is still to be had—and I reckon squire Lawrie may go the whole hog with her and make a good operation."'—i. p. 92.

The negotiation commenced and was brought to a successful termination. Mr. Hoskins plays an important part in the fortunes of Lawrie Todd, and cuts a conspicuous figure in the remainder of the volumes. For some time after his marriage, the prosperity of our hero goes on increasing; he gets from the hardware line into the grocery business, from that to the selling of seeds, and at last to the growing of them. This last speculation, joined to other smaller ones, undertaken in too high a conceit of his own wisdom, ruins him. Having taken a large farm for the purpose of seed-growing, it proves wretched land, greedily swallowing up every thing and returning nothing; "the tarnation farm," as Mr. Hoskins said, "never having no capacity no more to raise garden-seeds, than the sole of the Devil's foot to grow water-cresses"—the result is bankruptcy. The remedy, the back-woods. The different stages both up-hill and down-hill are described with much force and exactness, but we cannot follow him through the fluctuations of his fortune, nor yet dwell upon the various changes in his mental condition, which are also very ably delineated. In fact, in these volumes nothing is passed over, nothing omitted, after the manner of most of the hasty productions of the present day, which usually are rather fragments than novels. We apprehend that it is more especially this portion of the narrative which is indebted to the original memoirs on which the whole may be founded. But let us hasten to the woods.

The unhappy seedsman having turned all his gear into money, and paid off his debts as far as it would go, sets off for the West with all his family, now consisting of wife and several children, having for capital the better part of five hundred dollars, the gift of the eccentric but generous Zerobabel. At this time the Genesee country was fast filling with settlers, and it was determined upon locating in that quarter. Lawrie and his little tribe accordingly sailed up the Hudson, and landing at Scennectady they proceeded by land to Utica, where he took due pains in collecting information; in consequence of which he determined upon settling in a place recently marked out called Babelmandel. Here he agreed for fifty acres of land near the fork of two creeks, and leaving the female part of his family at a new settlement called Olympus, until he had prepared a shelter for them, he and his two boys set out to take possession of this cut out of one of the deepest fastnesses of nature.

'Of all the sights in the world the most likely to daunt a stout heart, and to infect a resolute spirit with despondency, that of a newly-chopped tract of the forest certainly bears away the bell. Hundreds on hundreds of vast and ponderous trees covering the ground for acres, like the mighty slain in a field of battle, all to be removed, yea, obliterated, before the solitary settler can raise a meal of potatoes, seemingly offer the most hopeless task the industry of man can struggle with. My heart withered as I contemplated the scene, and my two little boys came close to me and inquired with the low accents of anxiety and dread, if the moving of these enormous things was to be our work. Fortunately before I had time to answer their question, a sudden turn in the road brought us in sight of the village, where the settlers in all directions were busy logging and burning. The liveliness of this spectacle, the blazing of the timber, and the rapid destruction of the trees, rendered indeed any answer unnecessary. They beheld at once that so far from being hopeless, the ground was laid open for tillage even as it were while we were looking at it, and we entered Babelmandel re-assured in all our hopes.'—187—8.

A shanty or temporary wigwam, covered with bark, and usually exposed on one side, is raised in the village; and Lawrie, who is both weak from recent illness and inferior in strength, contracts with a woodman to clear him five acres of the lot he had chosen. All is proceeding well, when an inundation of the river, occasioned by a severe storm of rain, which is described with all its circumstances of horror, befals the village in the night, and nearly puts an end to squire Lawrie's settlement and life together. This visitation is described at too great length in the book for our purpose, we wish, however, that we could give a better idea of this eloquent chapter than by the selection of a trait or two:

'Then there was another frantic flash, and the roar of the thunder was augmented by the crash of the riven trees that fell cloven on all sides in a whirlwind of splinters. But though the lightning was more terrible than scimitars, and the thunder roared as if the vaults of heaven were shaken to pieces and tumbling in, the irresistible rain was still more appalling than either. I have said it was as if the windows of heaven were opened. About sun-set the ground-floods were as if the fountains of the great deep were breaking up. I pressed my shivering children to my bosom, but I could not speak. At the common shanty, where there had been for some time an affectation of mirth and ribaldry, there was now silence; at last, as if with one accord, all the inhabitants rushed from behind their miserable shed, tore it into pieces, and ran with the fragments to a higher ground, crying wildly, "The river is rising." I had seen it swelling for some time, but our shanty stood so far above the stream, that I had no fear it would reach us. Scarcely, however, had the axe-men escaped from theirs, and planted themselves on the crown of a rising ground nearer to us, where they were hastily constructing another shed, when a tremendous crash and roar was heard at some distance in the woods, higher up the stream. It was so awful, I had almost said so omnipotent, in the sound, that I started on my feet and shook my treasures from me (his boys were sheltered under the skirts of his coat). For a moment the Niagara of the river seemed almost to pause—it was but for a moment, for instantly after, the noise of the rending of the mighty trees, the crashing and tearing of the unrooted forest, rose around. The waters of the river troubled and raging, came hurling with the wreck of the woods, sweeping with inconceivable fury every thing that stood within its scope—a lake had burst its banks.'—i. p. 196—7.

Almost instantly the knoll on which Lawrie's shanty stood was insulated, and if his shrieks had not brought the axe-men to his assistance, who contrived to place a tree over the water, he and his boys must have perished. In process of time a log-house is raised, and we are instructed pretty minutely in the art both of clearing and building in the wilderness. The chances of misfortune in an infant settlement are not few: he had no sooner installed his family in their new habitation, and was in the very act of celebrating in prayer their entry upon their new abode, than the woods caught fire, and the house on which he had been occupied so long, and which promised to afford him so many comforts, was reduced to ashes:

'While we were engaged in that holy service, a sharp shrill shriek, wild and piercing, came from the village; imputing it to some frolic among the younger settlers, I heeded it not: it disturbed not the earnestness of our devotion. In less than a minute after, a similar cry was repeated, and caused me to pause in prayer. This was followed by a terrible hissing, hurrying, and crackling noise, something like the rushing sound of many sky-rockets, but immeasurably greater, followed by a hundred vehement voices, screaming "Fire!" Starting

from my kneeling I ran to the door in alarm, scarce conceiving what the cry of *fire* in the wilderness could portend.

'The woods were on fire! the scene of horror was at some distance behind the house but the remorseless element was rising and wreathing in smoke and flame on all sides. The progress was as a furious whirlwind; to arrest, or to extinguish, seemed equally impossible.

'The unfortunate settlers were flying in all directions with their moveables: but the fallen leaves, kindled by the fiery flakes that fell showering around, intercepted their flight and obliged many to abandon their burdens: for, as with the Egyptian hail, fire ran along the ground: sometimes the flames ascended with a spiral sweep at once from the roots to the topmost boughs of the loftiest trees: at others they burst out in the highest branches at a distance from the general burning, as if some invisible incendiary was propagating the destruction. Aged trunks of hollow elms and oaks took fire within, and blazed out like fountains of flame; and all around the sound like the rage of a hurricane, and the roaring of seas upon a shallow shore, grew louder and louder.'—Vol. i. pp. 216, 217.

'Next day,' says Lawrie 'was the Sabbath, the oldest of blessings, the poor man's day,' but this was no time to rest upon it. It was time to pick a shanty out of the fallen trees that had been spared from destruction. It was late in September, and unless he could get up a house before winter, the family would be obliged to return to Olympus at the expense of much of their small stock of treasure, and a great loss of time. To add to the poor settler's distress, his youngest child fell ill, and he was obliged to leave his work and set off to Olympus, a distance of fifteen impracticable miles to consult a doctor. The child is a corpse on his return, and the first soil he turns up in the settlement is to dig a grave for his infant.

'As we approached the shanty, I discovered a light which did not surprise, but it grieved me, for I augured from it that the child's sufferings had not been mitigated. As we however drew near, I saw it was at a short distance from the shanty, under a large elm, which then stood near the spot where the rivulet falls into the river, and that there was no one in the shanty but Robin, with his arm under his head, asleep: to which, poor lad, he had, no doubt, been soundly invited by his day's hard labour.

'The candle was burning in a niche, scooped out for the purpose in the trunk of the elm, and between us and it I discerned a small rude shed, covered with bark forming a canopy over a little bed covered with a white towel. My child was dead, and her mother with the other two sorrowful girls were sitting in the shadow of the tree watching the corpse and wearying for my return.'—Vol. i. pp. 225, 226.

Here is a sad but beautiful picture of sorrow in the desert, but what follows adds the finishing touch of horror.

'As I came close up to them, two men armed with guns came from

behind a tree. Amidad Peters was one, and a settler whom I did not know the other. After speaking a few words of condolence to my wife, I expressed my surprise to Amidad at seeing him there at that time of night and armed, thanking both him and his companion for their attention and saying, I would watch the remainder of the night myself.

'"But one" said Amidad, "is not sufficient, it will require two, for we have already been twice scared."

'"Scared!" cried I "by what? who have we to fear?"

'"The wolves" replied the stranger, "they scent the dead afar off!"' —Vol. i. p.226.

A fit of the 'cruel and indiscriminating ague' fell upon Lawrie after this distress, which however he bore up against, and succeeded in finishing his house before the winter set in. The listlessness of the long winter nights, and the want of occupation during that season for his sons, forced upon the mind of the settler their want of a schoolmaster. Lawrie's activity brought about this great good: it was the first and best work he undertook as a public character in the settlement, and it also may be marked as the commencement of his prosperity; a poor but gentlemanly old man, a Mr. Herbert, who had lived in a superior condition of life, but whom misfortune had driven into the woods, was fixed upon for the office. The arrival of Mr. Hoskins and his wife who had determined to give up specs on the ocean, and had sold his farm in Vermont State with a view of operating with his capital in the woods, was a circumstance also of favourable omen. He proposes a partnership in store-keeping, and takes his usual droll mode of communicating his intentions; he had been wandering about the settlement for some days a' making his calculation, and at length broke out with the result

'"Well I ai'nt going to be 'quivocal, but to speak sheer to the point. When squire Lawrie shall have made all tight and right and clear on his location, will he then turn cordwainer and make trampers?"

'"My dear sir!" exclaimed I "what puts such a thing into your head? I never bored a hole with an elsin in my life."

'By this time he had lighted his cigar, and giving a puff he coolly inquired without making any reply "will the gentleman make coatees and straw hats?"

'"Gude guide us, Mr. Hoskins! what do you mean?"

'"Will he keep a tavern?"

'"Me keep a public, Mr. Hoskins?"

'"Then if you don't," said he, giving a cool methodical puff, "the devil may spit brimstone on you by the gallon, if you ai'nt as flat as the walls of Jericho, either as a dead or ruined duck before thunder sours my wife's beer in June after next. Look ye! squire, this here land a farm in Jersey State, (Lawrie's unfortunate speculation) —I allow that—but this Belmandel town ha'nt got nothing for trade."

'"Well" replied I eagerly, discerning something of his meaning, "well, what then?"

'"Cockles and crabfish! sha'nt you starve?"

'"But I'm no feart," was my answer in a light manner, "for I have been making my calculations too:" '—Vol. i. pp. 245, 246.

Mr. Todd then explains that he proposed to revive his seed business, keep a store of agricultural business, and send his sons, one to learn the business of a millwright, and the other that of a storekeeper. Mr. Hoskins appeared to be satisfied, but the further communication of his plans at the moment, was interrupted by the cry of the settlers apparently in hot pursuit of some animal: when Mr. Hoskins and Lawrie presented themselves at the door to see what was going on, they were met by a furious bear attempting to make its escape. They endeavoured to get out of the way, but he laid hold of the Yankee calculator, and gave him such a hug that it was some time before he could resume his projects. But at length, a great store of all kinds of articles useful in an early settlement is procured, and a lucrative business established. Mr. Hoskins, however, always dissatisfied with the location of Babelmandel, takes various solitary wanderings in the neighbourhood, sails some way down the river, narrowly escapes being engulphed in the falls like another sir. Humphrey Davy, [See his "*Last Days*,"] and at last fixes upon the site of another town which after his niece, Mrs. Todd, who unhappily dies, is called Judiville. Lawrie himself drives a cunning bargain with the land agent for the pre-emption of twenty thousand acres of land in the neighbourhood of Mr. Hoskins's town, which turns out to be so judiciously located for trade and communication, that it quickly rises into importance. Roads are cut through Lawrie's pre-emption land, and settlers flock in to buy his lots, which he sells at no small advance. So that together with storekeeping and land-selling Mr. Todd becomes a great capitalist. Hoskins and Todd set up a bank, build a church and let it, hire a preacher, establish saltworks, contract for mills, in short become the principal operators and first citizens in that corner of the world. It would be endless for us to go into the detail of this rise, suffice it to say that the fullest particulars down to even the smallest of Lawrie's specs are detailed in his life, where we recommend every body to peruse them. They have afforded us great entertainment, and must be full of instruction to all those whose views turn towards emigration. The various persons who figure in the history, besides Mr. Todd himself, we have had no opportunity of mentioning: of Baillie Waft a most amusing oddity, and Mr. Todd's great tormentor, we can only afford to record the name.

A part of the latter volumes, is occupied by a visit to Scotland and a third marriage: we felt the return to Europe a change for the worst, and are decidedly of opinion that Lawrie's residence in the royal borough of Chalky Stanes where he finds his third wife, is the only blemish that can be detected in the book.

ART. X.—*Taxes on Literature. 'The Six' Acts.*

IF a number of individuals had constructed a machine of great complexity and serious expense, in the final working of which they were all deeply and irrevocably interested, to the extent of the whole wealth of each being dependent on the dividend which should arise from its performance,—the feeblest of all policies, in the opinion of men of the ordinary calibre of intellect, would be one which should derange or interfere with the general result, by making a deduction of sixpence *in the oil.*

If a merchant, a philosopher, or a man of literature, were asked what it was that ensured the movement of that part of the machine of society in which he is specially concerned, he would reply that it was the facility which the modern state of society and art afforded for communicating the knowledge of his operations. He would state, in brief, that the invention of printing, accompanied by the liberty of using it, was what had enabled men to become richer, wiser, and more scientific than their forefathers. He would not say it was the moving force; because it is plain that the moving force resides in the desire common to all men, to do and learn every thing by which they may better their condition. But he would say it was what had given freedom to the communication of one man's thoughts, aspirations, and discoveries, to the corresponding wishes and capabilities of other men, and had thereby ultimately brought about the accumulation of mutual action which distinguishes the present movement of the machine.

But though the merchant, the philosopher, or the man of literature, may have all this at his fingers ends, the politician for some reason or other is still a day's march behind. It might be supposed to have been equally clear, that a tax upon the oil-pot of the national engine could be no gain in the end, to those whose power, influence, and dignity, depended on the magnitude of the total forces of which the direction was to be wielded by themselves. It might have been expected that under such circumstances, statesmen would have been seen running about with the important faces of steam in a

storm, and begging that no lady or gentleman would elbow the boy who kept the machinery in grease. No anxiety of this kind, however, appears hitherto to have disturbed their repose. Your statesman, in general, is a great admirer of 'the good the gods provide him;' and little anxious to compare the Thais by his side, with even a wilderness of nymphs a little farther off. A tax is to him a tax; and he has small idea of giving up one to-day, for the expectation of twenty to-morrow. He has a lively faith that in one way or other he shall get all he wants; and he leaves to his providers to debate upon the greater or less economy of his proceedings.

On no other ground is it possible to account for so apparently irrational a proceeding, as levying, in what calls itself a great mercantile country, a tax of 155,000*l.* a year upon advertisements,—at the expense of causing all merchants, tradesmen, booksellers, and attorneys, to get for six, eight, or ten shillings, what they otherwise would have for one. In no other way can it be held credible that a government should not discern, that all it compasses by this most pitiful effort of taxation, is gained at the expense of future advantages of vastly greater moment,—and is in truth of a cast of policy greatly inferior to that which directed the killing of the goose to get at the eggs, or any other folly which has been embalmed in proverbs or preserved in rhymes.

But if *this* be 'foolishness,' what shall be said of a tax upon a nation's news? a tax which declares there shall be a premium upon the ignorance of all present things, and holds out a reward to every man who will be content to live in this world as not being of it? And this leads straight down upon the explanation of the whole. There are depths of unreasonableness, which surpass all human folly, and are only soluble on the hypothesis of crime. The gone-by government to which we owe this monument of shame, was the enemy of information, because the extension of information was its deadliest foe. It was a government whose proceedings would have been impracticable, under a state of public information equal, for example, to that of the present period; and consequently its first interest was to do all that might retard those advances, which it could not totally prevent, and which have not been prevented accordingly. It is no answer to say, that the imposition pressed equally on the communication of the sentiments of all parties. It is clear that in its operation it was a *British* neutrality,—all on one side. The powerful, the grasping, the unjust,—the individuals who meditated, and were permitted to succeed in bringing on, the present misery of the suffering multitude,—were partially affected by it, or not at all. The sweet morsel was under their tongues,

and they could afford to pay a stamp-duty to keep it there. But the losers were the many, who were the poor; the scattered, the uninstructed, the men who knew little and were only half-inclined to know more, the individuals who were trembling on the balance between light and darkness, likely enough to imbibe dangerous knowledge if it lay in their way, or to throw up their caps for all despotisms in all countries if it could be withheld from them.* Nobody can look back on the period when this disgraceful tax had its origin, without perceiving that the crime of newspapers was that they treated of all knowable things, and it was no more the interest of the government of those degrading times (now happily sunk in the slough of history), that its subjects should make progress in the knowledge of all knowable things, than it is the interest of the Georgian slaveholder to educate the negro he is determined to oppress. There are diversities in honour and in dishonour; as one star differs from another in glory. The Georgian statesman summarily makes it capital for his black to read; the British only visited his white, with a fine of fourpence-halfpenny for each offence. Compare in the two cases the certainty, the promptitude, and the profitableness of the punishment; and it will give the measure of the comparative ability with which the two statesmen went about to compass their design.

But it would be a blank account if the reckoning stopped here. There were further enactments against the press, making part of what are known to gods and men by the title of "the Six Acts;" and in consequence of that fatality by which all things bad are in this country preserved for the chance of future use, they still hang up in the armoury of the law, and wait only for a hand to take them down and send to their vocation. It is true they are so tyrannous, that no one in this age would *wish* to use them, unless he saw an immediate peril to his cause sufficient for the risk. All men say they will not use them; no man dares use them; but the will and the daring are dependent only on the absence of inducement. So long as they are sedulously preserved, it is clear that there is a lurking hope that somebody will both will and dare, whenever the time comes that the users may be advantaged by it.

* 'There is hardly a town of 8 or 10,000 persons in the United States, that does not support its daily newspaper. With the exception of the metropolis, there is not one daily newspaper in Great Britain. In the metropolis there are but twelve, to a population of 1,500,000 souls. To what is this marked depression to be attributed? *The duty is* 266 *per cent.*'—*Spectator Newspaper.*

Look here, Americans; and see what it is that will be stopped, if ever you come to be governed by 'the higher orders.'

Since the spirit of an enactment is to be gathered from its company, it is by no means irrelevant to glance at the bearing of all the Acts known by the opprobrious title of "the Six;" recollecting always, that they are so called from no peculiar circumstance except their community of tendency. They were in no other way "the Six," than as they were six things that nothing else was like. They were passed in the same year; but they were interlarded with Acts touching Duties on Malt, Sugar, Tobacco, and Snuff in Great Britain, and Pensions, Offices, and Personal Estates in England; on the regulation of Cotton Mills and Factories, and the Preservation of the Health of young Persons employed therein; on the Trial of controverted Elections, or Returns of Members to serve in the United Parliament for Ireland;—making a farrago in which each of the opprobrious "Six" is separated from its fellow, as the pudding draws a veil of separation between the plums,—except in the inevitable cases where the state cook had no farinaceous matter disposable for the division. They were no more meant to be distinguished as "the Six," than six bad eggs are meant to be distinguished by the purchaser. The public that nosed them, gave the title that has stuck by them; and condemned them to everlasting remembrance by the energy of its simplicity.

The first is an Act to prevent the training of persons to the use of arms, and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise;—demonstrating that on the 11th December 1819, the discontents of Englishmen with the existing government had reached the pitch when men no longer hope for relief but from the exercise of that physical power, which is undoubtedly the basis on which all fragments of public freedom in all countries are ultimately founded, but which is also the last agent which a good man desires to see a necessity for calling into actual operation. No student of history believes, that in any nation not divided by honest prejudices like those which in a disputed succession or a religious war cause men of equal virtue to engage warmly on different sides, there ever was an instance of a portion of the population having recourse to "the training of persons to the use of arms, and to the practice of military evolutions and exercise," without the fault being originally with the government. A popular frenzy may cause a momentary rush to weapons, but not a scientific civil war, carried on with the best adaptation of means to distant ends within the compass of the performers. The guilt attached to this particular Act, therefore, resided not so much in the Act itself, as in the refusal of attention to just complaints, which had given the occa-

sion for it. It was not till the people of England had contracted an utter despondency and loathing of expectation of relief from the existing government, that such an Act was ever called for; and, keep it with what care they may, it is only when the government shall have created the same feelings a second time, that it ever can be of use again. It is a thing to be laid by and ticketed, "an Act to be used when the government shall have made itself horribly hated by the people." By this Act, however, the drillers in said civil war were made liable to transportation for any term not exceeding seven years, or to imprisonment not exceeding two; and the drilled, to fine, and imprisonment not exceeding two years. Any justice of the peace, or constable or peace-officer, might disperse, arrest, and detain; but why any of these meritorious persons against whom an action should be brought for misconduct in his office and should fail, should be paid his costs *twice* over in that part of Great Britain called England or in Ireland, and *three* times in Scotland, is among those mysteries of the art of government which none but the constructors can explain.

The next is an Act to authorize justices of the peace, in seventeen counties there specified and as many others as might be added in future by proclamation, to seize and detain arms and weapons of various sorts, to wit, pike, pike-head, spear, dirk, dagger, pistol, gun, or other weapon, upon the information upon oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses, that he or they believe that such pike, pike-head, spear, dirk, dagger, pistol, gun, or other weapon is, for any purpose dangerous to the public peace, in the possession of any person, or in any house or place; and in case of admission being refused, to enter by force, by day or by night, and to detain or cause to be detained in safe custody, the pike, pike-head, &c. so found and seized as aforesaid, unless the owner shall prove to the satisfaction of such justice, that such pike, pike-head, &c. was not kept for any purpose dangerous to the public peace. Justices and all manner of persons sued for misconduct but without success, to be paid their costs twice over in that part of Great Britain called England; and only twice in Scotland too, which seems hard. This was the law under which the several counties of Lancaster and Chester, with the West Riding of the county of York, and the counties of Warwick, Stafford, Derby, Leicester, Nottingham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, Durham, Renfrew, and Lanark, and the counties of the towns of Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Nottingham, and of the city of Coventry, lay from the 18th December 1819 until the 25th day of March One thousand eight hundred and twenty-two. These documents

are valuable to the historian, who may wish to know what parts of the country were comprehended in the civil war. Enough has been quoted of the Act to show its bearing and connections; but in other respects it may pass with the Jacobite epitaph,

'Here lies Fred—
'Who was alive, and is dead;
'So there's no more to be said.'

The next is 'an Act to prevent Delay in the Administration of Justice in Cases of Misdemeanor.' Delay in the administration of justice, is apt to present itself as an evil; and Acts to prevent it take on themselves a certain outward figure of virtue. But this Act, it will be discovered, was meant only to make the operation of law more severe upon those whom his Majesty's Attorney or Solicitor General delighted to honour. The law as it stood before, was good enough for common men, and might have continued so for ever; but it was not good enough for those impugned of pike, pike-head, spear, dirk, dagger, pistol, gun, or other weapon, and therefore it was altered for their special use and benefit. It might or might not be for the improvement of the law in general, that it should be quickened in its motions on the particular article of misdemeanors; but what impressed itself on the minds of all men, was that the authors recked little of the law's improvement, and saw only the advantage of preventing 'the defendants in some of the said cases' from having 'an opportunity of postponing their trials to a dis-'tant period, by means of imparlances in the said several Courts 'of King's Bench, and by time being given to try in such respective 'Courts of Session.' For remedy whereof the present Act was enacted, on the 23d day of December 1819, and continues to us a monument, of that fearfully hard Christmas in legal history, which wound up the 60° Georgii III, and brought in the 1° Georgii IV.

The next is 'an Act for more effectually preventing Seditious 'Meetings and Assemblies;' but which on examination appears to have been for more effectually preventing persons assembling from various parishes and districts, for the purpose of 'deli-'berating upon public grievances, and of agreeing on petitions, 'complaints, remonstrances, declarations, resolutions, or ad-'dresses upon the subject thereof.' The word used in the Act is 'pretext;' but as no statement is made of any other design, this is plainly only part of the colouring of an adversary. By this enactment, no more than fifty persons (except in county meetings to be called by the Lord Lieutenant, the Custos Rotulorum, and the Lord knows who) were to meet 'for the purpose or 'on the pretext of deliberating upon any public grievance, or upon

'any matter in church or state, or of considering, proposing, or 'agreeing to any petition, complaint, remonstrance, declaration, 'resolution, or address upon the subject thereof; unless in the parish 'or township within which the persons calling any such meeting 'shall usually inhabit or dwell;' nor unless divers formalities of notice to justices of the peace and otherwise, be complied with as there described. That is, five thousand may be aggrieved, but only fifty must meet. The law will allow of no deliberation for remedy, except for the grievances of fifties; those of greater numbers are a sacred thing, in virtue of their magnitude. Also such justice may alter time and place of meeting, if he sees any prospect of said justice being benefited thereby, or the persons meeting to deliberate on public grievances annoyed and inconvenienced; but the grievers who are aggrieved by the grievances shall not adjourn or alter time or place of meeting. If they do, it is an illegal assembly; for the meeting is the justice's meeting, and not that of the aggrieved who grieve. Furthermore, no persons to attend meetings, unless freeholders of the county, or members of the corporation, or inhabitants of the city or parish for which the meeting shall be held; all others must be aggrieved in silence, or else grieve in their proper places. Also members of Parliament, and any persons having a right to vote for a member to serve in Parliament, have a right to grieve in meetings of the city or borough for which they sit or vote; in addition to the right they may have to do so as freeholders or otherwise. Persons grieving out of bounds, to be punished by fine, and imprisonment not exceeding twelve calendar months. Also may be killed, maimed or hurt, by any justice of the peace, sheriff, under-sheriff, mayor, head officer, magistrate, high or petty constable, or other peace officer, or by any persons being aiding and assisting to them, by reason of their resisting the persons dispersing, seizing, or apprehending, or endeavouring to disperse, seize, or apprehend them; and all and singular such persons shall be free, discharged, and indemnified, as well against the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, as against all and every other person and persons, of, for, and concerning the killing, maiming, or hurting of such persons as shall happen to be so killed, maimed, or hurt as aforesaid. Provided also, that nothing herein-before contained shall extend to any meeting wholly holden in any room or apartment of any house or building. Irregular grievers continuing together to the number of twelve or more, by the space of half an hour after proclamation made, shall be adjudged felons, and be liable to be transported for any term not exceeding seven years. Persons attending meetings armed with any gun, pistol, sword, dagger, pike, blud-

geon, or other offensive weapon, or with any flag, banner, ensign, device, badge, or emblem, or any drum or military or other music, or in military array or order, to be fined and imprisoned for any term not exceeding two years. Also houses, rooms, fields, or other places, where lectures, discourses, or debates shall be held, to which any person shall be admitted by payment of money, to be deemed disorderly, whether disorderly or not, unless licensed by two or more justices of the peace. Justices and all persons sued for any thing done in pursuance of this Act, where the jury shall find a verdict for the defendants, to be paid their costs twice over, as in other places. To continue in force for five years from the day of passing this Act, and until the end of the then next session of Parliament.

Such is the Act with which the miserable men who had paid and suffered for the restoration of despotic monarchs through the greater part of Europe, were repaid by their own rulers on the day before the feast of Christmas in the year of our Lord 1819; a just winding-up of such a course, and one against which it is impossible to find a syllable to object. The providence was most meet, right, and worthy to be praised, which for the warning of all future generations, attached such a punishment to such an offence. In the better times of English history, the suffering and the contumely would have been cast off by a convulsion similar to those which elsewhere go by the name of glorious revolutions. But whom providence designs to punish, it can bind. The evil and the suffering are gone by; and Englishmen look back upon the period, as on the times of Jefferies and other noted agents of misrule, with horror not unmingled with satisfaction at the impossibility of its recurrence.

These are the company, some surviving, some deceased, in which were born the Acts against the press, which are at this moment kept hanging over the heads of Englishmen to remind them, that what their fathers were, themselves may be. The first of these monuments of slavery, is called "an Act for the more effectual Prevention and Punishment of blasphemous and seditious Libels." The policy of arbitrary governments has ever been to mix up the idea of the opinions they dread, with something conveying an indistinct notion of horrible and odious. The Inquisition notably pursues this policy, in the associations that amiable institution connects with heresy; and it is not long since a preacher of slavery-defending notoriety was heard to make the same application to the spirit of political reform. It is probable that very few of the compounders of this Act could have defined what a blasphemous libel meant; but there was an undefined idea [illegible] ing particularly horrible,

which made it all the better for their purpose. Blasphemy, in the primary sense, means a low and vulgar outrage committed in words against some object of allowed religious reverence, for the gratification of malignant feeling or reckless passion excited by causes foreign to religious opinions. The earliest mention of blasphemy in the world, is in the twenty-fourth chapter of Leviticus; where it evidently means the profane cursing of a half-caste camp-follower quarrelling with a private of foot. And as there is nothing inviting or gentlemanlike in this, the term was a convenient one to apply to any thing it was wished to overwhelm. And hence came the secondary application of the word; by which it is used for every contradiction, of any thing connectible with religion which any body who is in power chuses to believe,—especially if the contradiction is urged with any degree of vigour, or worse still of sarcasm. In this sense it is upon record that Jesus of Nazareth was voted a blasphemer; and spit upon and buffeted according to the law for such cases made and provided. The apostles his followers were in like manner blasphemers to a man; and the same charge has been urged with unvarying steadiness, against every one who in his day has done any thing unpleasant to any other person who had a religious interest exposed to loss. In this sense there is not a man in England who has not in his day done blasphemy; or if there is, he is at all events one utterly unworthy of good company. But for all this, the word is a good word in an Act of Parliament. A man unpleasing to high priests may be spit on and buffeted under it, as well as ever. And there it stands, and will stand; to verify the saying of the preacher, that 'the 'thing that hath been, is that which shall be; and there is no 'new thing under the sun.'

Sedition, is defined in the Act to be, any thing 'tending to bring 'into Hatred or Contempt the Person of His Majesty, His Heirs 'or Successors, or The Regent, or the Government and Constitution 'of the United Kingdom as by Law established, or either House 'of Parliament, or to excite His Majesty's Subjects to attempt 'the Alteration of any Matter in Church or State as by Law esta-'blished, otherwise than by lawful means.' In this there is a renewal of the attempt to take advantage of men's honest feelings against something avowed on all hands to be bad. The real meaning of 'sedition' in this place,—after cutting off all the lumber attached to it,—was evidently all and every thing which should be hostile to the power of the framers of the law. It was a sword to be hung by the side of the prevailing party for the time being; and it is kept to be hung by the side of every other party that shall be able to prevail, from henceforth through all futurity.

The first provision of this Act, is for seizing the copies in cases where a verdict shall be had. When a man has printed against you, seize his copies; it is the first law of nature for a government that cannot stand but by hindering men from stating what they think of it. Any person convicted a second time, to suffer such punishment as may by law be inflicted in cases of high misdemeanors, or *to be banished from the United Kingdom, and all other parts of His Majesty's dominions, for such term of years as the court in which such conviction shall take place shall order.* Persons not departing the kingdom within thirty days after sentence, may be conveyed to such parts out of the dominions of the king, as with the advice of the Privy Council may be directed; and if they return, be transported for any term not exceeding fourteen years. The Act was known to be virtually directed against one man; who in spite of Acts still lives 'a prosperous gentleman,' and appears more likely than ever, to see of the travail of his soul.

The 'crowning mercy' of the knights of the Extinguisher, was the 'Act to subject certain Publications to the Duties of Stamps upon Newspapers.' The preamble is remarkable. 'Whereas Pamphlets and printed Papers containing Observations 'upon public Events and Occurrences, tending to excite Hatred 'and Contempt of the Government and Constitution of these 'Realms as by Law established, and also vilifying our Holy Reli-'gion, have lately been published in great Numbers, and at very 'small Prices; and it is expedient that the same should be re-'strained: May it therefore please' &c., that from and after ten days after the passing of this Act, '*all* Pamphlets and Papers 'containing *any* Public News, Intelligence or Occurrences, or *any* 'Remarks or Observations thereon, or *upon any Matter in Church* '*or State*, printed in any part of the United Kingdom for Sale, 'and published periodically, or in Parts or Numbers, at Intervals 'not exceeding Twenty-six Days between the Publication of any 'Two such Pamphlets or Papers, Parts or Numbers, where any of 'the said Pamphlets or Papers, Parts or Numbers respectively, 'shall not exceed Two Sheets, or shall be published for Sale for a 'less sum than Sixpence, exclusive of the Duty by this Act im-'posed thereon, shall be deemed and taken to be Newspapers within 'the true Intent and Meaning of an Act of Parliament &c. and of 'another Act &c., and of &c. &c., and all other Acts of Parliament 'in force relating to Newspapers.' In plain English, one administration in 1797 imposes a stamp-duty on newspapers, because they let in too much light upon the public; and another in 1819 enacts for the same reason, that pamphlets and printed papers shall be newspapers. Next follow divers enactments touching

length and breadth of paper, covers and blank leaves, and various other precautions; in which the spirit of Sir Solomon is exhibited as curiously wrestling with the little farthing rush-light that objected to being puffed out. The next is a sweeping clause, subjecting the printers and publishers of *all* Pamphlets of small size and price whether periodical or not, to a fine of Twenty Pounds for each offence, unless a Bond be previously entered into, to the amount of *three hundred Pounds* in London, and two hundred elsewhere, with two or more sureties in a like sum in the whole, for payment of all fines and penalties that may be imposed for publishing *any blasphemous or seditious libel.* The object of this was plainly twofold; first, to associate cheap publications (which are what the enemies of the community chiefly dread) with 'blasphemy and sedition;' and secondly, to impose the necessity of such a bond, as the publishers of cheap publications were thought not likely to be able to furnish. The object was to clog the press, and the press is clogged accordingly. The object was to increase the difficulty of disturbing a number of old gentlemen in what they had wrongfully got possession of; and they moved upon their purpose with skill proportioned to their good-will. Divers other provisions follow, all having in view the making it perilous, troublesome, and unprofitable, to have any thing to do with circulating cheap knowledge of their interests among the poor. There was something which the poor were not to know; and the best means within reach were accordingly taken, to keep it from their knowledge. The provisions were in reality so complex, that it is believed to be strict matter of fact, that the entire has never yet in any form or shape been put into execution. And as the knowledge of their impracticability could not be called into existence for the first time the day after the Act was passed, it follows that the impracticability was always known; and that the object of the framers was to demonstrate, that their legislation should not be bounded by the possible, so long as any insult or injury was to be inflicted by enacting the impossible,—that they would put in practice the celebrated injunction of a noble chancery-suitor to his son, if they were disposed,—that in short all other people were at their mercy, and held what they did hold, only by the difficulty the legislators found in executing their own acts.*

* If the proprietors of this Review were asked, what impediment *they* have found from any of the Acts in their plans for circulating cheap political knowledge among the people, they would reply, that in the first place, they have never attempted periodical circulation in small periods, or in parts or numbers. At the same time it is not the less true, that this most effectual method of circulating information is cut off, and is cut off because it is the most effectual. All that their publisher is actually exposed to

Why a ministry who have certainly not made themselves responsible for the guilt in which these Acts originated, should insist on carrying them about with them as if to claim connexion with the facts,—is almost as unaccountable, as if a man in a clean coat should demand to exchange it for one dabbled in the blood that was shed at Manchester. As it would be considerable evidence of mental derangement if an individual were to insist on walking about with such a patch of unpopular contamination on his person, so the other seems irreducible to the common rules which act upon mankind. There may be a certain desirableness which no minister can positively refuse to notice, in the remote possibility of these old thumb-screws being at some time called again into use; but does the value of this probability pay for the expense of warehouse-room? Is the contingent benefit which is to accrue to nobody can tell who at a period of nobody can tell when, equal to the sum total of the hate, the scorn, the dislike of the existing government, the wish for change, the leaning towards a revolution, the hope that at some time or other something may happen to make one, the discontented looking to all that is, and is not, and might be,—which are from day to day excited, encouraged, and created by the existence of these Acts, in all that portion of the population whom distress or other causes place within the sphere of such an operation? If it is not, why are they kept? Or if they are kept, why is not the Court of Star Chamber, for example, kept in pickle *in terrorem*? Why are visitors not told at the Tower, 'These guns and ammunition are kept to fire upon the 'people when the king tries to make himself absolute as James 'did?' It would be just as easy to make answer, that ministers had no design of using them. The old principle has been, that in a country professing to be free, men were to see provisions

for what has been done or is doing, is the penalties for not entering into bond to pay the fines for blasphemous and seditious libels; and when their solicitors were instructed to take measures for the execution of such bond, they made answer, that 'they had been to the Solicitor of Stamps, but 'he told them, that he never knew an instance of a bond being given under 'this Statute in respect of pamphlets; and they should advise not stirring 'the matter further.' The fact therefore is, that if ever a Jefferies should be Attorney-General, their publisher may be prosecuted for the absence of a bond, which nobody would have a hand in executing. It would be wrong to omit saying, that the conduct of the Stamp-office, as far as their own experience has gone, is the reverse of any thing vexatious. On the contrary, it applies in favour of the publisher, provisions in the Acts (in respect of blank pages, &c.) which there can be no doubt were intended to operate against him. It is quite clear that the existing government is very much ashamed of the Acts; the more is the pity, that honest gentlemen should be set to execute them in any part.

made by law for the preservation of the public freedom; not provisions for its destruction, under a verbal engagement not to use them. Why is the community to be insulted by ministers holding over their heads, what they admit to be much too bad to use? Or if the community should give into the principle, that the law is to be made a sink-hole for the storing-up of old abuses, and what the people will allow to be executed is to be the measure of the execution,—is there no danger that the people should go the fraction of a step further, and say that since they have been trained to be a law unto themselves, they think they can dispense with the written rubbish altogether? There seems to be as little policy in storing-up decayed laws, as rotten apples; unless it is really done in hopes of communicating the taint to the remainder.

Nothing can more usefully conclude this article, than a notice of the poor evasions and miserable wit, with which the removal of these disgraces to the statute-book has been met by the most gifted of their supporters.

'He (Mr. Canning) should like to see any foreigner coming among them, or any man returning after an absence from England of ten years—he should like to call upon him to state what special grievance he observed to exist in the country. Would he answer, "Why nothing now is printed—nothing is said of any body by "the Press—there is a total stagnation of satirical jokes, of sarcasm "and slander. What has become of the freedom of opinion? Every "body abstains from animadversions upon private character—every "thing is sleeping or dead. The Press is broken up—its occupation's "gone; there is no such thing now as type and paper." This would be the great grievance pointed out; and to remedy such an oppressive, intolerable evil, the Honourable Member opposite brought forward his Bill [laughter.]

Observe now what the weakness of that age laughed at. It had been urged that a statute had been directed against the information of the poor, accompanied by many circumstances of insult and violence,—and a man stood up and said, that the press had not been stopped, for there was still printing going on in other places.

'What would be the effect of carrying this measure, and how would its success stop the chasm which the Honourable Proposer lamented? The existing Bill pressed against blasphemous publications comprised in two sheets.'

It pressed against *all* publications comprised in two sheets; as was perfectly within the knowledge of every body.

'The Honourable Member for Aberdeen said, "Let us have "blasphemous publications in two sheets; I hope you will repeal the

"Bill that prevents our having blasphemous libels in two sheets." [laughter.]

The application was for the removal of the Act which had been directed against *all* publications in two sheets, on the pretence that there were blasphemous libels that were on the same quantity of paper.

'To this he (Mr. Canning) replied, that the blasphemy, to be brought under the Act, must not only be comprised within such a specific compass, but the author must value the produce of his brains under sixpence. These were the three essential qualities required to bring a publication within the meaning of the Act—namely, blasphemy the size of two sheets, and the value of less than sixpence. These were the three objects which the Act intended to repress, and by which the Honourable Member was of opinion that the general liberty of the Press was extinguished. To be sure, blasphemy was of a most volatile, changeable essence; but if any man wished to lay his hand upon the hallowed work that restrained it, and was desirous to restore the freedom of the press, the object was not difficult to attain. Let the Gentleman who had so much blasphemy on hand, tack an additional sheet to the proscribed number of two, let him come out on the 28th instead of the 26th day, and let him screw his courage to the sticking-place, and charge sixpence-halfpenny for his productions, and he avoided the law.'—*Morning Chronicle, June* 1, 1827. *Speech of Mr. Canning, May* 31.

All this mummery is meant to conceal the fact, that the publications of the poor man have been prohibited on the pretence of blasphemy. It is needless to insist further on the flagrant untruth of the ministerial assertion, that blasphemy was one of the qualities required to bring a publication within the meaning of the Act. The speaker knew as well as the present reader does, that the Act specified *all* publications containing *any remarks on public occurrences,* of certain size and form. It is Nero fiddling, while the matches are laying under the thing it is his intention to destroy.

The object aimed at by the present article, is to attract the attention of that part of the public which it may reach, to the promised discussion of the subject by the legislature, and to the arguments by which the removal of the matter of complaint will be supported or opposed. If it has this effect, the benefit of the result will be independent of the merits of the execution.

ART. XI.—*Justice and Codification Petitions: being forms proposed for signature by all persons whose desire it is to see Justice no longer Sold, Delayed, or Denied: and to obtain a possibility of that Knowledge of the Law, in proportion to the want of which they are subjected to Unjust Punishments, and Deprived of the Benefit of their Rights.* By Jeremy Bentham. 8vo. pp. 217, 88, 32, 9. R. Heward. 1830.

THE moral derived by the partizans of misrule from the history of the French Revolution has been this: that next to the maintenance of abuses is the advantage of guiding their correction. Obstinate defences involve persevering assaults, while concessions abate zeal, furnish excuses to indolence, and by a cunning use of devices perplex and fatigue vigilance itself. The difficulty of making a people accustomed to wrongs understand their wrongs is considerable, but far greater is the difficulty of making them understand their remedies; and under the forms of surrender they are too likely to accept mere modifications of old oppressions. Experience will discover the error, but such experience requires time and suffering, and a further period for excitement and for the levy of popular indignation against the pretended corrections. A crafty ruler might well say, 'give me the management of reforms and I will make no stand upon the abuses.'

The law of England can no longer be upheld as the perfection of reason, as the unalterable good; but we are not without apprehensions when we see the hands interested in the vices shaping the amendments, and knowing as we do the public proneness to repose on pretences. The vice of the law is conceived to be so extensive, that every alteration of it is supposed necessarily to be an improvement, and passes without examination—a heedlessness holding out no encouragement to those disposed to the most beneficial change, and offering some invitation to others who would only alter the shape and pressure of abuse.

It is of vast importance that the true principles of law-reform should now be kept in view, and that the offered remedies should be watched with a close scrutiny, lest the long labour to expose injustice should produce only a new modification of injustice. This object will be greatly served by attention to Mr. Bentham's Petitions for Justice, which catalogue the vices and defects of the law, and suggest the appropriate changes. These papers were composed before the delivery of the King's Speech, but their utility is rather enhanced by the opportunity of practically applying their arguments to the

objects recommended from the throne. If parliament had received any new aptitude for legislation from the royal address, we might consider Mr. Bentham's work in some degree superseded, but as the reformation is left to the same power which tolerated the vices of the law, till the public discontent compelled some amendment, and has effected more in addition to the faults than in improvement, under these circumstances, we say, mistrust of the capacity of parliament for the work in hand is founded on sufficient experience; and the diffusion of information, which may enable the community to supervise the remedial measures, and estimate their adequacy, is of the very last importance to securing a result of any substantial benefit. His majesty's speech is not of the force of inspiration, and honourable persons who were blind to defects a dozen years ago, are not now likely to comprehend the polypus-like ramifications of error and the befitting scheme of correction.

The proposed petitions for justice are three: the first running to the extent of two hundred and seven octavo pages, and argued at length but with as much compression as the completeness of reasoning would permit; the second is the petition abridged to eighty-eight pages, and suited to popular convenience and ready reference; the third is the more abridged petition in fifteen pages, and fittest for signature. As to the usefulness of the production the great jurist observes:

'To those whom the design may be fortunate enough to number amongst its well-wishers, and the production among its approvers, a consideration that cannot fail to be more or less agreeable, is—that, whatsoever may be its capacity for attracting signatures, the same may remain to it during an indefinite length of time: and that, so long as the remembrance of this publication lasts, no one to whom the existing self-styled instrument of security is a source and instrument—of depredation, of oppression, in a word of *injury* in any shape, can be in want of a ready vehicle for the communication of his complaints.' —Adv. p. xvi.

It presents indeed a complete manual of reform, which will not cease to be capable of application, till every speck of abuse or imperfection is removed from the law. Each paragraph of the abridged petition is numbered for the convenience of ready citation, and for the more distinct view of the propositions. The author in a passage, evincing his vivacity of spirit, and no ordinary portion of graphic power imagines the distress of antagonists, who find themselves opposed by this arrangement:

32. 'Pitiable, in good truth, will be seen to be the condition of the disingenuous opponent, who, casting an eye on a body of

argument which he stands engaged to encounter and attack, beholds it armed with them. Thus distributed into so many articulate parts, —for the clear, correct and complete designation of each of which, a single word is effectually sufficient,—the discourse, be it what it may, presents to him, in each part of it, a determinate and never misapprehensible ob t and standard of reference. "Here, sir, is proposition the first. What say you to it? has it your assent? has it your dissent? if your dissent, for what reason or reasons? Unapprised of the existence of these defences,—he comes (suppose) with his quiver full of *devices* borrowed from the *Book of Fallacies.* See then the condition, in which he finds himself. Instead of doing as he had flattered himself with doing,—instead of shooting fallacies into the middle of the discourse at random,—or enveloping the whole expanse of it as it were in a net,—he feels himself pinned down, under the pressure of a most distressing alternative. Taking in hand the chain of discourse, —either he must grapple with the links which it is thus composed of, one after another,—or remain motionless: remain motionless; and thus, by a token more unequivocal and demonstrative than it is in the power of words to be, acknowledge the object of his hostility to be unassailable.

'Nothing can he say—(for such is the supposition, and this is a supposition which may continually be seen verified)—nothing can he say, but what is to be found in this or that chapter, section, and article, of the *Book of Fallacies:* some article, in and by which, before he ever took this device of his in hand, it may be seen ready confuted. Looking at the mark,—nothing can he find to hit it with, but some witticism—some well-worn piece of nothingness—some *vague generality*—which,—like a cloud,—dark or more or less brilliant,—hanging in the air,—is seen to have no substance—nothing that can be brought to bear upon the object of his warfare.'—p. xiii, xiv.

The petition opens in these striking terms:—

To the Honourable the House of Commons in Parliament assembled.

Justice! justice! accessible justice! Justice, not for the few alone, but for all! No longer nominal, but at length real justice! In these few words stands expressed the sum and substance of the humble petition, which we, the undersigned, in behalf of ourselves and all other of his majesty's long-suffering subjects, now at length have become emboldened to address to the honourable House.

'At present, to all men, justice, or what goes by that name, is either denied or sold; denied to the immense many—sold to the favoured few; nor to these, but at an extensively ruinous price. Such is the *grievance*—p. 1.

'By every fee imposed, men, in countless multitudes, are, for want of money to commence or carry on a suit, deprived of rights to any amount, and left to suffer without redress, wrongs to any amount: others made to suffer at the hands of judges, for want of the money necessary to enable them to defend themselves against unjust suits."—p. 3.

To the arrangements by which the existing system has been

rendered adverse to the ends of justice, our author gives the name of devices, and under that head in fourteen articles, he comprehends all the abuses and imperfection of the law.

1st. Exclusion of parties from the judge's presence.
2nd. Unintelligible language.
3dly. Useless or worse than useless written instruments.
4thly. Falsehood rewarded, compelled, and practised by judges themselves.
5thly. Mendacious oaths necessitated.
6thly. Delay of groundless and boundless length.
7thly. Precipitation.
8thly. Intermittent justice.
9thly. Mechanical for mental judicature.
10thly. Bandying of suits.
11thly. Decision on grounds foreign to merits.
12thly. Subjugations of juries.
13thly. Jurisdictions split and spliced.
14thly. Groundless arrests for debt.

On the exclusion of parties from the judges presence, the author objects that at the very outset of the business the door is shut against the best evidence, and from the best sources. No light being let in but through a combination of mediums, by which some rays would be absorbed, others refracted and distorted.

The natural mode of procedure is the model proposed for guidance by Mr. Bentham. Where a child or a servant is accused of a fault, what does the master of a family? he sends for the two parties, and hears and examines their charges and defences; then seeks to trace the truth by means of such other evidence, as those accounts have suggested to be applicable.

English justice is aptly symboled blind—its genius is to prefer groping to viewing, and to make the course of perplexities the rule of practice. A short cut to the truth would be a line abhorrent to our jurisprudence, whose delight has been to seek the fact through the most intricate entanglement of falsehood, and at last to make it to the utmost degree questionable, nay, indifferent to the ministers of justice, whether the chace will end in the attainment of truth or untruth.

There was once a celebrated road-surveyor, John Metcalf, who was stone-blind. Analogously with law principles, it should thence have been ruled, that no man in possession of eye-sight should survey roads; and any one undertaking the business, should be compelled to wear a bandage and feel his way. The worse the means the greater the triumph of skill, the narrower the competition, the more close the profit to the craftsman, and

to the public the heavier the charge for easy work made intricate.

Anticipating an objection, Mr. Bentham remarks, "but, says somebody, why say the parties are excluded from the judge's presence?"

'When, in any one of these courts, a suitor makes his appearance, is the door of the court shut against him? Did no instance ever happen of a suitor standing up in court, and addressing himself to the judge? Oh, yes: once in a term or so; scarce oftener. And why not oftener? Even because, as every man sees, nothing better than vexation is to be got by it. And, if at any, at what period can this be? Not at the outset: not till the suit has run out an indefinite part of its destined length: the judge being, in by far the greatest number of individual suits, from first to last, invisible: nor yet an invisible agent, but an invisible *non-agent*: mechanical, as will be explained: mechanical from the outset being the mode, to a truly admirable length, substituted to mental judicature. But suppose the unhappy outcast in court proceedings, by the devices that will now immediately be explained—proceedings, and even language, have been rendered (he finds) unintelligible to him. Even if he has counsel, of whom, besides one for use, he must have at least one, and may be made to have half-a-dozen for show; if, though it be but one of them has opened his mouth, the mouth of the unhappy client is not indirectly as above, but directly, and with the most shameless effrontery, inexorably closed. The one in whom all his confidence is reposed, may, by treachery or negligence, or craving for greater gain elsewhere, have forfeited it. Three hundred guineas have been given with a brief, the fee left unearned, and restitution refused. If, in such circumstances, a counsel, though it be one who, not expecting to be needed is unprepared, has but opened his lips; *no* (says the judge), counsel has spoken for you, you shall not speak for yourself. A plaintiff, had he ever such full license to speak, could he compel the appearance of a defendant? Not he indeed. If both were in court together, by accident, could either compel answer to a question put to the other? As little.—p. 13, 14.

On the second device of unintelligible language our author states:—

'To Saxon judicature succeeded that of Norman conquerors: to Saxon liberalism, Norman absolutism. In Saxon times reigned, in adequate number, local judicatories: not only county-shires, but, so to speak, still lesser judge-shires: hundred courts, courts leet, courts baron, and others.

Then and there, people or lawyers made no difference; language was the same. From the presence of the judge, in a[illegible] of these small and adequately numerous tribunals, directly o[illegible] was suitor ever excluded? No more than in a priva[illegible] standing children from the presence of their fathers.

'Under the Norman kings grew up Norman French speaking lawyers. Whether in the metropolis or elsewhere, along with his horses and their grooms, one train of these domestics was always in attendance about the person of the king. To this train was given the cognizance of all such suits as, from such varied distances, so various and some of them so long, could be made to come to it.

'Quartering himself upon vassal after vassal, the king was perpetually on the move: in his train moved a judge or judges.

'To this train, whatever part of the country he had to come from, every man, who had any thing to complain of, had to add himself. To the place, wherever it was, that the train happened to be at, the defendant had to be dragged. When there, these same suitors there found a judge or judges, who, speaking a different language, could not, or would not, understand what they said.

'The language of the Normandy-bred lawyers was a sort of French. The language of the country from whence they came, these lawyers spoke: the language of the country into which they were come, they disdained to speak. The rules, such as they were, by which the procedure of these foreign despots, in so far as memory served, and self-regarding interest permitted, could be guided, would of course be such as their own language gave expression to: rules which, as well as the rest of the language, were, to the vast majority of the suitors, unintelligible: meaning by suitors, on this occasion, not only those who were actually so, but those who, but for this obstacle, would have been, but could not be so. *Justiciables* they are called in French. In British India this state of things may, with a particular degree of facility be conceivable.—p. 14, 15.

What deformity of law, what relic of barbarity or insolence, has wanted its advocate? Even the Law-French has had its defender, and been eulogized as an essential convenience, and indeed beauty of the science. The Norman fell into disuse, but a jargon survives which is scarcely less unintelligible to the lay sense. The preference of pleadings to parole statement is thus pithily and shrewdly accounted for by Mr. Bentham.

'1. Spoken words could not be sold at so much a dozen: the written words could be and were; so much for the profit account: 2. Of the word of mouth alterations, not a syllable could be uttered, which the judge did not sit condemned to hear: all labour, without profit; different the case when this preliminary written altercation came to be added: once commenced, then on it went of itself, like a pump set a going by a steam-engine: the judge receiving his share of the profit on it, neither his ears nor his eyes being any part of the time troubled with it; so much for the *ease* account.'—p. 21.

'Father of a family! when you have a dispute to settle between two of your children, do you ever begin by driving them from your presence? do you send them to attorney, special pleader, sergeant, or barrister? Think you that by any such assistance, any better chance

would be afforded you for coming at the truth, than by hearing what the parties had to say for themselves?

'Page upon page, and process upon process, each process with fees upon fees,—all these for the production of no other effect than what is every day produced all over the country, by a line or two in the shape of a summons or a warrant from a justice of the peace; a hundred-horse steam engine for driving a cork out of a bottle.'—p. 22.

The instrumentality adopted in judicature for the professed object of the discovery of truth is falsehood. Thus pleadings are rendered incomprehensible by the mass of lies compelled in them, and no untechnical reader who takes up a form of legal procedure can distinguish what is intended to be statement and what fiction. The ends effected by pleadings licensed to carry falsehood, are the increase of expense to litigants and uncertainty of justice. The exclusion of the evidence of parties and stress on the written averments of their legal assistants are cognate absurdities. Beyond such a statement as may indicate the nature of the suit or charge, and the denial or qualified admission of it, written pleadings can only serve the purposes we have mentioned.

The fourth device on which Mr. Bentham treats is the legal mendacity, styled fiction.

'Of this contrivance, the root will be seen in a distinction taken between *pleadings* and *evidence*. To mendacity in evidence, no allowance is given: to mendacity in pleadings, full allowance. Why not to mendacity in evidence? Because if, to this last stage in the suit, the allowance had been extended, not so much as a shadow of justice would have been kept on foot: society could not have been kept together.'—p. 24.

'Poetical fiction is one thing: judicial fiction, another. Poetical fiction has for its purpose delectation; producing, in an appropriate shape, pleasure: the purpose here a good one, or no other is so. To a bad purpose it is indeed capable of being applied, as discourse in every shape is. But in its general nature, when given for what it is, it is innoxious, and in proportion to the pleasure it affords, beneficent: no deception does it produce, or aim at producing. So much for poetical fiction, now for judicial.

'In every instance, it had and has for its purpose, pillage: object, the gaining power; means, deception. It is a portion of wilful falsehood, uttered by a judge, for the purpose of producing deception; and, by that deception, acquiescence or exercise given by him to power not belonging to him by law.—p. 27.

'Obtaining money by false pretences is a crime: a crime which, except where licensed by public functionaries, or uttered by them, to and for the benefit of one another, is punished with infamous punishment. Power, in so far as obtained by fiction, is power obtained by some false pretence: and what judicial fiction, that was ever uttered,

was uttered for any other purpose? What judicial fiction, by which its purpose has been answered, has failed of being productive of this effect?

'If obtaining money by false pretences is an immoral practice, can obtaining power by false pretences be any thing less so? If silver and gold are to be had the one for the other, so can power and money; if then either has value, has not the other likewise?'—p. 28.

Lies, farther observes our author, 'are the instruments of weakness rather than of strength; and they who had all the power in their hands had little need of lies for the obtaining of it.' Originally many of the fictions were devices of convenience to reach objects not attainable by the existing process of law; thus far they were contrivances of weakness, but when strength was possessed by our courts they showed no disposition, to part with the base machinery that former necessity had invented, and the figments to which pardonable resort was had for public convenience were retained for professional profit and to keep up the mysteries of craftsmanship, after the occasions had passed away.

The first object of a court of justice is the discovery of truth, and yet the main machinery of our tribunals is falsehood. The lesson of the convenience of the lie is every where before the witness sworn to speak the truth. The pleadings set forth various falsehoods, and he who asks the cause is instructed, that they are more useful than the truth. The prisoner perhaps pleads the truth, confesses guilt, and the judge exhorts him to retract the admission and substitute a lie, 'for' says the minister of justice, 'a lie often saves a man's life, as law has its chances, and though you confess you are guilty yet if you favour yourself with a lie we may find you innocent after all.' They go into the trial, and on some formality the prisoner is acquitted, the jury being advised by the judge to declare what they have the best knowledge to be a lie under the form of a verdict of innocence.

No one can fail to perceive the mass of falsehood which prevails in our courts, and is it possible that so extensive a taint of mendacity can be harmless to public morals, or consistent with the first policy of justice, which should be the cultivation of the strictest regard to truth as the best general preparation for the discovery of it in particular inquiries? Instead of habitually reverencing veracity persons are familiarized with falsehood, in the very place where the awe of truth should be profoundest. The lesson inculcated by our law is precisely that which Ulysses teaches to Neoptolemus in the Philoctetes of Sophocles.

Νεό. Οὔκ, αἰσκρὸν ἡγῇ δῆτα τὰ ψευδῆ λέγειν;
Οδυ. Οὔκ, εἰ τὸ σωθῆναί γε τῦ ψεῦδος φέρει.
Νεο. Πῶς ἂν βλέπων τὶς ταῦτα τολμῆσαι λαλεῖν,
Οδυ. Παν τὶ δρᾶς ες κέρδος, οὐκ ὀκνεῖν πρέπει.

On Oaths Mr. Bentham largely treats. The experience of mankind is nought in law whose character is a perpetual infancy of barbarism. The experience of society has taught it that slender dependence is to be placed on the statement of a man whose word is not as strict as his sworn testimony. But yet oaths are required in courts of justice though the effect, if any, is a fallacious reliance on that which is of no force with depraved natures. Why does not the merchant swear his clerk, or the tradesman his apprentice, to respect his property, and observe the laws of honesty? because he knows that no sort or degree of dependence is to be placed on the ceremony, and it were as feasible to catch sparrows with salt as to hold rogues by the religious sanction. Aye, but it is excellent to exclude the evidence of Atheists, for them the Bible is a test. That is, it is good to exclude the evidence of such unbelievers as will not declare an untruth, for those who are unscrupulous profess religion, and offer testimony most probably as honest as their qualifying declaration. And here, again, we have occasion to remark the premium of the law to falsehood. It proposes tests to the witness which he cannot decline without the sorest injury to his character, and he is placed between the alternative of an easy lie or the suffering of public odium. If his integrity succumbs to the trial the first step he has made to eligibility as an evidence has practically impressed upon him the convenience of falsehood, and the grand barrier of custom is thrown down which separates honesty from its opposite.

Mr. Bentham suggests another danger:

'A murderer (suppose) is on his trial: necessary to his conviction is the testimony of an individual, who has just mounted the box. Before the oath is tendered, "First (may it please your lordship), let me ask this man a question," says the counsel for the murderer. Thereupon comes the dialogue. Counsel—"Sir! Do you believe in a God?" Proposed witness—"No, sir." Judge—"Away with him; his evidence is inadmissible." Out walk they, arm-in-arm, murderer and atheist together, laughing: murderer, to commit other murders, pregnant with other fees.

'Robbers in gangs go about (suppose), and to suppress testimony, murdering all whom they rob, and all who are supposed by them to have seen or to be about to see them rob. On being taken, one of them (suppose) turns king's evidence. Question by prisoner or prisoner's counsel—Do you believe in a God? Answer in the nega-

tive: off goes the witness, and off with him goes the prisoner.'—p. 51.

Oaths are neither necessary to truth nor to the proceedings for punishing untruth. False evidence is as easily punishable without accompanying the ceremony of an oath as with it.

Mr. Bentham compliments the House of Commons on their mode of taking evidence; and who would prefer the testimony received at the Old Bailey to the unsworn statements in committees of the House of Commons. A frightfully large proportion of the juries who enter the box on criminal trials perjure themselves, their feelings of humanity causing them to negative the severity of the law, which thus has found the art of debauching the veracity of its ministers, and arming the humanities against the honesties.

We next come to the sixth device, 'Delay of justice:'

'Delay (need it be said) is denial, while it lasts. One third of the year, justice, pretended, as above, to be administered: the two other thirds not so much as pretended. Such was the state of things determined upon, and produced accordingly.

'A calculation was made: one third of the year was found to suffice for getting into the law granary all the grist that the country could supply it with; that was the time for the mill to go: remained the two other thirds on which the miller was free to amuse himself. One third of the year, said he, will suffice for getting in all the money that the whole people can muster for laying out in our shops: work for one third of the year, amusement for the two other thirds. Sittings out of term time belonged not to those days. At the present day, while some judges, as far as gout will let them, sit at ease, other judges overwork and overfatten themselves. But so managed is the work, that the delay, with its profits and its miseries, continues undiminished. Moreover, by the delay was left a correspondent interval for incidents capable of being made productive of fresh fees.

'Look now to other departments; see how things would go on if like delay were there: what if during one part of the year, taxes being collected, during the other two thirds they were left uncollected?

'What if, during one third of the year, the naval force being on duty, during the other two thirds the seas were left open to enemies and pirates?

'What if, during one third of the year, the army being on duty, the other two thirds the country were left undefended, while enemies were at the work of plunderage and devastation?'—pp. 75, 76.

There should be no vacation for justice unless injustice will submit also to vacations. The single reform of John, Earl of Eldon, was in the redemption of a nich from the province of idleness; and what was it? Why, according to the law of old, serjeants could only be made in term time. In term time his

lordship could never decide on the appointments, and he felt this unique flaw in the whole system of our legal policy, that the opportunity of bestowing the coif in vacation was wanting. He therefore immortalized himself as a reformer by introducing a bill enabling him to make serjeants as Mr. Bentham would have judges administer justice, at all such times as there should be occasion for the proceeding. The act is commonly called after the first syllable of the person's name, for whose special service it was contrived, the Bum-act.

Criminal justice, especially, ought never to be dormant, and the most salutary effect would be produced by making the Session of the Old Bailey daily, by which the corrupting period of incarceration would be greatly abridged, example rendered more immediate, and punishment shewn with increased terror, following closely as the shadow of crime. No delay but such as may be necessary to procuring evidence should be permitted.

Precipitation is shown by Mr. Bentham to be a consequence of delay, as in the ordinary affairs of life hurry attends postponement:

'Country causes are dispatched post haste: the whole machinery running round in a circuit. At each assize,—upon the blind fixation principle, (of which presently)—allotment made of a certain number of days:—two, three, or four, as the case may be: business, for which two or three hours might have been more than sufficient, or two or three months less than sufficient, crammed into the compass of those same two or three days. By leaving evidence unheard, arguments undelivered or unattended to,—one part, of the whole number of suits set down for trial, is now made to undergo that process: the other parts remain unheard, and are called *remanets* or *remanents.* Six months is the shortest interval before they come upon the carpet a second time: that is to say, if come they do: for, various are the causes, by any of which they may be extinguished: deperition of evidence, drainage of purse, death: death, in a certain case, whether natural or no, not the less violent because lingering: offence, manslaughter (to say no worse): manslaughter by Judge and Co. with their delay, expense, and vexation: substitutes—how safe, convenient and profitable!—to poison, sword and dagger.'—p. 83.

The blind appointment of periods for proceedings without reference to the circumstances of the case comes next under objection. Mr. Bentham supposes:

'The time allowed, is it too long? If yes, then by the overlength is created so much needless delay; and of evil in that shape, the consequences have been already brought to view. Is it too short? Then comes a demand for the enlargement of it; and with this demand comes down a shower of *fees.*

'A *motion* requires to be made: a motion having, in a common law court, commonly for its support, some alleged fact, or set of facts, with an affidavit, or set of affidavits by which allegation of their existence is made; and of this motion, the ground made is here, by the supposition, in point of reason, uncontestible. But it follows not that, in point of fact, it will not be contested. From the motion, at any rate, come some fees; and from the contestation, if any, will come many more fees.

'Every motion made is, in fact, a suit within a suit; and of the thus needlessly interpolated suit, the expense is abundantly greater than under a system having for its ends the ends of justice would, in the vast majority of cases, be the whole of the needful expense.—p. 89.

He foresees that a fallacy will be offered in defence of the appointment of times for proceedings on formalities without reference to the circumstances of the suit.

'Principal instruments of the fallacy, the words *irregularity* and *regularity*.

'The mode in which they have acquired this recommendatory property seems to be this. With the word *irregularity*, sentiments of disapprobation have from the earliest time of life stood associated: at school, irregularity has betrayed itself by straying out of bounds: at a later period, by purchase of present pleasure at the expense of greater good in future contingency. Irregularity is therefore a bad thing; and as such, attended with bad consequences. But bad consequences ought to be prevented; and to this end whatever operation is chargeable with irregularity, ought to be set aside, and to this purpose considered as not having been performed; whence the motion for "setting aside proceedings" (as the phrase is), for irregularity.' —p. 91.

Regularity only deserves its eulogistic name where the application of rule generally befits circumstances. The bed of Procrustes was regular in its amputations, if by regular we can represent the suiting the received to the recipient, instead of the recipient to the received. Why should one performance, brief and easy from the circumstances, be stretched to a certain time, and another of labour and difficulty, be compressed into the same space. All the rules objected to are antiquated, and were devised when proceedings were less frequent, and from the simpler social state, of less complexity in themselves, and of less variety in their character.

Under the ninth head our author treats of the substitution of mechanical for mental judicature.—

'A cider-press, worked by steam, is the emblem of a judicatory, acting in pursuance of this device. By the press, with its moving power, the juice is squeezed out of apples: by judges, and by means

of the machinery of which their predecessors were the inventors, and themselves the preservers and improvers, the money, in the shape of fees, is squeezed out of suitors. By the piston, no thought is applied either to the apples or to the sweets extracted from them. By the judge as little, to the operation performed and instruments exhibited under the authority of his name, or to the effects of them on the suitors: not so as to the *sweets:* little are they in danger of being out of mind.'—p. 93.

'For elucidation follows an example: that of *signing judgment:* by this one, all others may be rendered needless. "I have signed judgment," (says somebody), who, would it be supposed, is this somebody? A judge? no: but an attorney: the attorney of one of the parties. What? Is not then the judge the person by whom the act of signature is performed? Not he indeed: but the attorney, is he, by whom alone any thought is applied to the subject, any *judgment* exercised; the judge signs nothing: a clerk under the judge signs what is given him to sign as above. Under the fixation system, as above, a day has been fixed for the attorney of the party, say the defendant, to do something: say, to send in some written instrument, on pain of loss of cause. The day passed, the attorney takes to the proper officer the instrument styled *the judgment,* and so, as above, a clerk of the judge puts his signature to it.

'The result aimed at in the first instance is judicature without thought. In so far as this is effected, the solution is complete; in so far as this is unattainable, next comes judicature with the minimum of thought: in this case, an approximation is all that lies within the power of art and science.

'Of the case in which the solution is complete, that in which a clerk's is the hand by which the judgment is signed is an example: the judge whose name has been written by him on a piece of paper or parchment knows no more about the matter than his learned brother who is sitting at the same time upon the Calcutta bench'—p. 94.

'One little improvement remains to be made: substitution of an automaton to the judge. Written by a penman of this sort have been seen lines more beautiful than were ever written by a judge. Of the essential characteristic of English judicature, the grand instrument of delusion—the masquerade dress—this deputy would not be left destitute. Bowels, if given to him, would be but surplusage: if his principal had had any, he would not have been where he is.

'Suppose now a system of procedure under which everything was done by the appearance of the parties in the presence of each other, before an unfee-fed judge. To the debtor respite might be granted, where, to both interests taken together, the grant were deemed more beneficial than the denial of it. Respite to the debtor is, indeed, so much delay to the creditor, but delay to the one may be a less evil than ruin to the other.'—pp. 95, 96.

The transferance or bandying of suits from one place of authority to another, for mere purposes of form, or rather of fees

obtained under that pretence, is the next mischievous arrangement which falls under the animadversion of Mr. Bentham.

Decision on grounds avowedly foreign to merits, is the 11th article of impeachment, and it is a palpable form of injustice which our author exposes under a blaze of indignation.

'Under all the devices, as yet brought to view, the sinister design has shrunk from observation, and with but too much success sought something of a veil for the concealment of it. But by him, by whom for the designation of the decision, pronounced or sought by him, this phrase was employed, all veils were cast aside, and the principle acted upon, avowed and exposed to all eyes, in all its deformity and foul nakedness.

'"To decide, sometimes according, sometimes not according to the merit—such has been my habit, such continues to be my determination." What a profession this for a judge! In what other class of men could any instance of such openly-avowed depravity ever have been found? In what other part of the official establishment any such avowal of accomplished inaptitude? Look to the military. My design is sometimes to obey my commanding officer, sometimes to disobey him. Look to the financial. My design is sometimes to hand over to the Treasury the money I have collected; sometimes to put it into my own pocket. Look to the medical profession. My design is sometimes to cure my patients, sometimes to kill them. In the soldier, the tax-collector, and the surgeon, if such there could be, by whom respectively such language could be held, would be seen the exact parallel of the judge, who avowedly and purposely decides otherwise than according to the merits.

'In painting the deformity of this practice, can any power of exaggeration go beyond the plain exposition of the simple truth?"—pp. 106, 107.

Decisions on mere points of form are decisions of this justly reprobated character. For example we shall instance a case which lately occurred, and which shews how bad laws benefit the offenders that come under their operation, and act as double mischiefs to society in deforming and defeating justice and encouraging crime. A person, named Taylor, was indicted, in the King's Bench Court, for keeping a gaming-house. He pleaded an acquittal for the same alleged offence at the Sessions. On examining the indictment tried at the Sessions, an error was detected in the wording of the *contra pacem*, and without any sort of inquiry into the merits he was convicted on demurrer. That is to say, the man was accused of certain acts, and convicted of those acts, not with any reference to them, but upon a point of form having no relation, of any conceivable kind, to the alleged acts. He was charged with certain misdemeanors, and was found guilty of those misdemeanors without any inquiry into their truth, and merely be-

cause of the insufficiency of a form of defence. To exemplify more minutely: A is accused of gambling. He pleads a former acquittal. The court finds his plea not good, and for that reason proceeds to pass judgment, without any inquiry into the fact of his guilt, or innocence of the charges. The man having failed to show that he has already been tried and acquitted in another place, is convicted without any trial whatever, and upon a mere discussion of forms, having no more to do with the alleged misconduct than these words we are now writing have to do with any present action of his Majesty at Windsor or St. James's. Now, mark the consequences,—the person so convicted is sentenced to heavy fine and long imprisonment, but the penalties are in part remitted by the Home Department, because the mode of condemnation so outrages all ideas of justice. The offender thus benefits by the vice of the law that oppresses him in the forms of injustice. Though this scandalous case occurred under the eye of Mr. Peel, we have heard nothing of the correction of the practice of convicting on demurrer,* and without investigation of the merits. The authorities of the Home Office were obliged, for very shame, to release a subject having the slenderest claim to clemency, and yet no measures are proposed for the prevention of such scandals to justice. Is it that they like to preserve the opportunity of releasing a certain order of offenders, precious to aristocratic sympathies? Certain it is that between the excesses of bad law and the power of remission on plausible pretexts lies a wide field, in which despotism may indulge either its favour or its severity. The gambler may have his penalties remitted; the libeller rots his term in gaol.

The next article is so powerful a piece of writing and argument, that we quote it nearly entire, and adduce it as a remarkable specimen of the vigour of an author who has passed his 82d year.

'The origin of the jury institution is lost in the clouds of primæval barbarism: inference must here be called in to do the work of narrative. That which inference suggests is this. Of some greater number, twelve or any other determinate number could not but have been a sort of committee. To the eyes of the historian not uniformly dis-

* In capital cases the trial proceeds after the demurrer has been declared bad, and it would be difficult for any but a lawyer to perceive why the rule, good in the trial of greatest moment, is not equally applicable to that of the inferior importance. The regard for life, which dictates that the insufficiency of a plea of defence should not be a reason for passing sentence of death without inquiry into the commission of the alleged crime, ought also to suggest that property and liberty are entitled to the same care of justice, and the difference of punishment should make none in the mode of proceeding, whose object should simply be the discovery of the truth.

tinguishable was the entire body and the committee. When the one supreme criminal judicatory—the sometimes metropolitan, sometimes travelling judicatory—was instituted, then, all over the country, were extinguished the small territorial and adequately numerous local judicatories, in which the inhabitants in general took that part, which, scarcely in those rude ages, could be well defined, and if ever so well then defined, could not now be determined and stated. What was to be done! Even under the then existing thraldom, subversion, completed at one explosion, might have been too shocking to be endurable. "Come to me, wherever I am, and sit under me, as you do now under your several judges. Come to me: I do not say all of you, for in that case all production would be at a stand—but a part of the number selected from the whole: in a word, a committee; and let the number of it be twelve." When from one of these small judicatories a suit was first called up to the one high and great one, something to this effect must, it should seem, have been said. The shorter the journey, the less burthensome the duty. Whether this be more or less burthensome, the more important the occasion, the more plausible the excuse for the imposition of that same duty. Thus it was, that practice might make its way by degrees. As to the number, why twelve? Answer—Twelve was the number of the apostles: in favour of no other number could so cogent, unanswerable a reason be assigned.

Be this as it may, in the very nature of the case, never could juries have been altogether acceptable associates to judges. How should they, any more than independent Houses of Commons to kings? Whatsoever was the disposition of the judge, partial or impartial, crooked or upright, proportioned to the share they took in the business, most frequently by intellectual inaptitude, but sometimes by intellectual aptitude, sometimes by moral aptitude, they would be troublesome. Act they could not without being so. By their mere existence a troublesome duty was imposed upon the judge: the duty of giving something in the shape of a reason for the course prescribed by him.

'Here then, on each occasion, on the neck of the judge was a yoke, which, if it could not be shaken off, was to be rendered as light as possible. In case of non-compliance, it might by nullification, as hath been seen, be got rid of. But nullification, as hath also been seen, did but half the business. True it is, that when applied to cases called *civil*, it could always prevent a well-grounded demand from taking effect; but it could not so constantly give effect to an ungrounded one. Applied to *penal* cases, it could at pleasure give impunity to crime; but especially in capital and other highly penal cases, scarcely of itself could it be made to subject innocence to punishment.

'What remained applicable was a compound of intimidation and delusion: intimidation applied to the will: delusion, to the understanding.

'Of the intimidation employed, the one word *attaint*, will serve to

bring to view a specimen. Persons, all twelve, imprisoned; moveables, all forfeited; dwellings, all laid low; habitations, lands, completely devastated; with et ceteras upon et ceteras. Malefficence must have been drunk when it came out with this Pandora's box; actual cautery applied, as often as a flea-bite was to be cured. Down to the present hour, this is law: continued such by judge-made law. In the course of a few centuries, statute law added a few trifles, that these serious things might remain unaffected. Statute law is repealable: common law unrepealable. Parliaments are allowed to correct their own errors: judges, under the name of the tyrant phantom, remain irresistible, uncontrollable, and incorrigible. No otherwise, it is true, than by compliance on the part of twice the number, could vengeance be taken for the non-compliance of the twelve. But the instances first chosen for this infliction would naturally be those in which, on the part of the sufferers, the delinquency had been least questionable. At any rate, upon Judge and Co. would infliction in such sort depend, that of non-compliance, *attaint* could scarcely fail to present itself as a more or less probable consequence.

'Of an infliction thus atrocious, the frequency, as it presents itself in the books, is perfectly astounding to a reflecting mind. No otherwise than by attaint, could the effect produced in these days by a new trial, be produced in those. As often as a new trial is granted now, conceive the Pandora's box opened there.

'Note well the efficiency of the instrument. Like the fabled razors, it performs the work of itself, without need of a hand to guide it. As it is with corruption, so is it with intimidation. To produce the effect, neither discourse nor expression of will in any other shape, is necessary; for the production of the effect, relative situation is perfectly sufficient. Where the intimidation was inapplicable, afterwards when at length the stream of civilization had washed it away altogether,—remained, as the only instruments applicable, arrogance and cajolery. Of the two instruments, arrogance was, of course, to the operator, the more acceptable. The use of it presented no great difficulty. "The law (quoth the judge) is so and so." So far the judge, but what law? No law was there in the case. Who made it? The law—meaning that portion of it to which he gave the force of law—it was he who made it; made it out of his own head, made it for his own purpose, whatsoever that purpose happened to be.

'Take for example libel law. A libel? What is it? Answer—If I am a judge, any piece of printed paper, it would be agreeable to me to punish the man for. Is he a man I choose to punish? I make it a libel: is he a man I choose not to punish? I make it a non-libel. But is it possible that, to a man in power, it should be agreeable to leave unpunished any individual audacious enough to say anything otherwise than agreeable to a man in power? O yes; it is just possible. Witness Morning Chronicle in the days of *Perry*, and Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough.

'Now suppose a *code* in existence. Juries are now emancipated. Judges in effect now: no longer dupes; no longer tools; and, by the

shackles imposed on the mind, made slaves. Judges in effect now, because ennobled and qualified so to be. The law (say they) is so and so: how should it be otherwise? Not be what they thus say it is? The book is opened: there the passage is—they see it. More effectually learned would be the least learned juryman in such a state of things, than, under the existing system, the most learned judge.'—pp. 118, 122.

The objections to the *Splitting and Splicing of Jurisdictions*, to having many courts of many varying forms of procedure, for many pretended distinct objects, may be collected from this pleasant satire on the contrivance:—

'Conducive to the ends of justice will this splitting and splicing work be said to be? Well then: here follow a few improvements, on the same principle. To the *bankruptcy* court, add a *stock-breaking* court: to the *insolvency* court, a *non-solvency* court, a *non-payment* court, a *non-liquidation* court, and a *non-discharge* court; each, with a different mode of procedure, Taking for the twelfth-cake the jurisdiction of the *aula regis*, let lots be drawn by all these courts, for these their respective styles and titles. Allot to each of these courts one commissioner to begin with; then three commissioners (the number in the *insolvency* court in its improved state), then the square of three, 9; then the cube of three, 27; then the fourth power of three, 81; by which last the number of the commissioners of *bankrupts*, or *bankruptcy*, will be surpassed by eight, and proportionally improved upon. To secure what is called *qualification*, meaning thereby *appropriate aptitude*, impose as a task and test the having partaken of a certain number of *dinners*, in some one of the four great halls. Of situations of different sorts, in, under, or about these courts, number capable of being occupied by the same person at the same time, ten; by which the number occupied by a son of the ex-chancellor, the Earl of Eldon, will be outstript by *one*. To complete the improvement, conclude with pensions of retreat, after ten years' service, and pensions for widows, orphans, and upon occasion, sisters.

'At the end of a certain length of time, the existing incumbents will be found, each of them, at the same time insufficiently and more than sufficiently apt, as was the case with the metropolitan police magistrates: then will be the time for adding one-third to their salaries: with or without the like addition to the other just mentioned so equitable and comfortable appendage.'—pp. 129, 130.

The grievance of groundless arrest is last treated, and the author shows, with a minuteness wonderful, considering the space of compression, how

'The aggregate property, of all the unfortunates so arrested, is transferred from the ordinary and undignified destination of operating in satisfaction of debts, to the dignified function of contributing to the fund provided for the remuneration of legal science.

'Note here, that he who makes a prudent use of the offer so

liberally held out by the judges to every man—the offer thus made to ruin for him, on joint account, as many men as he wishes, will take care that the debt sworn to shall be greater than the utmost sum, for which, for love or money, bail can, by the destined victim, be procured.'*—p. 175.

We have thus gone through the articles of impeachment in the full length petition, extracting such matter as seems most pointedly to support each charge, but necessarily omitting much that is essential to the complete demonstration of the iniquity, and suggestive of the appropriate remedies.

The Prayers of the Petition are for an improved Judiciary Establishment and Procedure, by which the vices and imperfections complained of may be removed, and the end of justice attained by the readiest means and at the least possible expense.

Added to the Petitions for Justice is a Petition for Codification, as essential to justice, as every man should have opportunity of knowing the rule of conduct before he is subjected to punishment for transgressing it; and as the system which supposes every man competent to sit as juror should allow him to comprehend the law to whose administration he serves.

From our desire to give specimens of this valuable work, we have been obliged to refuse ourselves indulgence in any lengthened commentaries on its points of excellence; and though we may have succeeded in conveying by examples an idea of the vigour of exposition and force of reasoning with which it is written, yet abrupt citations must fail of giving any notion of the minuteness of its detail, and the wonderful harmony of its argumentation. For these excellencies we must refer the reader to the study of the book itself, which we repeat is a complete manual of reform, informing, guiding, and directing—solid in wisdom, but not wanting the warmth of honest indignation, and the sparkle of a genial vivacity.

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* Fielding, in his accomplished Satire, Jonathan Wild, thus describes this iniquitous opportunity of oppression; for the 10*l.* or 2*l.* of his day, it is only necessary to substitute the 100*l.* of our age of improvement:

"It seems the law of the land is that, whoever owes another 10*l.*, or indeed 2*l.* may be, on the oath of that person, immediately taken up and carried away from his own house and family, and kept abroad till he is made to owe 50*l.*, whether he will or no, for which he is, perhaps, afterwards obliged to lie in gaol; and all these, without any trial had, or any other evidence of the debt than the above-said oath, which, if untrue, as it often happens, you have no remedy against the perjurer; he was, forsooth, mistaken!"

ART. XII.—*A General, Medical, and Statistical History of the present Condition of Public Charity in France; comprising a detailed Account of all Establishments destined for the Sick, the Aged, the Infirm, for Children, and for Lunatics; with a View of the Extent of Pauperism and Mendicity, and the means now adopted for their Relief and Repression.* By David Johnston, M.D. Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, &c. Edinburgh. 1829.

THERE are more points than one in which our neighbours on the other side of the Channel have the start of us in the career of improvement and civilization. In the science of chemistry,—and perhaps in a still more remarkable and eminent degree in that of mathematics,—they are, it would be unphilosophical to say how many, years in advance of us. And there is another science in which, though, strange to say, it may be considered as having had its origin in England, where its great and venerable founder is still living, they will soon in all likelihood have an equal advantage. In France legislation begins to be generally taught and received as a science; and the name of the great philosopher, who has established for it a claim to such a title, is treated with the respect and reverence due to a man who has given to the human mind an impulse which it does not receive once in the lapse of many centuries; while in his native country that name is too often a theme of ridicule for the small wits of the day; who, as might be supposed, unable to comprehend what is great and admirable in his profound and important researches, conceive themselves entitled to laugh at certain properties of his style, which properties they are pleased to term ridiculous and repulsive peculiarities—peculiarities, it may be presumed, because they are not found in themselves.

Although there might be some difficulty in going quite so far as Dr. Johnston in awarding the superiority in almost every instance to the French system, yet it will be easy from his instructive book to point out several examples of that advance of the French before us in the race of improvement which we have alluded to. From the manner, however, in which Dr. Johnston has put together his very copious materials, or rather from the total want of arrangement of them, even this task will not be so easy a one as it would have been, had the abundance of matter been better and more methodically arranged. This appearance of confusion indeed may in part necessarily be owing to the nature of the subject—to the immense accumulation of facts and numbers and the almost unavoidable repetitions. By a more clear and more logical

arrangement, however, much of the mystification might have been avoided; and the reason might have been enabled to comprehend, and the memory to retain, many more of the really good things which the book contains than can be hoped for in its present state. Under such circumstances, instead of attempting to give an analysis of the work, we shall mention one or two of the cases in which Dr. Johnston succeeds in proving the superiority of the French system of management.

The introductory remarks following, contain some curious facts:—

'Several of the Hospital Establishments of France, as well as of other countries, are of very ancient date; but the institutions in which, during an early period of history, refuge and assistance were given to the sick and distressed, were by no means of the same character as hospitals of the present day. In many of the principal churches of Christendom apartments were reserved for the reception of poor persons labouring under disease; and the dwellings of the Christian bishops, in the primitive ages of the church, had much of the appearance of hospitals. There does not, however, appear to have existed any establishment properly entitled to the name of an hospital prior to that founded in the fourth century at Cæsarea by St. Basil. * * The example of Basil was soon followed by St. Chrysostom, who founded many similar establishments in Constantinople. The sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries saw others formed in various countries of Christendom; and at last the importation into Europe of that dreadful malady, the leprosy, which was brought by the Crusaders from Asia, rendered their erection a matter of necessity more than of charity. The houses, which were then termed in France *Leproseries* and *Maladreries*, were built in great numbers; so that at the close of the reign of Louis VIII. there appear to have existed no fewer than two thousand of them in the kingdom, and, according to Matthew Paris, at the close of the thirteenth century, no less than nineteen thousand in the different countries of Europe.'—pp. 9, 10.

The following is the account given of the establishment of the "*Monts de Piété*" in Paris:—

'As early as the seventeenth century attempts had been made to establish houses in Paris for the purpose of lending money upon effects deposited on pledge; and in 1643 a privilege to this effect had been given to a private individual. He, however, was unsuccessful in the attempt; and the first *Mont de Piété* founded in Paris does not bear an earlier date than 1777. It was created for the benefit of the general hospital, in consequence of the good results found to arise from establishments of a similar description, for some time existing in Italy, Flanders, Hainault, Cambresis, and Artois.'

By a law of 1804, no establishment of this sort can be formed "except for the benefit of the poor, and with the sano-

tion of government. The great objects proposed by the Monts de Piété, when they were first set on foot, were to aid the poorer classes of society, when in distress, from any particular or unforeseen circumstance, and to keep down the rate of interest upon pledges." They enjoy the exclusive privilege of lending upon moveable effects, 4-5ths of the value of gold and silver articles, and 2-3rds of the value of other effects. The rate of interest is one per cent per month. If not reclaimed at the expiration of the time agreed upon, the goods are sold and the surplus paid to the borrower.

'The Mont de Piété of Paris is administered by a council composed of the prefect of the department, of the prefect of police, and of four members of the general council of hospitals; and it generally produces an annual sum of about 400,000 francs. As a source of revenue to the hospitals, therefore, the Monts de Piété may be encouraged, but they certainly do not seem calculated to be of much benefit to the people in general. They allow of too great a degree of facility and secrecy in the pawning of goods, and thus become a means of increasing idleness and dissipation, and of bringing the thoughtless to ultimate ruin.'—pp. 44, 45.

For this reason those establishments seem liable to some of the same objections which are brought against the *maisons de jeu*, and, indeed, viewed in this light, they appear to form a branch of the same pernicious system of affording, at least, facilities to the people, of sacrificing their means of subsistence, as La Place has expressed it, to visionary and unfounded hopes.

About the middle of the last century, an establishment of this description was attempted in London. It failed from the very first through the fraudulency of the directors; and this failure occasioned a prejudice which prevented every attempt of the kind for the future. By similar logic one might conclude, that vessels were bad machines for war, since the Royal George, the port holes of which had been left open, was sunk in the very harbour.

The revenues which support the present hospital-establishment of France, are derived from the following sources:—

1. Realized and fixed property (*biens fonds*) either in lands, houses, or public stock.
2. Legacies and donations.
3. Money paid by persons received into the hospitals and hospices.
4. Monts de Piété.
5. Theatres and other places of amusement.
6. Public verification of weights and measures.
7. Confiscation and fines.

8. Excise.

The management of the first of these, the *biens fonds*, which may consist of houses, lands, manufactures, forests, vineyards, &c. must be always under the inspection of the Minister of the Interior, who, with the royal sanction, authorises the mode in which it shall be conducted. Their lands (of large and valuable tracts of which they have been deprived without proper compensation), when at any distance, are farmed out under the direction of the Minister of the Interior; when near the hospital they are farmed by the administration itself.*

The hospices of Paris were formerly in possession of house-property valued at 18,000,000 francs (£720,000); by a decree of the 24th of February, 1811, this property was ordered to be sold. One half of the price received was to be laid out on the various markets of the capital; the remainder would be paid gradually into the city treasury, and equivalents were to be given for it. The persons who collect the rent of these markets must find security, by a deposit of cash to a certain amount, which is paid into the Mont de Piété, and five per cent interest allowed upon it as long as it remains.

Donations and legacies, when they do not amount to more than 300 francs, may be at once accepted upon the authority of the sub-prefect. When the sum exceeds 300 francs, its acceptance must be authorised by the king. Dr. Johnston subjoins in a note the following list of the amount of legacies bequeathed to the hospitals and poor of France for a series of years:—

1814	812,805 francs.
1815	1,341,885
1816	1,725,537
1817	1,837,054
1818	2,876,146
1819	3,213,915
1820	2,416,818
1821	6,668,810
1822	2,770,493
1823	3,846,802
	27,505,265 francs = £1,100,210.

The average amount of money paid by persons admitted into

* 'One fifth part of the price of burial-ground in the *Cimetière du Père la Chaise* belongs to the hospitals and hospices of [illegible] The price of ground in this burying place is 125 francs the mètre.'

the hospitals and hospices is, in the capital, about 400,000 francs=(£16,000).

Of the Monts de Piété we have already spoken.

The next source of revenue arises from a tax of ten per cent for all money received at the theatres, and of one-fourth of the nett receipts of all balls, public gardens, and amusements of every kind.

A law of 19th May, 1802, established in all the *communes* to which this system was deemed applicable by government, offices for the verification of weights and measures, the nett produce of which, after a deduction of one-tenth to clear off expenses, was to be employed in the liquidation of the debts of the communes and hospitals. These *bureaux* had previously been established in towns having a population of more than five thousand souls.

Of all articles confiscated by the municipal police, one-fourth of the proceeds goes to defray the expenses of the court, one-fourth to the support of the peace-offices and gratis law-establishments for the poor, another fourth to the municipality, and the remainder to the poor of the *commune.* When the confiscation is made by the correctional police, one-third goes to the municipality of the *tribunal de première instance,* another to the peace-offices, and the remaining third to the poor. The fines for contravening statutes of the university and regulations of the state-lottery, as well as the money levied from the national guard for breaches of duty and discipline, are also appropriated to this fund.

The charitable establishments of France draw a large revenue from the Excise. In Paris they receive an annual sum of about 5,164,000 francs (£206,560). The civil administration of the Strasbourg hospital receives about 80,000 francs (£3600.)

The following is the *resumé* for Paris in the year 1822 of what has been above detailed. The revenues may be divided into fixed, variable, supplementary, and extraordinary:—

Fixed revenues	1,935,247 francs	£77,602
Variable	2,056,167	80,245
Supplementary	5,164,000	202,560
Extraordinary	39,521	1,581
Total	9,164,936	£361,988

Of which some of the principal items are,

House rents	243,834	£9,753
Markets	311,409	12,456
Interest from funded capital	707,158	28,286

Mont de Piété . . .	455,652 . .	18,226
Donations and legacies . .	78,351 . .	3,134
Theatres and places of amusement	616,598 . .	24,664
Spinning establishments . .	303,552 . . .	12,142

These funds are placed under the charge of the administrative commission, at first composed of five members, afterwards of eight, and at present of six; * the members of which, together with the members of the *Bureaux de Bienfaisance* in each canton, must give in a regular monthly report to the central bureau of the municipal administration. Each member of the administrative commission of the hospitals of Paris receives yearly 1,400 francs (60*l*,), payable monthly, and placed to accounts of general expenses. But in the departments the services of the committees of charity are gratuitous.

The revenues of all the hospitals and charitable establishments in the same *commune* are collected by a Receiver, who is paid at their joint expense. The receiver must, within the first six months of every year, give in a statement of his accounts for the preceding year.

He receives an annual sum of 40,000 francs, (1,600*l*.) to defray all the expenses of his office—it is distributed as follows:—

Salary to himself, ...	6,000	240*l*.
Office expenses, &c.....	13,200	528*l*.
Salaries of eight clerks, ...	20,800	832*l*.
	40,000	1600*l*.

In all the considerable towns, in which the expenses of the hospital establishments exceed 100,000 francs, an additional officer, named Comptroller, is appointed, whose business it is, to keep an accurate journal of receipt and expen-

* "The establishments of charity in Paris, and the details connected with their administration, are placed under the charge of a general council, fifteen in number, and appointed by the king, and of an administrative commission, the whole subject to the superior jurisdiction of the minister of the interior.'—p. 25.

"The general council have a regular weekly meeting, under the presidency of the prefect of the Seine, in the Hôtel de Ville. The president has the right of calling additional extraordinary meetings, should they be judged necessary. At these meetings, there must be present, at least, eleven members of the council, and their deliberations must be signed by the president and secretary. These deliberations, of whatever nature they may be, must be laid for approval before the Minister of the Interior, whose decision must be put into effect within the space of twenty-four hours."—p. 27.

diture. In Paris, the comptroller receives a salary of 4,400 francs (176*l.*); the clerk or assistant receives 2,200, (88*l.*).

There is a committee of five lawyers, named the *Comité Consultatif*, for the purpose of giving advice and assistance upon all points of legal dispute connected with the charitable establishments of the arrondissement to which it belongs. Its services are gratuitous.

One of the members of the administrative commission is styled *ordonnateur*, and his special business is to sign and certify all papers connected with the money details of the administration to which he belongs.

'In all the hospital-establishments of France, (says Dr. Johnston,) particular attention is paid to the making up of accounts, and the degree of minuteness adopted goes far in preventing abuse or confusion. In Paris, particularly, the accounts are models of accuracy, not less from the variety than from the minuteness of the details. This very systematic arrangement followed in France in all great establishments and public offices, though perhaps at times carried too far, so as to become almost trifling, must still, upon the whole, be accounted beneficial. The publicity given to the details of management, by regular printed statements, allows a judgment to be formed by the public, not only as to the amount of assistance granted to the poor, but as to the benefit produced, and the proportion it bears to the extent of funds expended by the administration. It acts at the same time as a check upon the abuse and confusion that would be apt to prevail, were the establishments governed by a close or private administration.'—p. *54—55.*

The direction of all repairs and additions deemed necessary to be made in the hospitals of the capital, is intrusted to the care of four architects to be nominated by the minister, upon the presentation of the general council, and of the prefect of the Seine. These architects are under the immediate orders of the administrative commission, and receive each a salary of 2,400 francs (96*l.*) They furnish annual statements of the condition of the buildings, the repairs that are necessary, and the probable expense of those repairs. They are also expected to make remarks upon any vices or defects in the construction of the hospitals, and to point out the improvements calculated to increase the comfort and health of the inmates. They are assisted in their duties by four inspectors, chosen in the same manner, and each receiving a salary of 2,100 francs (84*l.*). The administrative commission names four officers, called *verificateurs*, who are charged with the examination and verification of all works undertaken for the administration. They receive an annual sum of 5,000 francs (200*l.*) to be divided among them.

In each of the three great hospitals of the Salpêtrière, Bicêtre, and Hôtel Dieu, an officer under the title of *piqueur*, is appointed to see that every precaution is used to prevent the risk of fire, and to inspect daily the various buildings and operations of repairs that are going on. They are equally under the order of the architects, and of the *surveillants* of the hospitals to which they belong.

We shall make some quotations from Dr. D. Johnston, on the subject of comparing the hospital-establishments of France and England.

'In England, every charitable establishment has an administration of its own, differing in every respect from that of any other. It is subject to no superior jurisdiction, but liable to all the abuse likely at times to arise from the disputes and jarrings that will often take place between private individuals differing in their opinions, and guided by no regularly-organized system of management. The consequence is, that as one institution is independent, and is frequently, it may be said, the rival of another, there does not exist between them that cordiality and unity of plan which, while it goes far in preventing abuse, is of general benefit to all.'—p. 60—61.

Dr. Johnston thinks 'that many instances may be brought forward to prove, that the management of hospitals in this country is not in all respects what it ought to be, and that private interests and private quarrels have been the cause, if not of ruin, at least of great injury, to the establishment in question. In such a vast field as London presents,' the Doctor continues, 'it would surely be of immense advantage to have some general council of administration, to watch over the various institutions founded for the poor. This could not fail to have an influence in regulating and rendering systematic, the operation of a mass of materials, of which the benefit, when their interests were conjoined, might be incalculable, but of which at present, the effect is certainly much less than what their means are capable of producing.

'In most of the every-day concerns of business and life, opposition does good. It is a spur and incentive to improvement and discovery, prevents civilization from retrograding, and is the source of all approaches to perfection. But, in establishments of charity, it cannot possibly be of any service; and the erection of a rival hospital or dispensary suggests no idea but that of mismanagement and disagreement upon matters on which all should be as one. It is frequently, merely a means of throwing away revenues that might be better employed, or increasing debts, which, in the end, are to ruin the establishment.

* * * * * *

'It is often objected, that government undertakings are inferior to those of private individuals; that they are of too wholesale a nature, and do not descend sufficiently into details. This may be true in many things; but in the management of hospitals and hospital-establishments it is by no means so. It will be enough to refer, in proof of this, to the several nations of the continent of Europe.'—p. 62—63.

In evidence of this, accordingly, Dr. Johnston says, that the hospitals of France were not characterized by the superiority which they now possess, until they came under the direct superintendence of government; and that while, previous to the Revolution, they were managed by associations and individuals, they were in no respect superior to those of other nations. This is an important fact, certainly; and possibly Dr. Johnston may be able to place a series of other similar facts beside, and in support of it. But his theory would have been more complete, if he had connected this series of facts into a broad principle, which should have generalized and concentrated the results of his observations on this subject, and which should have informed us, with some appearance of certainty, whether or not we were to expect, in all cases—under all modifications of government, and of those who wield the powers of government—similar effects to flow from similar (or at least apparently similar) causes. This is indeed not a very easy task. But as Dr. Johnston seems to have expressed a decided opinion on the subject, without adducing very strong reasons in support of that opinion, it is probable that, had he employed somewhat greater labour in search of those reasons, he might possibly in the course of his intellectual peregrination, have stumbled upon some train of thought that would have led him to doubt the infallibility of, and even to half suspect a fallacy, in certain of the conclusions at which he had arrived.

Experience has shewn the French government to be worthy of being intrusted with the management of institutions which have for their object the promotion of the interests of science, and, by consequence, that of the general interest and happiness of mankind. But has experience shewn this to be the case with respect to the English government? No; but experience has shewn the reverse to be the case. It has shewn that the English government has always sacrificed the interest of science as well as the interest of mankind to the interest of some scion of aristocracy, or of some lacquey or toad-eater of some scion of aristocracy, who supports the minister of the day. Thus, reasoning from what has been to what is likely to be again, we should say, that were the management of the hospitals centralized and placed in the power of government, the first thing the British government would do would be to create a certain number (of course the greatest possible number) of officers, which might be esteemed *gentlemanly,* even in the lordly estimation of the British aristocracy, and which consequently might be deemed not altogether unworthy of the consideration, and even haply the gracious and condescending acceptance of my lord's younger son, or nephew,

or first, second, third, or peradventure *n*th or Scotch cousin.* We do not mean to insinuate that any of the noble individuals above hinted at, would ever degenerate so far as to allow a sick pauper, much less a putrid carcase—

——"A slovenly unhandsome corse
Betwixt the wind and his nobility."

His occupation would, of course, be to sign his lordly name and receive and expend his lordly salary. Unless peradventure, while

——"'Twixt his finger and his thumb he held
A pouncet-box, which ever and anon
He gave his nose, and took 't away again"

he might condescend to communicate to the officiating chirurgeon, that

——"The sovereign'st thing on earth
Was parmaceti for an inward bruise."

Such being the state of the case, the project of placing the management of our hospital-establishments in the hands of our government, "smit" as they questionless may be with the love of science as well as of "sacred song," is a consummation rather to be feared than wished for.

At the same time we agree with Dr. Johnston in thinking, that establishments of charity belong to that class of establishments in which opposition exercises rather a pernicious than a beneficial influence. It has not pleased the doctor to give a reason for his opinion; at least that we have been fortunate enough to discover. This is to be regretted because the inquiry is one of great importance, and like other inquiries can best be assisted by an examination of the reasons adduced in its favour. There are grounds for thinking that Dr. Johnston is right, and we shall attempt to explain *why* we think that, in the above case, opposition acts prejudicially.

When the parties intrusted have sufficient knowledge and sufficient power to attend fully to their own interest, opposition or competition is good.† The object desired will be obtained

* It was thus that when a post-office for the conveyance of letters to and from foreign parts, was established by James I., under the control of one Matthew de Quester, or de l' Equester, the office, as soon as it was found worth any thing, and consequently worth claiming, was claimed by a member of that all-devouring oligarchy (lord Stanhope).—*Blackstone's Com. I. p.* 321.

† The general proposition has thus been briefly, clearly, and comprehensively enunciated by a friend, who is thoroughly conversant with such subjects:—

not only cheap, but good; and not only cheap and good, but as cheap and as good as it can possibly be obtained. But when this sufficient knowledge and sufficient power are wanting, the case will be considerably altered; and the effect of competition will be, that the object required will be obtained sufficiently cheap indeed, but by no means as good as it is cheap. Of course, by the parties interested, we mean the parties interested in having it not only cheap but good.

Prisons and courts of law, as well as hospitals, are examples of this principle. The prisoners and those at whose cost the prisoners are kept, have distinct interests,—alike unfriendly to the good management and economy of the prisons. Distinct and conflicting interests—the interest of the former being to be kept in prison as comfortably as possible, the interest of the latter being to confine the former at as small a cost as possible, without any regard to the comforts of their situation. Now, in the case of the competition of the gaoler, or company of gaolers, "grateful for past favour, and anxiously and respectfully soliciting the continued patronage and support of their friends and the public," it by no means follows, nor would it be necessary to follow, that the gaoler, or company of gaolers, who succeeded in confining their prisoners at the cheapest rate, should also succeed in affording the most suitable accommodation, which, of course, comprehends the best security against their own (i. e. the gaoler's) tyranny, cruelty, and rapacity. The reverse of this would be more likely to be the case. Here then, in the event of competition, the interest of the principal party concerned would be entirely neglected. The case of hospitals is similar, with the exception, perhaps, that the party has rather more choice what hospital he shall go to, than what prison.

The system of hospital management in France, though relatively superior, is by no means faultless. Dr. Johnston mentions two great objections to it.—In the first place, the immense number of persons employed in the administration; and secondly, the constant and often harassing necessity of applying to the minister of the interior concerning the most trifling details. Some persons in France complain of the administration being far too expensive, and notwithstanding the moderate rate of salaries in France, this complaint may appear to be not altogether without foundation, the division of employ-

When the competition is for the suffrages of the parties really interested, competition is good (with the proviso in the text).

When the competition is for the suffrages of parties not interested in the excellence of the work, the competition must operate for evil, if for any thing.

ment being so great. From a list given by Dr. Johnston it appears that the general administration, without taking into consideration the numerous *personnel* attached to the hospitals individually, of charities the whole funds and revenues of which amount to little more than 700,000 francs (£28,000) amounts to no less than nineteen persons, and costs a sum of 32,000 francs (£1,280.) But what will Dr. Johnston think when we tell him, which we can do upon very high authority, that the expenses of management of a charity in this country, the annual revenue of which is £1,200., amount to no less than £900.—three fourths of the whole income.—This is cheap government with a vengeance.

On the subject of hospitals of Paris, we shall have occasion to differ from Dr. Johnston in a few slight particulars. We do this with the more confidence, inasmuch as our information is derived from a very authentic source.

In order to obtain any degree at Paris, a student must have made a certain number of inscriptions, that is, he must have recorded his name a certain number of times in the public books of the School of Medicine, during the first fortnight of every quarter. Before presenting himself for inscription he must shew his register of birth, and if he be a minor, the consent of his parents or guardians. It is not absolutely necessary that he should have his diploma of Bachelor of Letters before being inscribed, but he must have it prior to beginning his examinations. Therefore a young man whose early education has been neglected, may have time to prepare to pass his classical examination during the period while he is prosecuting his medical studies. To obtain a degree of doctor, four years' study in a faculty is absolutely necessary. To obtain the title of *officier de santé* three years in a faculty are sufficient.

The medical service of the hospitals is composed of head physicians and surgeons, of ordinary physicians and surgeons, of inferior and assistant physicians and surgeons, of apothecaries, and of *élèves* of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy. The head physician is the *adjoint*. The *suppléans* are the old ones who are pensioned off. The second surgeons or *chirurgiens de deuxième classe* do the same duty as the *adjoint* or *chirurgien en chef*, when employed, which is at the option of the head surgeon. The same is the case with regard to the physicians. In Paris the hospital establishments have all *chirurgiens en chef et en second.*

The physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries are elected to the hospitals at a *concours*.—The election must be confirmed by the Minister of the Interior. The regulations as to age, period of

practice and employment, &c. quoted by Dr. Johnston are not all in force.

The following observations of Dr. Johnston are good.

'The period of visit in the French, and, it may be added, in all continental hospitals, is early in the morning: it generally commences at seven in winter and at six in summer. This is decidedly superior to the English system, according to which the visits are made in the middle of the day. Considering the exacerbation so frequently attendant on disease during the night, it ought to be accounted of the highest importance, to observe as early in the morning as possible, the effects produced upon the progress or symptoms of a malady by the manner in which the night had been passed. At a time when it is likely a change may take place in the state of the patient either for better or worse, instead of allowing that change, whatever it may be, to run on unobserved till late in the day, it ought to be immediately, attended to and acted on. It frequently happens, in consequence, that a practice which might have been adopted at what may be termed a critical period, is put off till it probably fails to produce the good effects that might have been looked for had it been administered in time. In France the visits of the medical officers are much more lengthened than in this country, as they last for nearly three hours at a time; and, in addition, the *officiers de santé* (he means the *internes*) must make a visit to their respective wards, between the hours of four and eight o'clock in the evening.'

There is a particular class of students in the French hospitals called *élèves*, who form part of the medical service of the hospitals. They are divided into medical, surgical, and pharmaceutical *élèves*. The *élèves* of medicine and surgery are also divided into two classes.—One class are called *élèves externes*—the other *internes*—the latter reside in the hospital—the former do not. They are both chosen by *concours*, which for the *élèves externes* takes place on the third Monday of November, and for the *élèves internes* on the first Monday of December of every year. The examiners are five in number, two surgeons and three physicians chosen from those of all the hospitals, whose names are put into a vase and drawn out at a meeting of the council. The examinations are public, and are thus conducted. A certain number of questions having been thrown promiscuously into a vase, the candidate draws one from them, and is allowed eight minutes to compose his verbal answer. It not unfrequently occurs that the candidate finding he has drawn a question of which he is totally ignorant, disappears, and, when the time allowed expires, is not forthcoming. Three or four hours are allowed for those questions to which written answers are required: and during that time the

candidate is of course not allowed to have communication with any one.

To become an *élève externe*, the candidate must be at least eighteen, and not more than twenty-four years of age; (the certificate of *bachelier en lettres* or *en sciences* is not required for this,) and have studied medicine and surgery for one year at least. To become *élève interne*, it is necessary to have been *élève externe* at least one year. Should the *élève externe* fail of obtaining the situation of *élève interne* his third year, he must quit the hospital.

These examinations are open to all—perfectly unshackled by the paltry restrictions of county, country, or creed. Our countryman, Mr. King, was elected the second of one hundred and thirty candidates at the *concours* of the Hospital Administration for house surgeons *(internes)* in 1822. The same gentleman also obtained the first prize of a gold medal in 1825.* Such distinctions, bestowed as the rewards of merit upon a stranger, are alike honourable to the talents which won and to the severe impartiality which conferred them.

The *internes* are the real assistant surgeons of the hospital. The head surgeon generally performs all great operations, and he is accompanied in his rounds by the *internes*, who in the more simple surgical cases are permitted in his presence to handle the knife. In cases of emergency, however, they often operate out of his presence.

The duty of the second surgeon or *chirurgien de deuxième classe* is the same as that of the head surgeon or *chirurgien en chef*. He has many wards, or none, just as the head surgeon wishes or not to employ him.

The *élèves internes* of medicine and surgery, besides their lodging in the hospital, receive a sum of 500 francs yearly. If they are supplied with food and fuel, this sum is reduced to 100. Their period of service is four years; and they are allowed a leave of absence, varying in duration from one to two months; their duties, in the mean time, being performed by an *élève externe* or a colleague. One or more of the *internes* must always remain upon guard (*élèves de garde*) for the space of twenty-four hours—during which period they can under no pretext quit the hospital. Those who are thus on guard, must constantly keep their eyes upon every thing that goes on in the hospital (attending very particularly to the changes that may unex-

* Mr. King likewise obtained three second prizes at the *concours* of the School of Medicine—one in 1821 on Anatomy and Physiology; one in 1822 on Pathology—and one in 1823 on Medical Jurisprudence.

pectedly occur in the state of the inmates, and informing them when they are important) and be ready to receive any new inmates, or cases of injury.

'The *élèves* receive regular instruction in anatomy and surgery in their respective hospitals, and have each a certain number of patients under their immediate charge; every circumstance of whose cases they must particularly attend to. The cases they draw out are collected every three months, and from them is constructed the great tabular view of the medical constitution of the year, which is full of so much interest to the physician, the philosopher, and the statistical inquirer. This table states the rate of mortality, and the causes of its increase or diminution; the nature of the prevalent diseases, their type, the causes of their exasperation or of their mildness; the character of the remedies employed, the good or bad success attending their administration; finally, the cures performed, and the extent to which they may be modified, shortened, or lengthened, by seasons, professions, country, and other causes. Such tables are of the highest interest and utility, and, being printed and distributed among the students and the public, they give an impulse to the progress of medicine and surgery, by the light they throw upon the nature and success of the practice adopted in the treatment of disease in the hospitals. A similar account of the various surgical operations performed, and the success attending them, is made up in a like manner, and forwarded—not to "the School of Medicine," but to the Hospital Administration.'—pp. 130—131.

The following observations are good:—

'The system of *élèves* adopted in the French hospitals is an excellent one, and well adapted to give a complete practical education. Its advantages are, indeed, so self-evident, that it is almost unnecessary to detail them. In the capital, more particularly, with so many hospitals, in which every variety of disease may be studied, and every difference of treatment observed, it is hardly possible to conceive a form of education that can surpass it in practical utility. Three or four years' close attendance, not only upon one, but upon several hospitals of all kinds, opens the mind and matures the judgment as to the superior advantages of one mode of treatment over another; the opinions thus formed are not the result of theory and speculation, but of actual practice and observation.

'This mode of education, too, is accessible to every one; for the expense at which it may be obtained is very trifling. The *élève* is supplied with lodging, and in many cases with food and fuel, besides receiving a small sum of money; and this advantage, in a country where the courses of lectures are delivered in the Faculties gratis, puts it in the power of the very humblest to aspire to situations which are given to talents and industry in preference to interest.—p. 133—4.

'In the course of study for degrees, whether of doctor in medicine, or doctor in surgery, the same extent of clinical education is necessary; medical and surgical clinics in both cases are equally attended to, and

equally obligatory. This also happens in many other continental universities, and especially in those of Italy, and the reason of it is a good one: it proceeds upon the principle, that no physician can be a good one, unless he knows all that a surgeon ought to know; and in like manner, that to be a good surgeon it is necessary to have all the education and know all the duties of a physician.'—p. 146.

Enough has been said to afford the reader some idea (we hope a clear one) of the manner in which the medical service of the French hospital is conducted. We shall merely notice a few errors into which the author has fallen.

He says 'The students who attend the clinics are admitted on presenting a ticket, signed by the dean of the faculty of medicine, and the hospital-governor.' [p. 142.] The hospitals are all free; no tickets are necessary, except at the Hotel-Dieu, where the practice of requiring introductions will be probably soon discontinued.

'The whole conversation during the visit, is in Latin.' [p. 145] Laennec, the author of an excellent work on diseases of the lungs, or rather on a new plan of detecting them by the Stethoscope, was the only one who used to speak in Latin—he has been dead several years.

'In Paris, dissections are not allowed to be carried on all the year. From October to April is the period fixed, beyond which, on account of the heat, the dissecting-rooms are shut.' [p. 149] Some dissection may be had all the year round.

'Besides the *élèves* of medicine and surgery, there are also *élèves* of pharmacy, who are placed under the head-apothecary. They are all *internes*. [p. 133] They are *externes* and *internes* too.

'The *élèves* of the *Charité* and the Hotel-Dieu finish their practical education in the *Maternité* and *Vénériens*.' [p. 120] There is no finishing in any particular hospital.

'To become *élève interne*, it is necessary to have been at least one year an *élève externe*. The one is a step to the other, and very much depends upon the candidate's behaviour.' [p. 128] Scarcely at all upon their behaviour, but upon their *concours*.

One word more on the subject of the medical profession, The eager desire—the mad craving—the *auri sacra fames* (for that alone expresses it fully) the ravening after wealth has been truly said to be the plague-spot on the character of the people of England. And, to continue the metaphor, the internal poison, whereof this plague-spot is the external index, has circulated and is circulating throughout all the ramifications—through all the veins and arteries of the huge frame of society. There is not a profession—there is not a trade in this

country—however exalted or however humble—through all the gradations—through all the workings of which its baleful influence may not be traced. Under such circumstances, it is not to be expected that the medical profession should have escaped the infection. And that infection having once crept in, all the healing powers even of the art of healing itself, are vain here—are unable to stop or even to retard this moral disease's gigantic and appalling progress.—They may say, with the fabled deity of their tribe—with their own *magnus Apollo*—

'Inventum medicina meum est; opiferque per orbem
Dicor: et herbarum subjecta potentia nobis.'
* * * * * *
Nec prosunt domino quæ prosunt omnibus, artes.'—Ovid, Met. *Lib.* i.

What are we to think of the morality of a country, where he who supports a gaudy equipage upon borrowed money, which he knows that he has no prospect of ever being able to repay, is considered far more respectable than he who makes his visits on foot, because he knows that his finances will not permit him to ride. In France, the medical men, even those of the very first eminence in the profession, who do not make their professional visits on foot (which very many respectable ones do), generally use a cabriolet, where, of course, they require only one horse and one servant, instead of two horses and two servants. And if rapidity of motion be one great thing required, the advantage of the cabriolet appears to us considerable. Moreover, if the doctor should happen to be one of those who, like

——— "the little busy bee,
Improve each shining hour,"

he may pursue his studies quite as well in his cabriolet, with a steady servant to drive, as in a close carriage—a plan which we would humbly recommend in preference to his taking the reins into his own hands.

The fact is, that in France men are not regarded and valued so much in proportion to their wealth, or the show which they make of wealth, as in proportion to their wisdom and knowledge, or at least to the reputation they have acquired of possessing those qualities. Now, in England, the case is different, and wisdom and knowledge here, if unaccompanied by wealth, are overlooked or treated with contempt or insolence. Consequently in the latter country, the professional man, however really respectable by his talents and acquirements, knows that he has no chance of being respected unless he can make a *show* of wealth similar to that of the lord whose ancestor has been enriched and ennobled for being buffoon and pimp to some Henry, James, or

Charles, invested with the ensigns of royalty, or of the black-leg or stockjobber, who has amassed wealth by cheating and gambling.

The general provision for the relief of the poor, which forms the subject of the three concluding chapters of Dr. Johnston's book, involving the question of the English Poor-laws, is a vast and arduous subject; and one, the consideration of which must be deferred to some other opportunity.

ART. XIII.—*Memoirs of Rear-Admiral Paul Jones, Chevalier to the Military Order of Merit, and of the Russian Order of St. Anne, now first compiled from his Original Journals and Correspondence; including an account of his services under Prince Potemkin: prepared for publication by himself.* Edinburgh. 1830. 2 vols. Post 8vo.

WE are indebted to the author of this piece of biography for a complete and the only authentic account of a man who, in his day, at least, made no small noise in the world. The interest of the work is, however, simply the interest one takes in the truth; for neither the achievements, the character, nor the correspondence and writings of Paul Jones, are matters to leave an agreeable impression on the mind. The fact is, that the truth, as it is here faithfully and impartially laid down by a person who would naturally be tempted to view his subject with favour, has stripped a hero of lofty pretensions of much unfounded fame. The delusions of romance and the fables of rumour which go to form so considerable a part of the vulgar notions respecting Paul Jones, have succeeded in making up a personage of so much greater interest than the real man, that we fear we shall perform no welcome task in spreading the results to which the investigation of the documents now published must necessarily conduct every reader of discernment.

The common idea of Paul Jones is, that he was an indomitable Buccaneer, that his name was the terror of his enemies, and the pride of his friends, that he swept the seas in his piratical vessels, and had no sooner performed a glorious exploit in one corner of the world than before the lapse of even a creditable space of time his bravery was achieving new conquests in another. A pirate is of course cruel and particularly black; mysterious and sombre on ordinary occasions, but on the day of battle brilliant with a fierce delight, and then alone apparently enjoying the boon of existence. To these general traits of the corsair, in the case of Paul Jones other and peculiar ones are added by common fame. He was the darling of the women;

courts were at his feet, and monarchs wooed him to their service; and to crown the whole, he was a hero not for, but against his country. The facts we glean from this narrative will show how common fame vindicates her claim to the proverb, and how far she may have accidentally hit upon the truth. Paul Jones was a person of undoubted bravery, but his exploits were few, and except one, the capture of the Serapis, insignificant. The character of a privateer he disdained : his sole thirst was after the distinctions of legitimate rank : when offered a letter of marque by the king of France, he treated the proposal as an insult. His great repute was in truth made much more by his intrigues than by his achievements, which, as we have said, with one exception, were of no great account : the courts he served were besieged by him, and though he received distinctions both from the king of France and the empress of Russia, he used no small art, solicitation, and bargaining, to procure them. The women occupied themselves with him for a brief space of time as they do with all lions; and when he timely went to court after his action with the British frigate, he was the vogue at Versailles for a moment : some *liaisons* and correspondence seem to have grown out of this visit, but they appear to have died off with as little satisfaction as an *homme de bonnes fortunes* could well expect. That a man should raise himself by fighting against his compatriots has never been thought an enviable ground of distinction. In Paul Jones's case, there was not much to relieve him from the odium which usually attends the renegade. The cause, it is true, was a just and honourable one ; but it mattered little to Paul Jones, or rather John Paul, what might be the nature of the cause, (and we say this with a full recollection of all his fine speeches respecting the dignity of human nature) provided it contributed to satisfy his ambitious thirst of distinction. It is true, that this same ardour is the foundation of nearly all the great deeds that have astonished mankind, but when it produces little else than a restless and boastful intrigue, which wears out both himself and every body else with eternal projects, which were doomed either to be unsuccessful or never to take place, it ceases to be respectable.

John Paul was born in 1747, at Arbigland in Kirkudbright : his father was a gentleman's gardener, and though he speaks in his letters of the competency he inherited, he received nothing from his family but his name, which he afterwards rejected for another. As a boy, he was employed in the merchant service, and traded chiefly between Whitehaven and the West Indies. When the American Revolution broke out, he was still a very young man, though he had commanded several merchant ves-

sels, and as it would appear, accumulated considerable property in Tobago. This property proved, however, for a considerable time, unavailable; and previously to his joining the American forces, he had been living for twenty months in that country on fifty pounds. He writes of the important obligations he had received from individuals, strangers to him, in the absence of other assistance, and assigns these services as the reasons which bind him to follow the cause of his benefactors; of course he dwells upon other topics of his apology for aiding the patriots, such as his being by habit half an American, the justice of the cause, the rights of man, and the right of an individual to take which side he pleases in a contest. The true motive of his taking service with the Americans was simply the chance he had of gaining distinction, and his impatience of the indolent and inefficient life he was at the moment leading. He afterwards puts his abandonment of ease and tranquillity for the dangers and labours of war in the light of a great sacrifice made in behalf of the cause of freedom. But when he enlisted under the banners of the autocrat of Russia, he was as enthusiastic in the liberties of Bellona, as he calls Catherine, as he had previously been in those of the goddess of liberty.

In 1775, when the Congress first proposed to organize a navy, and had great difficulty in finding officers capable of commanding the few vessels they could arm, Paul Jones was appointed first lieutenant of the Alfred; the operations in which the American squadron were employed were not successful, and some of the commanders were tried by court-martial. Jones, however, did his duty; and was soon after put in command of the Providence. In this situation he shewed himself a bold and active seaman, and though he complains, as was his invariable usage, of every body connected with him, and had already begun to stickle for his rank, and pester authorities with projects, there is no doubt but that he succeeded in giving Congress a high, and we believe, a just idea of his utility. The American navy was in its infancy, and so feeble that brilliant exploits were not to be expected from it; that it maintained itself is a high praise, although Jones would make us believe that had it been under his management, it would have achieved great things. Congress appears to have been partly of his opinion, for he says they ordered three ships to be purchased, and gave him the choice of any one of them "until they could provide him with a better command." Before these ships were bought, they conferred upon him a higher distinction: he was sent to Europe with orders to the American Commissioners at Paris to invest him with the command of a fine ship, 'as a reward of my zeal

and the signal services I had performed in vessels of little force.' This is his own language, and is moderate, compared with the eulogies that flow from his pen when his own merits are the subject. Whether men distrusted or neglected him, or that he fancied he was never sufficiently appreciated, it would appear that the chief employment of his industrious pen was, to compose his own boastful praises. The letter of Congress to its Commissioners is honourable to Jones, and relieves him wholly from the charge of his being in Europe a mere adventurer on the ocean. The Indien, a very fine frigate, then building in Holland, was fixed upon as the ship to be put under Jones's command: and he was, naturally enough, greatly disappointed when the Commissioners changed their intention, and presented it to the King of France. Captain Jones had come to Europe in the command of the Ranger: after the new disposition of the frigate, the commissioners thought proper to employ him in his own vessel in this quarter of the world. They, in fact, sent him on a cruise to do what mischief he could, and to go where he pleased. On the 10th April 1778, he sailed from Brest on that expedition which for some time made him a bugbear on the British coasts, and gave a character of treachery and even atrocity to his general reputation. He made for the spot where he spent his youth, and learned his craft, to destroy it; he then visited the coast on which he had been born, and where his parents dwelt, to carry terror and dismay among the peaceful inhabitants, unsuspicious of the approach of an enemy; in short, he availed himself of all that early experience, which usually renders persons and things sacred, for the purpose of violating them. The world was all before him, where to choose for plunder and destruction, but he preferred to burn the shipping in Whitehaven, because he had been apprenticed there, and was acquainted with the localities; for similar reasons he sailed, burning and destroying off the coast of Galloway, and landed at St. Mary's Isle, to pillage Lord Selkirk of his plate. On his return from this expedition, Jones wrote his well-known letter to Lady Selkirk, and, as Dr. Franklin said of it, that it was "a gallant letter, which must give her ladyship a high and just opinion of Captain Jones's generosity and nobleness of mind, it no doubt deserved praise." To us, however, it appears conceived in a wretched taste, and utterly unworthy of a person of true bravery. In explaining to Lady Selkirk that his object in besetting her house in order to kidnap her husband that he might be made instrumental to a general discharge of prisoners, and that her plate was taken merely to satisfy his sailors, who would have something, and, had he not limited them to the plate, would have taken more; he was certainly not called upon to

trumpet forth his own achievements, the more especially, as he was addressing a lady who could not probably take any interest in him, excepting that of regarding him as little better than one of a troop of bandit. Nevertheless, he thus addresses her Ladyship in, what the good doctor calls, this gallant letter;

'Had the Earl been on board the Ranger the following evening [i. e. had I kidnapped him], he would have seen the awful pomp and dreadful carnage of a sea-engagement [very agreeable, no doubt], both affording ample subject for the pencil, as well as melancholy reflection for the contemplative mind. [He perhaps hints, that if her ladyship had been there with her sketch-book and pocket-handkerchief, it would have been as well.] Humanity starts back from such scenes of horror, and cannot sufficiently execrate the vile promoters of this detestable war.

For *they*, 'twas they unsheathed the ruthless blade,
And Heaven shall ask the havoc it has made.

'The British ship of war, Drake, mounting twenty guns, with more than her full complement of officers and men, was our opponent. The ships met, and the advantage was disputed with great fortitude on each side for an hour and forty minutes, when the gallant commander of the Drake fell, and victory declared in favour of the Ranger. The amiable lieutenant lay mortally wounded, besides nearly forty of the inferior officers and crew killed and wounded.—A melancholy demonstration of the uncertainty of human prospects, and of the sad reverse of fortune which an hour can produce. I buried them in a spacious grave, with the honours due to the memory of the brave.'

He goes on, after this touch of the heroic, which reminds the reader of a sentimental butcher, and is just as hypocritical as his whining over a newly-killed calf would be, to speak of his favourite topic—himself.

'Though I have drawn my sword in the present generous struggle for the rights of man, yet I am not in arms as an American, nor am I in pursuit of riches. My fortune is liberal enough, having no wife nor family, and having lived long enough to know that riches cannot insure happiness. I profess myself a citizen of the world, totally unfettered by the little, mean distinctions of climate or of country which diminish the benevolence of the heart, and set bounds to philanthropy. Before this war began, I had withdrawn from the sea-service, in favour of "calm contemplation and poetic ease." I have sacrificed not only my favourite scheme of life, but the softer affections of the heart, and my prospects of domestic happiness; and I am ready to sacrifice my life also, with cheerfulness, if that forfeiture could restore peace and good will to mankind.'

It is a mistake to consider all boasters as cowards, brave men are sometimes great dealers in *fanfaronade*: which in such cases certainly loses a portion of its disgusting qualities. It is

creditable to Jones that he promised to purchase and restore this plate, and at the expense of great trouble and of course of money, performed his promise.

Next year, after a world of *tracasserie,* Jones succeeded in getting a ship from the French government, and had joined under his command, an American frigate besides some smaller vessels. At the head of this little squadron Jones put to sea and did a good deal of mischief to the coasting trade, and in the course of his cruize fought and captured the English frigate Serapis, Captain Pearson, after an engagement which forms the principal feature of his life. Previous to the late war this combat was the most desperate that has been recorded, in the chronicles of naval warfare. It occurred off Flamborough Head and endured three hours and a half in sight of multitudes who crowded to the edge of the cliffs to view the battle. Jones appears to have managed his ship with judgment, and undoubtedly fought with a reckless bravery, that no danger could daunt. The guns were muzzle to muzzle and the carnage was truly horrible. At the close of the contest when the combatants were precisely in the condition of two mastiffs who have fought till they cannot move a limb, and yet neither will leave his hold, the American vessel, the Alliance, came up to the succour of Jones's ship, the Bon Homme Richard. To the aid given by this frigate the English captain assigns his defeat; whereas captain Jones accuses the commander of it who was assuredly mad and utterly unmanageable, of firing into his ship purposely and doing him much more injury than he did to the enemy. This man, Landais a Frenchman, was afterwards dismissed the American service. Captain Jones though he became master of the Serapis lost his own Bon Homme Richard. She sunk shortly after the action, and he tells us, and we believe him, that he saw her go down with a grief of heart, he cannot describe. The deck of the Bon Homme Richard was the last on which he distinguished himself. On Jones's return to France he took occasion to go to court for the purpose of procuring the prize money to which his crews were entitled. Here he was received with an enthusiasm that would have intoxicated a stronger-minded man. The courtiers fêted him, the ladies made love to him, and the king presented him with a golden sword. Jones himself became a perfect courtier and forgot his poor crew. He returned to his ship armed with his sword of gold and laden with honorary letters, but without a farthing of prize-money. The crew in consequence mutinied and sailed off to America, with the mad Frenchman Landais as their captain. Jones was obliged to follow in the Ariel. He returned to Europe

after having exchanged his honorary epistles addressed to America, for American letters on Europe. His ostensible object was the recovery of the prize-money. Mr. Jefferson had, however, recommended him to the Russian Ambassador, and the prize-money was once more abandoned for the pursuit of glory under Russian colours.

Jones's sanguine expectations of brilliant fortunes in Russia were miserably disappointed. After being flatteringly received by the empress, and raised to the rank of rear Admiral he was sent under Potemkin to oppose the Turks. It is well understood that in Russia it is not always that the honour of success is conferred upon the right person, and Jones may be correct in laying claim to victories said to be gained by others. Some successes he certainly had which were rewarded with disgrace. He was given to understand that he might leave Russia for a time. He returned to Paris and to the last entertained the most sanguine expectation of being recalled by the empress, to active service. At Petersburg where every thing is or was managed by intrigue, Jones was made the subject of one peculiarly base. A party in the court under the paltry idea of gratifying the English government left no effort untried to ruin him with the empress; and they succeeded.

Paul Jones died in Paris on the 18th of June 1792. Dropsy appears to have been the disease which immediately produced death, but it was doubtless only the result of debility and other disease, superinduced by chagrin and disappointment. He was in easy circumstances, had several attached friends about him at the time, but left all he possessed to his relatives in Scotland.

ART. XIV.—1. *The Works of William Ellery Channing, D.D.* London. Rainford. 1829.

2. *An Essay on the Character and Writings of Fenelon.* By W. E. Channing, D.D. London. 1829. Hunter; Teulon and Fox.

3. *Remarks on the disposition which now prevails to form Associations, and to accomplish all objects by Organized Masses.* By William Ellery Channing, D.D. London. 1830. Rainford.

THERE is one topic, among the multitude of "things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme," which is well worthy of the worthiest pen; and by the discussion of which, in a free and philosophic spirit, an important benefit would be conferred upon the community; especially on two very important classes, unenlightened religionists and enlightened sceptics; we mean

tellectual tendencies and influences of Christianity. Nothing, absolutely nothing, has yet been done towards unfolding those "high capacious powers," which the Scriptures possess for stimulating and exalting the human mind; towards depicting their actual operation in past ages; or towards shewing, and thereby directing and accelerating, the effects they should produce on society under all the new circumstances of its present condition, and in the unparalleled progressiveness of its present course. But this is no theme for professional Theologians. Generally speaking, they are the last people in the world to intrust such a work to: many of them hold philosophy in ignorant and superstitious abhorrence, as something very heathenish in ancient times, and in modern very revolutionary. The finer minds amongst them are cramped by having been trained in the trammels of a party. The enthusiastic are imbued with the feelings of the Missionary Student who demurred to learning the Latin grammar because there was nothing spiritual in it. Original and comprehensive views would only encumber those who preach to please the many, who are their hearers, or those who preach to please the few, who are their patrons. And it cannot be expected that articles should be manufactured which are not in demand; or that the requisite skill for their production should be acquired. So the whole tribe goes on saying catechisms, subscribing creeds, repeating homilies, quoting texts, and pacing the mill-round of some dozen doctrines and duties which the wisdom of their ancestors constructed into a never-to-be-improved system. Nothing can be imagined more fatal to mental development than the common routine of clerical education and clerical duty. The evil is not in establishments only. It cleaves just as closely to sectarian bodies. The religious world has committed the grand mistake of alienating itself from the philosophical world. It has been misled by priests into believing that between Faith and Reason there is a natural and everlasting hostility. The methodist parson and the mitred bishop have both an interest at stake in keeping the minds of the people as inert as possible. It suits their convenience and it secures their influence. And if thought cannot be prevented altogether; if it must and will sometimes flash out; the next best thing, in their estimation, is to conduct it safely away from their temples, and let it sport through the air, or dart down to earth's centre, if it will, so that it do but leave church and chapel untouched, the lank hair unsinged and the plate unmelted. Thus far they have, unhappily, been but too successful, and the nefarious triumph has recoiled upon their own heads. They should, in the spirit and

power of their religion, have had "the start of the majestic world;" but their first endeavour was, by stupefaction and terror, to produce an universal mental paralysis; and failing in that, they did effect the excision of the religious organ from the brain, leaving only that empty veneration which they could mould at pleasure; and thus by the suppression of thought and speculation in others they lost their own motives to mental exercise, even in their own professional sphere; and worst of all, the blind leaders and the blind led both became wholly unconscious of the intellectual glory, beauty, and power of Christianity itself. Revelation is thus "shorn of its beams," and only "disastrous twilight sheds" on the nations which it was kindled up to illumine, and who will even yet rejoice in its light when the mists sent up by these stagnant marshes shall have been dispelled.

It may be said that Christianity has a higher object than mere intellectual improvement, and that this has absorbed the attention of religionists. More shame for them! There can be no reason why the salvation of the soul should exclude the cultivation of the mind. It has never yet been found to exclude matters of much less importance. Besides, to enlighten, exercise, and elevate the human intellect is an integral portion of the good, which religion was intended to realize; and it is as plain that much of it is framed for this especial purpose as it is that light was made for the eye and air for the lungs. To neglect this object of revelation, is to remain with a degraded notion of its nature, a false estimate of its character, and a partial reception of its benefits. It was well said by Lessing that revelation is to the human race, what education is to the individual. And it is education of the noblest kind. The bible is pre-eminent for the powerful and varied stimuli of intellect which it contains. If men would but come to it with their eyes open; if they would but get out of the word-catching, text-torturing, syllable-squeezing system of interpretation with which their souls have been saddled by priestly tradition, priestly narrow-mindedness, priestly ignorance, and priestly interest; if instead of this, they would but fairly look at the facts and the spirit of the volume, they would see that the whole was constructed to give a mighty impulse to the human mind, and raise it from its fallen state by the energy communicated to its own faculties. It would be easy, were this the proper place, to prove this position by a profusion of evidence: to display the Mosaic system of national education, and the original Christian plan of instruction in voluntary societies; to show that prophets and apostles, when they did more than bear testimony to facts, always reasoned the matter, and

invited others to reason it too: to illustrate the importance ascribed to personal conviction; to evince that the most extraordinary occurrences not only were recorded, but actually took place, in order that the minds of men might be exercised upon them, and deduce truth from them, in the same way that those minds are exercised upon, and deduce truth from, natural objects and events: and to make manifest the fact that the morality of Christianity consists neither of arbitrary enactment, nor of particular precept, but simply and solely of the great principle of utility, applied to the circumstances which then existed, and left for us to apply to the circumstances which now exist. And all this would but conduct us to the very threshold of the subject, which there is no hope of having worthily treated till theologians have more philosophy, or philosophers have more theology, and the world is better prepared to admit, rejoice in, and profit by their natural and lasting union.

The appearance of such a man as Dr. Channing among divines is one of the best symptoms that such a time is coming. Men of much sturdier talent, and of much more multifarious acquirement there have undoubtedly been; and men who have been deservedly held in reputation, not only by the particular religious community to which they belonged, but throughout Christendom. With scarcely an exception, however, they committed the great professional blunder, which he has so happily escaped. They approached revelation as something which was to supersede, or to limit, or to control, the rational faculties; not as something which only acts by them, something which requires, stimulates, and expands them. This is his peculiar merit, his distinguishing characteristic; and by it he has deserved well of his country and of mankind.

He has deserved well, we say, of his country; for with all her political freedom, America is yet very far from the full possession and the high pre-eminence of mental freedom. The revolution did not emancipate intellect. In her courts the decisions of English judges are yet cited as authoritative interpretations of law. The members of Congress, who would spurn the idea of petitioning for liberty of speech, yet bow before commercial prejudices to which the political economists of Britain have dealt a death-blow. Their creeds were transplanted from the mother country; they have the same standards of orthodoxy, the same demarcations of sects; nor can America boast even of a single indigenous heresy. Their literature consists chiefly of abridgements and imitations. Their best writers are for the most part copyists; and not creators. They have many minds of great respectabi-

lity and industry in their "republic of letters," but are unfortunately almost as devoid of the "aristocracy of talent," and the "despotism of genius," as they happily are of other aristocracies and other despotisms. We certainly mean to cast no imputation on them by the statement of these facts. They might be accounted for without much difficulty; and causes are at work which must generate a better state of things, with tolerable rapidity. Amongst the influences by which so desirable a change will be accelerated, no mean place may be occupied by the prompt and liberal appreciation in this country of whatever originality, boldness, freedom and elevation of thought may beam upon us from beyond the Atlantic. In every point of view, for their sakes; for our own sakes; on the broad principles of common justice, and common utility; for the conservation of a mutual good understanding between the two countries; and for the benefit of the human mind all the world over, it is incumbent upon us gladly to recognize, and heartily to welcome the rising of every "bright, particular star" in their literary horizon, and distinguish it at once from the twilight meteors that to-morrow will be forgotten. America has a right to be proud of Channing; and shame would it be for the criticism of England were he to be dismissed with affected contempt, "damned with faint praise," or only spoken of with that unmeaning generality of expression which would show that sufficient trouble had not been taken to understand him correctly, or sufficient candour not exercised to estimate him justly.

He is well worth the trouble; and not the less so because he is a preacher. A man of genius in the pulpit should excite some curiosity, and be made the subject of some investigation, were it only for the rarity of the thing. But there is a much better reason. The power of the pulpit is immense. Much of that power may lie dormant; much of it may be egregiously misdirected; but the mode and objects of its exercise must be a topic of deep interest to every friend of mankind, The preacher is in possession, without an effort, merely in virtue of his office and of the place in which he stands, of that respectful attention which any where else, it costs long effort to obtain, even with the advantages of talent, information, and character. The seriousness and sacredness which associate themselves with the worship which he conducts, and the scriptures which he reads, extend their influence to what is avowedly only the effusion of his own mind, and predispose his hearers to give it ready admission and extensive influence. He has the advantage, the incalculable advantage, of incessant [illegible]tition. He

can give "line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little, and there a little," till the ductile understanding is bent, and the soft one moulded, and the malleable one hammered, into the exact form which he wished. And these facilities are possessed by thousands, and exercised from week to week incessantly; and that upon the most important portion of the community, the most numerous, the most orderly and industrious, the most reflecting and moral classes. Hearing sermons is to millions what reading books is to thousands. It is their chief source of information on topics not connected with the occupation by which they earn their daily bread. It is the most frequent and powerful impulse to thought, which their minds are in the way for receiving. Their mental characters are more fashioned by it than by any thing else; and so are those of their children. The work of education is to a large extent in the hands of the preachers also. And where it is not, still those to whom it is confided are subjected in a great degree to their influence. Moreover, with all sects, the young are, on religious grounds, the object of special attention. The greatest exertion is made, and with large success, not only to instil into their minds the belief of such doctrines as are deemed important, but permanently to influence their modes of thought and feeling. This machinery is worth looking after. It is capable of rendering incalculable service to mankind. The weight has hitherto been hung on the wrong side of the wheel; but it cannot hang there for ever. It must shift its place, and promote the operations it has too long retarded. The Tories in politics are types of the anti-reasoners in theology. There must be more intelligence and liberality in the one ministry, as well as in the other, to preserve the respect of a community whose intelligence and liberality are rapidly advancing. It will never do for priests to go on anathematizing while governments go on emancipating. Clerical education must improve. Its improvement has, indeed, already begun. The new professorship of Political Economy at Oxford, is a good symptom. The Dissenters were thinking of what could be done for their preachers, even before the London University was projected. But the work must needs be a slow one yet. A few good examples will help it on mightily; especially if the world will but receive them well. We say therefore to Dr. Channing, as the Macedonian did to the apostle, "come over and help us." Come over, if not bodily, in the shape of such sermons, tracts, and dissertations as we have now before us, and shame or animate the preachers of the old country into new life. "Create a soul beneath the ribs of death." Shew them how

the pulpit, which has so long been the palace of dulness, may become the throne of intelligence. Let the Christian spirit surpass the achievements of ancient idolatry. Let it take that useless log of wood, and make it a God; a God to enlighten and command. Guide the power of preaching into its right direction, so that while its spiritual purposes are not the less accomplished, nay, the more perfectly, it may wake the slumbering intellects of millions, excite them to vigorous exercise, and make the messengers of revelation the heralds of the true age of reason.

We consider Dr. Channing as an incarnation of the intellectual spirit of Christianity. He is the tenth Avatar of the principle of reformation; and come to complete the work. The shaking off the yoke of the Papacy; the abrogation of ceremonial and doctrinal corruptions; the republication, as in fact it was, of the Bible; the suppression of legal persecution; these were only preparatives to the noblest emancipation of all, the deliverance of the human mind into the "glorious liberty" of unshackled, active, and expatiating thought. That is the point towards which they tend; for the sake of which they are valuable; and whose accomplishment is their completion. Now the multitude of Sermonizers, so far from labouring for the promotion of this object have not even eyes to see its beauty, or ears to hear its voice of inspiration. They want the very perception of its excellence. Not so our author. It would give us great pleasure to find that he is less in advance of the profession than we imagine in such a description as the following:

'I see everywhere in Christianity, this great design of liberating and raising the human mind, on which I have enlarged. I see in Christianity nothing narrowing or depressing, nothing of the littleness of the systems which human fear, and craft, and ambition, have engendered. I meet there no minute legislation, no descending to precise details, no arbitrary injunctions, no yoke of ceremonies, no outward religion. Every thing breathes freedom, liberality, enlargement. I meet there, not a formal, rigid creed, binding on the intellect, through all ages, the mechanical, passive repetition of the same words, and the same ideas; but I meet a few grand, all-comprehending truths, which are given to the soul, to be developed and applied by itself; given to it, as seed to the sower, to be cherished and expanded by its own thought, love, and obedience into more and more glorious fruits of wisdom and virtue. I see it everywhere inculcating an enlarged spirit of piety and philanthropy, leaving each of us to manifest this spirit according to the monitions of his individual conscience. I hear it everywhere calling the soul to freedom and power, by calling it to guard against the senses, the passions, the appetites, through which it is chained, enfeebled, destroyed. I see it everywhere aiming

to give the mind power over the outward world, to make it superior to events, to suffering, to material nature, to persecution, to death. I see it everywhere aiming to give the mind power over itself, to invest it with inward sovereignty, to call forth within us a mighty energy for our own elevation. I meet in Christianity only discoveries of a vast, bold, illimitable character; fitted and designed to give energy and expansion to the soul. By its doctrine of a universal Father, it sweeps away all the barriers of sect, party, rank and nation, in which men have laboured to shut up their love; makes us members of an unbounded family; and establishes sympathies between man and the whole intelligent creation. In the character of Christ, it sets before us *moral perfection*, that greatest and most quickening miracle in human history, a purity, which shows no stain or touch of the earth, an excellence unborrowed, unconfined, bearing no impress of any age or any nation, the very image of the universal Father; and it encourages us, by assurances of God's merciful aid, to propose this enlarged, unsullied virtue, as the model and happiness of our moral nature. By the cross of Christ, it sets forth the spirit of self-sacrifice with an energy, never known before, and in thus crucifying selfishness, frees the mind from its worst chain. By Christ's resurrection, it links this short life with eternity, discovers to us in the fleeting present, the germ of an endless future, reveals to us the human mind ascending to other worlds, breathing a freer air, forming higher connections, and summons us to a force of holy purpose becoming such a destination. To conclude, Christianity everywhere sets before us God in the character of an infinitely free, rich, boundless grace, in a clemency which is "not overcome by evil, but overcomes evil with good;" and a more animating and ennobling truth, who of us can conceive? I have hardly glanced at what Christianity contains. But who does not see that it was sent from heaven, to call forth, and exalt human nature, and that this is its great glory?—*Works*, p. 388-390.

There is no new doctrine here. There is no heresy, that we are aware of. But there is the manifestation of a new spirit in religion. It rings upon the ear like the sound of a trumpet. It is a voice to shake the earth. Well may the writer say that he has "no anxiety to wear the livery of any party." The low ambition would be disappointed, if he had. Sectarianism would no more own him than he owns it. Sectarianism and mental freedom can never co-exist. If his mission be the establishment of the one, he must assail and if possible destroy the other. "For this, amongst the rest, was I ordained." Let him preserve his own independence then, that he may the better achieve that of others. He seems fully aware of the importance of so doing. "I fear the shackles which a party connexion imposes. I wish to regard myself as belonging, not to a sect, but to the community of free minds, of lovers of truth, of followers of Christ, both on earth and in heaven. I desire to escape the

narrow walls of a particular church, and to stand under the open sky, in the broad light, looking far and wide, seeing with my own eyes, hearing with my own ears, and following truth meekly, but resolutely, however arduous or solitary be the path in which she leads." That is the true determination. "Fix thy foot there." *In hoc signo vinces.*

What a magnificent thing is religion when thus exhibited. This is not the place to go into the theological proof of the correctness of the exhibition; to give chapter and verse for it; but the reader will find such proof forthcoming, if he refer to our author for it; in the sermons especially it will be found in abundance. The very statement, assuming the divine origin of Christianity, carries presumptive proof along with it. There is the image and superscription of divinity. Why have not priests told us this before? Why do not preachers of all denominations proclaim it now? Because the honester portion of them have been slaves as well as enslavers; and of the others, power was the object, not truth and freedom.

Dr. Channing has taken the right course to make intelligent and true hearted men believe Christianity, and love Christianity. He deals with them in a frank and manly way. He exposes the real causes of their doubt, disgust, and alienation. He does not call names and fulminate judgments. He enters into no compromise with error, makes no appeal to prejudice, gives no quarter to imposition. He is a single-hearted man; and his sole aim is the glory of religion in elevating and blessing humanity. While he would rescue theology from the withering grasp of professional theologians; he also sees and censures the culpable neglect of it by those who should have interposed to preserve or rescue it from the debasement. We extract his description of the evil; not only as being in itself just and impressive, but because his strong sense of that evil is a clue to much of the peculiarity of his own character, preaching, and writings:

'It is, we fear, an unquestionable fact, that religion, considered as an intellectual subject, is in a great measure left to a particular body of men, as a professional concern; and the fact is as much to be wondered at as deplored. It is wonderful that any mind, and especially a superior one, should not see in religion the highest object of thought. It is wonderful that the infinite God, the noblest theme of the universe, should be considered as a monopoly of professed theologians; that a subject, so vast, awful, and exalting, as our relation to the Divinity, should be left to technical men, to be handled so much for sectarian purposes. Religion is the property and dearest interest of the human race. Every man has an equal concern in it. It should

be approached with an independence on human authority. It should be rescued from all the factions which have seized upon it as their particular possession. Men of the highest intellect should feel, that, if there be a God, then his character and our relation to him throw all other subjects into obscurity, and that the intellect, if not consecrated to him, can never attain its true use, its full dimensions, and its proper happiness. Religion, if it be true, is central truth, and all knowledge, which is not gathered round it, and quickened and illuminated by it, is hardly worthy the name. To this great theme we would summon all orders of mind, the scholar, the statesman, the student of nature, and the observer of life. It is a subject to which every faculty and every acquisition may pay tribute, which may receive aids and lights from the accuracy of the logician, from the penetrating spirit of philosophy, from the intuitions of genius, from the researches of history, from the science of the mind, from physical science, from every branch of criticism, and, though last not least, from the spontaneous suggestions and moral aspirations of pure but unlettered men.

'It is a fact which shocks us, and which shows the degraded state of religion, that not a few superior minds look down upon it as a subject beneath their investigation. Though allied with all knowledge, and especially with that of human nature and human duty, it is regarded as a separate and inferior study, particularly fitted to the gloom of a convent, and the seclusion of a minister. Religion is still confounded, in many and in gifted minds, with the jargon of monks, and the subtleties and strifes of theologians. It is thought a mystery, which, far from coalescing, wars with our other knowledge. It is never ranked with the sciences which expand and adorn the mind. It is regarded as a method of escaping future ruin, not as a vivifying truth through which the intellect and heart are alike to be invigorated and enlarged. Its bearing on the great objects of thought and the great interests of life is hardly suspected. This degradation of religion into a technical study, this disjunction of it from morals, from philosophy, from the various objects of liberal research, has done it infinite injury, has checked its progress, has perpetuated errors which gathered round it in times of barbarism and ignorance, has made it a mark for the sophistry and ridicule of the licentious, and has infused a lurking scepticism into many powerful understandings. Nor has religion suffered alone. The whole mind is darkened by the obscuration of this its central light. Its reasonings and judgments become unstable through want of this foundation to rest upon. Religion is to the whole sphere of truth, what God is to the universe, and in dethroning it, or confining it to a narrow range, we commit very much such an injury on the soul, as the universe would suffer, were the Infinite Being to abandon it, or to contract his energy to a small province of his creation.'—*Essay on Fenelon*, pp. 55—58.

It will appear, by the extracts which we have already made, not only that Dr. Channing considers freedom and independence of thought to be essentially connected with religion, but

also that he regards the whole frame and structure of revelation, and indeed of nature, as put together on the principle of utility. That is to say, he regards whatever is external as framed and arranged for the purpose of ministering to the greatest ultimate good of the mind within us. There is, in his theology, no object ulterior to the happiness of man. He does not think the Deity like Jonathan Edwards, who, as Robert Hall once said, would have delighted in having the groans of the damned set to music and sung to him. All things in earth, heaven, and hell; all natural objects and all supernatural works; all history, science, and experience; every thing seems to him to be created and ordained that it may minister to the developement of the faculties of the mind, and through that developement to the production of the noblest, the purest, the largest, and the most lasting happiness of humanity. On this principle he expounds all precepts and enforces all duties. There are no arbitrary obligations for the performance of useless and unprofitable acts, in his moral philosophy. He denies the validity of the sentence of divorce, pronounced by so many ecclesiastical courts, between religion and morality. He thinks that revelation has joined them with its blessing, and that the union is indissoluble. If this be as true as it is obviously good, and of that we cannot doubt, how much time, and labour, and money, and suffering, are wasted by almost every class of religionists.

There is a marvellous combination in Dr. Channing of the maximum of fearlessness with the minimum of offensiveness. No man can be more free from whatever indicates, or tends to excite, the Odium Theologicum. His boldness is often very startling, even to those who are not accustomed to be startled easily. We do not refer now to his doctrinal tenets, which are those of a not very numerous party, but to various positions for which he is personally responsible, and which seem likely to excite prejudice and animosity amongst all parties. An instance may be adduced from the last of his publications which has come to hand, the "Remarks on Associations." The design of this pamphlet is to check "the disposition which now prevails to form Associations and to accomplish all objects by organized masses." He points out, with great acuteness, the evils incidental to this popular mode of procedure, and the cases in which those evils overbalance the particular good which the co-operation is intended to accomplish. After discussing the philosophy of the subject, he investigates the merits of several of the most flourishing Associations in Boston and its neighbourhood; and amongst the rest, those formed for enforcing the ob

servance of the Sabbath. Now if there be one subject on which, more than another, the religionists of Great Britain and America are intolerantly superstitious, it is on this. A traveller who arrives in Edinburgh late on the Saturday night, and neglects the precaution of taking his trunk out of the office, must sanctify the sabbath in his dirty shirt; and the conscience of the Corporation will not (or did not, very recently) allow the removal of filth from the streets on the Sunday morning, however early the hour or noiseless the manner of that very needful operation. In London, the distresses of the nation have been ascribed to the profanation of the Sabbath, at a very numerous and respectable meeting, both of conformists and non-conformists; where, moreover, a zealous gentleman was greatly applauded for having attempted to prevail on his Majesty's Secretary of State for the Home Department to close the parks against the citizens on Sundays. Every sinner who goes to glory by the gallows, and truly it seems to be the King's highway to heaven, is made to confess to Sabbath-breaking as the origin of his crimes. In New England the popular feeling is strong and active on this matter. Various Associations have been formed aiming, amongst other things, not only to suppress all travelling on Sundays, but even to stop the mails. Now, considering his situation, we think it shews a high degree of moral courage in Dr. Channing to face, as he does, this sin-creating, idleness-promoting, comfort-destroying, conscience-perverting superstition. He has done so most manfully. To prevent mistake; which it will prevent, but not misrepresentation and calumny, as he must very well know; he condemns any idea of "the change of Sunday into a working day," and declares his conviction that "the first day of the week should be separated to the commemoration of Christ's resurrection, to public worship, to public Christian instruction, and in general to what are called the means of religion." After some very pertinent and conclusive reasoning on sabbatical observances, he throws out the following suggestions, which we read with admiration for their boldness, respect for their sound sense, thankfulness for their useful tendency, and with the wish, if not the hope, that the religious world may grow wise enough to adopt them.

'We have thus considered some of the particular purposes of the Associations for promoting the Observance of the Sabbath. We say their 'particular purposes.' We apprehend there is a general one, which lurks in a portion of their members, which few perhaps have stated very distinctly to themselves, but which is not therefore the less real, and of which it is well to be forewarned. We apprehend that some, and not a small party, have a vague, instinctive feeling, that the

kind of Christianity which they embrace, requires for its diffusion a gloomy Sabbath, the Puritan Sabbath; and we incline to believe that they are desirous to separate the Lord's-day as much as possible from all other days, to make it a season of rigid restraint, that it may be a preparation for a system of theology, which the mind, in a natural, free, and cheerful state, can never receive. The Sabbath of the Puritans and their Calvinistic peculiarities go together. Now we wish the return of neither. The Puritans, measured by their age, have indeed many claims on respect, especially those of them who came to this country, and who, through their fortunate exile, escaped the corruption, which the civil war, and the possession of power, engendered in the Puritan body of England. But sincere respect for the men of early times, may be joined with a clear perception of their weaknesses and errors; and it becomes us to remember, that errors, which in them were innocent, because inevitable, may deserve a harsher appellation if perpetuated in their posterity.

'We have no desire, it will be seen, to create huge Associations for enforcing or recommending the Lord's-day. We desire, however, that this interesting subject may engage more attention. We wish the Lord's-day to be more honoured and more observed; and we believe that there is but one way for securing this good, and that is, to make the day more useful, to turn it to better account, to introduce such changes into it as shall satisfy judicious men, that it is adapted to great and happy results. The Sunday which has come down to us from our fathers seems to us exceedingly defective. The clergy have naturally taken it very much into their own hands, and, we apprehend, that as yet they have not discovered all the means of making it a blessing to mankind. It may well excite surprise, how little knowledge has been communicated on the Lord's-day. We think, that the present age admits and requires a more extensive teaching than formerly; a teaching not only in sermons, but in more instructive exercises, which will promote a critical and growing acquaintance with the Scriptures; will unfold morality, or duty, at once in its principles and vast details; will guide the common mind to larger views, and to a more religious use of nature and history; and will reveal to it its own godlike powers. We think, too, that this great intellectual activity may be relieved and cheered by a mixture of greater benevolent activity; by attention to public and private charities, and by domestic and social kindnesses.* It seems to us that we are waking up to understand the various uses to which Sunday may be applied. The present devotion of a considerable portion of it to the teaching of children, makes an important æra in the history of the institution. The teaching of the ignorant and poor, we trust, is to follow. On this subject we cannot enlarge, but enough has been said to show in what way Sunday is to be recom-

* "Would not the business of our public charities be done more effectually on the Lord's-day than on any other, and would not such an appropriation of a part of this time accord peculiarly with the spirit of Christianity?"

mended to the understandings and consciences of men.'—*Remarks on Associations*, p. 33-35.

We had noted other instances, but this must suffice, in which our Author fearlessly throws himself into the very centre of the enemy's legions, and raises a standard which there is only his own arm to uphold and fight for. And yet no man conciliates attention and regard more extensively. Some causes have been assigned for the degree of general regard in which he is held, such as Mr. Southey's having praised him in the Quarterly, and his having written against Napoleon, which may have a little contributed, but which are obviously inadequate to such a result. It is, we think, mainly owing to the simplicity, sincerity, earnestness, and benevolence, which are so plainly impressed upon every page of his writings: at least to these in combination with the generous, humane, and philosophical theology which they inculcate; and which commends itself, in spite of creeds and prejudices, to all clear heads and kind hearts.

One source of interest and power in Dr. Channing's productions is their strongly-marked individuality. They seem to bring us into intimate acquaintance with the man. They are like the private letters of a friend, relating indeed to topics of public nature and universal concern, but giving us his personal convictions, feelings, and wishes, in all their genuineness and fervency. He is no retailer of other men's phrases or other men's opinions. He uses words to express thoughts, his own thoughts. What his mouth utters, or his pen indites, his mind has first distinctly conceived, has elaborated, has arrived at the conviction of, by its own efforts, has wrought into itself, and surrounded with its own peculiar associations. If his language expresses emotion it is because he is moved. There are no rhetorical common-places, put in because their introduction is thought becoming. None of his sermons have the impersonality of too many homilies, which bear no marks of relation to time, place, or person. They are what he thinks, and what he feels; and as he thinks originally and feels nobly, they are read with an interest proportionably deep and vivid. For writings to excite, in a high degree, this personal interest in their author, is characteristic of genius. The eloquence of Rousseau and the poetry of Byron wrought in a similar way upon the public mind. It was the case even with Junius, who, all unbaptized abstraction as he was, and must perhaps remain, had yet a personified existence in the imaginations of his readers, a fearful being, with whom they could not sympathize, but whom they could not expel, and in whom they beheld those fierce passions and mighty energies, before whose external manifestations all that

was conspicuous in the nation trembled. Open Dr. Channing's volume almost any where, and you instantly feel as if in the presence of an extraordinary man, and one of whom you must know more. His mind comes into direct contact with your own. The fascination of genius is upon you; and in this instance, happily, the spell is a benignant one.

In the same spirit in which Dr. Channing invites the philosopher to enter the domains of theology, he has himself made sundry excursions into the fields of literature and politics; and he has erected an honourable trophy in each, by the articles on Scott's Life of Napoleon, and on the posthumous work of Milton recently discovered.

The Essay on Napoleon consists of two parts; the first an analysis of his character, the second an estimate of "the principle of action which governed him, and of which he was a remarkable manifestation;" which principle Dr. Channing considers to be the love of power.

The general tendency of this essay is admirable. It shows how contemptible a thing a conqueror may be in one point of view, and how detestable he is in another. It proves how pitiful a modicum of intellect may suffice for a successful general. It exposes the folly of that idolatry of victory and splendour, to which the world has been so long addicted, and for which it has paid so dearly. He pursues a nefarious ambition from the field to the cabinet, and from the cabinet to the church, and allows it no right of sanctuary or benefit of clergy. He corrects the delusions by which the friends of freedom have suffered themselves to be blinded, and the practical mistakes into which they have too often fallen. And he announces, with subdued tone, yet prophetic dignity, the mode in which the enslaved nations of Europe may retrieve their liberties, and fix them on an everlasting foundation.

'A great question here offers itself, at which we can only glance. If a moral preparation is required for freedom, how, it is asked, can Europe ever be free? How, under the despotisms which now crush the continent, can nations grow ripe for liberty? Is it to be hoped, that men will learn, in the school of slavery, the spirit and virtues, which, we are told, can alone work out their deliverance? In the absolute governments of Europe, the very instruments of forming an enlightened and generous love of freedom, are bent into the service of tyranny. The press is an echo of the servile doctrines of the court. The schools and seminaries of education are employed to taint the young mind with the maxims of despotism. Even Christianity is turned into a preacher of legitimacy, and its temples are desecrated by the abject teaching of unconditional submission. How then is the spirit of a wise and moral

freedom to be generated and diffused? We have stated the difficulty in its full force; for nothing is gained by winking out of sight the tremendous obstacles with which liberal principles and institutions must contend. We have not time at present to answer the great question now proposed. We will only say, that we do not despair; and we will briefly suggest what seems to us the chief expedient, by which the cause of freedom, obstructed as it is, must now be advanced. In despotic countries, those men, whom God hath inspired with lofty sentiments and a thirst for freedom, (and such are spread through all Europe,) must, in their individual capacity, communicate themselves to individual minds. The cause of liberty on the continent cannot now be forwarded by the action of men in masses. But in every country there are those who feel their degradation and their wrongs, who abhor tyranny as the chief obstruction to the progress of nations, and who are willing and prepared to suffer for liberty. Let such men spread around them their own spirit by every channel which a jealous despotism has not closed. Let them give utterance to sentiments of magnanimity in private conference, and still more by the press; for there are modes of clothing and expressing kindling truths which, it is presumed, no censorship would dare to proscribe. Let them especially teach that great truth, which is the seminal principle of a virtuous freedom, and the very foundation of morals and religion; we mean the doctrine, that conscience, the voice of God in every heart, is to be listened to above all other guides and lords; that there is a sovereign within us, clothed with more awful powers and rights than any outward king; and that he alone is worthy the name of a man, who gives himself up solemnly, deliberately, to obey this internal guide through peril and in death. This is the spirit of freedom; for no man is wholly and immutably free but he who has broken every outward yoke, that he may obey his own deliberate conscience. This is the lesson to be taught alike in republics and despotisms. As yet it has but dawned on the world. Its full application remains to be developed. They who have been baptized, by a true experience, into this vital and all-comprehending truth, must every where be its propagators; and he who makes one convert to it near a despot's throne, has broken one link of that despot's chain. It is chiefly in the diffusion of this loftiness of moral sentiment, that we place our hope of freedom; and we have a hope, because we know that there are those who have drunk into this truth, and are ready, when God calls, to be its martyrs. We do not despair, for there is a contagion, we would rather say, a divine power in sublime moral principle. This is our chief trust. We have less and less hope from force and bloodshed, as the instruments of working out man's redemption from slavery. History shows us not a few princes, who have gained or strengthened thrones by assassination or war. But freedom, which is another name for justice, honour, and benevolence, scorns to use the private dagger, and wields with trembling the public sword. The true conspiracy, before which tyranny is to fall, is that of virtuous, elevated minds, which shall consecrate themselves to the work of awakening in men a

consciousness of the rights, powers, purposes, and greatness of human nature; which shall oppose to force the heroism of intellect and conscience, and the spirit of self-sacrifice. We believe that, at this moment, there are virtue and wisdom enough to shake despotic thrones, were they as confiding as they should be, in God and in their own might, and were they to pour themselves through every channel into the public mind.'—*Works*, p. 75, 78.

Entering, as we do most heartily, into the spirit of this Essay, we must yet express our regret that the author has not more severely scrutinized the alleged facts on which some of his censures are founded; that he has failed, as we think, to do justice to many qualities by which Napoleon was raised so immeasurably above the vulgar herd of kings, conquerors, and usurpers; and that he should not have perceived how much an antagonist power to legitimacy was worth to the world, even though that power was an imperial usurpation. Nor shall we forgive him if, having proved his skill in moral anatomy, and dissected Napoleon with so unflinching a hand, he do not follow up his work by lecturing on the very next subject which can be procured to illustrate his assertion, that "the greatest crime against society, that of spoiling it of its rights, and loading it with chains, still fails to move that deep abhorrence which is its due." Napoleon at least professed to hold every thing from the people. Let the legitimate despot be dissected too. Let the tyranny of generations be tried by the same principles as that of yesterday; its duration has only made it more productive of misery and debasement. Weigh aristocracy in the same moral balance. Let not a single thief be executed, out of the hundreds and thousands by whom mankind are plundered, merely because he was not the son of a thief. Impunity may more safely be conceded to an usurper than to any other robber of our rights; for he stands alone; he is not the member of a gang, but has to contend with it; there can rarely be the opportunity of following his example; and his fate, instead of warning them, confirms their security, sanctions their rapacity, and swells their insolence. Dr. Channing owes it to his own fame, and to the world, not to let its regular, established, prescriptive, insatiable, and everlastingly formidable plunderers, and their jackalls, escape unjudged.

For doing justice to the character, and raising a not unworthy monument to the memory of John Milton, our author was eminently qualified, and the attempt is an eminently successful one. He had a theme completely after his own heart; and with all his heart did he apply himself to the task. Never has a writer been more completely "filled, rapt, inspired" by his subject than Dr. Channing was on this occasion. He did not

sit down to indite a clever, sparkling, telling article, one in which, Milton's character and Milton's fame, should be subordinate objects to those of reviving the interest of a declining periodical, and making talk about the promising talent of the writer. The spirit of Milton was upon him, and possessed him, and he writes as one constrained to do so by thoughts too fervid, intense, and expansive, to be restrained. He speaks as a priest under the immediate influence of the god at whose altar he was ministering. So should genius be honoured.

There are none of the littlenesses of political party in this critique. He does not turn aside to have some dexterous fencing with the swordsmen of this or that faction. He does not pretend to bolster up great principles by petty considerations and special pleadings. There is no looking at the cause, the universal cause, of liberty, with an eye to parliamentary tactics. Dr. Channing sends back to us from across the Atlantic a faithful echo of those heart-stirring sounds with which "all Europe rang from side to side," and which ought, unmixt with the meaner watch-words of parties, to be reverberated from shore to shore and from age to age, till their influence corresponds with the broad universality of their truth.

Dr. Channing is a republican; not merely by living under a republican form of government, but by clear conviction and strong affection. He thoroughly understands the true theory, practice, and tendency of republicanism. He perceives its real difference from despotism; for all governments are despotic or republican; its difference not only in form but in essence, not only in mode but in principle. He values it because it conducts man towards that self-government in which consists the perfection of his nature. Such are the men to speak freely and truly about Milton. Others come shackled to the subject. Their royalism, or their whiggism, or their toryism, lays them under a previous necessity for using the language of compromise or apology. They can only put forth a Jesuit's edition of Milton. Theirs is only,

'The liberty of ordinary politicians, which protects men's outward rights, and removes restraints to the pursuit of property and outward good;'

but which falls

'Very short of that for which Milton lived and was ready to die. The tyranny which he hated most was that which broke the intellectual and moral power of the community. The worst feature of the institutions which he assailed was that they fettered the mind. He felt within himself that the human mind had a principle of perpetual

growth, that it was essentially diffusive and made for progress, and he wished every chain broken that it might run the race of truth and virtue with increasing ardour and success.'—p. 152.

That a perfectly qualified critic on Milton should be a theologian not a professional but a philosophical theologian, was not less requisite before the discovery of his posthumous work than it has been since obviously rendered by that occurrence. Religion contributed most largely to his mind and character. It had a prevailing and pervading influence over them. It was the breath of life to his intellect. And we may say of his theology what we have already said of Dr. Channing's, that it was peculiarly his own. It defies sectarian definitions. Even in youth he would not "subscribe slave" to a church, and the flow of his thoughts in maturity and age certainly did not bear him towards narrower notions of Christian liberty. Those who care nothing about theology, can scarcely be said to care any thing about Milton. He is beyond the pale of their comprehension. But how few there are who, while they can appreciate the extent of his acquisitions, the beauties of his poetry, and the loftiness of his political principles, can also estimate the purity of his devotion, the freedom of his inquiries, the worth of his researches, and the amazing extent to which his criticisms and speculations anticipated the light and labour of succeeding generations.

Dr. Channing marvellously blends his fitness in this particular with that strong perception of the great, the good, and the beautiful, which is the essential requisite for poetical criticism. He is himself a poet; a creator of bright worlds, peopled with men who are as gods. He has himself explored the paths which lead to the fountain of tears, and to the sparkling waters of immortal life. He may never have made a verse in his life, but he knows the flavour of the true Hippocrene. When he tells us why a description is beautiful, we feel that he has first perceived and enjoyed its beauty. And his taste is especially for those images of power and of tenderness which so abound in Milton. Of these he has a deep feeling by which they are instantly appreciated, and which guides him to their true analysis. He has an instinct for these high qualities of the highest kind of poetry, as unerring as that fine tact by which Mr. Hazlitt, the first of our critics upon works of art, feels where a master's hand has touched the canvass, traces the original conception and mental prototype of the painting, and enshrines it in a rich and appropriate frame-work of poetical associations.

Channing is completely unrivalled in his display of the genius of Milton. And this is, after all, the noblest

tribute. Nor does he, as a less skilful or a less benevolent critic might have done, depreciate mankind to exalt his hero. The fact of the existence of such a man is to him a pledge of the progress of humanity.

'"We believe," he says, "that the sublime intelligence of Milton was imparted, not for his own sake only, but to awaken kindred virtue and greatness in other souls. Far from regarding him as standing alone and unapproachable, we believe that he is an illustration of what all who are true to their nature will become in the progress of their being; and we have held him forth not to excite an ineffectual admiration but to stir up our own and other's breasts to an exhilarating pursuit of high and ever-growing attainments of intellect and virtue."'

And with this excellent practical application, we must conclude the long *concio ad cleros et ad populum* of which Dr. Channing furnished us with the text.

Art. XV. — *Cloudesley. A Tale.* By the Author of 'Caleb Williams.' Colburn and Bentley. 1830. 3 vols. Post 8vo.

CLOUDESLEY, by the Author of 'Caleb Williams,' is a combination of syllables well adapted to excite expectation. The reputation of Mr. Godwin's first able performance has thrown a light upon its successors, which though it has relieved them from utter darkness has not done much more. Caleb Williams was a chapter out of the human heart. The author's experience of the world, and his watching of his own emotions were felicitously combined in a lively and striking frame-work. He wrote down what he had seen and thought. His subsequent works have each been, in different styles, imitations of the first born. He deemed, because he had once been successful in exhibiting the interior workings of the human mechanism, that he was master of it, and could take it to pieces and set it up again. But he has shewn us that he understood his instrument as the itinerant player on the barrel-organ understands his: he can set it to a certain limited number of tunes. Mr. Godwin's organ, by nature, by accident and by education, which is but a series of accidents, was set to the tune of Caleb Williams; and St. Leon, Fleetwood, Mandeville, and Cloudesley are but very imperfect and often discordant variations of the same air. The staple of each is the writhings of a being under some complication of concealed feelings. Remorse chiefly: Remorse might be written as the title over the whole series of his writings. His long continued

and protracted productions may be considered as a sort of practical or mechanical illustration of the "worm that never dies."

Mr. Godwin has a fruitful, but not a vigorous imagination: he is copious, nay inexhaustible, but his offspring are feeble and sickly; he does not tear a passion to tatters, but he wears it to a shadow. He works his way through a long history of crime and suffering, like a mole in the dark and under-ground, and with a sleekiness of style and an assumed unconsciousness of purpose that bears out the comparison. The smooth, measured and oily style of this author, which we have described by the term sleekiness, is a curious characteristic in works which dwell upon feelings of the most restless, and agitated kind. The thoughts burn, while the words are of honey. This is a touch of art that adds considerably to the effect of this author's compositions, and in none of the former novels is this distinction more marked than in Cloudesley: circumstances and feelings of the most energetic force are detailed with the calm of history. It might be, that a thousand years had passed over the heart of the autobiographer, while memory had left every minute trait of the events he relates as fresh and bright as the green of a spring church-yard. It is possible that this calm beauty of style which we have always remarked in this writer, may have been lately heightened by his habits of historical composition, to say nothing of the stealthy progress of age, which polishes a man's style as it does his brow.

'Cloudesley' is a tale of guilt and sorrow. An uncle usurps the title and inheritance of his orphan nephew, a posthumous infant. The fruits of his crime he enjoys only in outside show. His ingratitude to his noble and affectionate brother; his base injustice to the helpless child he was bound to protect; the incessant dread of detection and the threats of his accomplice; all combine to render the honours and wealth he has usurped gall and bitterness to the taste. He becomes a gloomy and suspicious solitary; his children all die as they grow up, his faithful and affectionate wife follows them to the tomb, and he is left alone in wretchedness to brood over the vanity and emptiness of the things, for the sake of which he has sold himself. The stings of conscience are not blunted by hearing of the noble and generous character of the youth he has pushed from his right. Brought up in obscurity, though by means of the repentant accomplice of the crime placed in the way of all kinds of education and accomplishments, the boy turns out a model of talent, of love, and beauty. He has been bred in Italy, and grief at the death of his protector

whom he takes for his father, and other circumstances combined, have thrown him among characters of a dissolute description. His uncle, just prior to the death of his last child, his only son, for whom he had so waded in crime, has the misery of learning that he who ought to have been wearing his own coronet, has become mixed up with a troop of banditti. The horror-struck and emaciated man arrives in Italy only in time to save his nephew from an ignominious death. The narrator of these circumstances is a nondescript person, whom the uncle employs to discover the retreat of his nephew, and to whom he discloses the whole of his own history and the secret punishment of his crimes, previous to engaging him on the mission. This person plays a very secondary part in the Drama, nevertheless he is an adumbration of Caleb Williams, and only wants the influence of similar events. Cloudesley is the name of the servant and confidant of the elder brother of the usurper, and on occasion of his master's death in a duel in Austria, he joins with the uncle in putting aside all evidence of the existence of a forthcoming heir to the title and vast possessions of his benefactor, who has been obscurely married to a Greek lady, the daughter of Colocotroni, not the robber-general of the present day, but, as it seems, some Mainote patriot of other times. The character of this Cloudesley is the great effort of the work which thence takes its name. He is in the first instance a simple and unsuspecting English yeoman, full of benevolence and good will to all mankind: his confidence in a villain causes him to be thrown into prison; an entire revolution in his character is the result, his blind trust becomes as blind a mistrust, he discovers that all mankind are selfish and deceitful, he becomes misanthropical, and in his heart declares war against the whole world. He is relieved from the distress in which he is involved, by the young nobleman, whom he afterwards serves in the campaigns carried on by Prince Eugene against the Turks, and whom after his death he so eminently disserves in the affairs of his child. The dogmas upon which he regulates his conduct are however simply dogmas, and though they influence his occasional actions, do not wholly affect the tenor of his life. Love and kindness, the original impulses of his heart, mix strangely with the baser maxims of conduct, which a false calculation has led him to rest upon. This inconsistency is a notable point in the character: it leads him to join in the destitution of the orphan, and afterwards to adopt and cherish, almost to worship, him; and when the noble qualities of the child reproduce in all its force the

orginal warm and generous love of the yeoman, he even spends his life and dies in the hope of restoring him to his rights. Of the subordinate characters, the two Greek women are drawn with the classical chasteness of a sculptor of antiquity: we well remember all Mr. Godwin's portraits of female loveliness; his women are angels and might have been painted by one; they are unhumanized by a single earthly passion; they are sweetness, they are tenderness, fidelity, beauty, but beauty as cold as moon-beams, and if we love them it is with only a fraternal glow. Such is Irene in Cloudesley, such is Marguerita in St. Leon. Mr. Godwin's character will be a curious subject for the biographer when it comes under critical discussion. He has had the reputation of an incendiary, when he was breathing nothing but brotherly love to all mankind: his moral reputation has been blasted because he was purer in his aims than other men, and when perhaps his main fault has been a want of passion, he has been held as the prophet and precentor of licentiousness. After the beauty and innocence of woman, Mr. Godwin dwells with most delight and success on the beauty and innocence of childhood. Now a day, nothing would seem to gratify this Nestorian author so much, as watching the little ways and registering the little thoughts of the third or fourth generation, whose budding he is spared to witness. Men return in some respects to the state of childhood; but there is also a time when some men combine the wisdom of age, and the simplicity of infancy.

We had thought of giving a long and touching passage, in which the wicked uncle, as the story of the Children in the Wood would call him, speaks of the infancy and the death of his offspring; but we must refrain, for such an extract, in truth, would be scarcely a fair specimen of a story which moves uniformly and regularly forward to its development, and does not offer any very prominent and striking portions. Enough has been said to invite the reader to the enjoyment of the work itself.

ART. XVI.—1. *A Treatise on Fever* By Southwood Smith, M.D. Longman and Co. London. 1830. pp. 436.

2. *Pathological Observations on Continued Fever.* By W. Stoker, M. D. Hodges and Co. Dublin. 1829. pp. 267.

IN pursuing the Review of the Works of Drs. Smith and Stoker, we address ourselves as directly to the public in

general as to the medical profession. The controversy which now agitates this country upon the subject of Fever, is of equal importance to every class of society, and its issue must be looked for with anxiety by all who value the health and happiness of the community. The property of the country is of some importance, and, by revealing the dangers to which it is exposed, we have, in more instances than one, endeavoured to protect it; but the lives of the public are of still greater consequence, and we are now solicitous to prove our concern for their safety and preservation. Fever is a pestilence, as deadly in its action as it is migratory in its habits; neither rank nor fortune, neither youth nor vigour, can shield from its influence; but the healthy and the young, the helpless and the old, the rich and the poor may be alike its victims; and we can derive no consolation from the belief that this terrible malady is either generally understood or scientifically treated. The arguments about to be urged in the hope of elucidating its real nature can be understood by any person of sense, and, if they are sound, it deeply concerns every one to be acquainted with them. In too many instances the medical practitioner is called upon to perform a mental operation for which his habit and education have but ill prepared him. He has to deduce an inference on the state of diseased organs which are concealed from his observation, by signs which are appreciable by his senses, and there passes not a day in which hundreds of lives do not depend upon the skill with which this mental operation is performed. Now, the important object is to show how these signs can be successfully interpreted in fever, what dreadful consequences follow their misconception, and how easy it is to trace to this single source the rise of almost every controversy upon this subject, whether it refer to the nature or to the treatment of the disease.

In our last number many of these errors were examined with some minuteness, in the present instance it is our purpose to review a few others; and, as the points about to occupy attention are more immediately concerned in the treatment of fever, we are anxious that the public should look with their own eyes into the consequences of the errors we shall endeavour to expose, that they may see the exceeding hazard which their continuance must occasion. Were the extent of disputed territory limited to a few inches or a few feet, the value of conquest might be of little importance; but it is a wide and spacious interval which is the subject of contention. The grand point at issue is not a verbal difference, or a conventional technicality, it is an important practical doctrine. It is whether a disease, which is never absent from our cities and our villages—which

spares no age, nor sex, nor constitution—which comes into our families unseen and unprovided for—which creeps from house to house with noiseless progress, and covers entire countries with death and desolation—it is whether such a monster can be more effectually killed by being starved or fed. Surely this is a wide difference, and merits some consideration. It may be put to the good sense of the public if it can be a matter of no moment whether, in the selfsame disease we bleed and leech and purge; or support and strengthen and excite. These modes of treatment sadly differ, and neither of them is inert. Each must either effect good or harm—and in many, very many, instances must save or destroy life. If fever be an inflammatory disease, or a disease so akin to inflammation that the difference resolves itself into a mere matter of degree, it is a serious affair to nurse and fondle it with wine and cordials; and, on the other hand, if it be really a disease of weakness, every one must allow that bleeding, purging and starvation are no children's toys. 'To bleed or not to bleed' is a question which, in this instance, can find its counterpart only in the soliloquy of Cato; and if the great national distress, under which we are now labouring, have not induced the public to regard life as less estimable than formerly, 'to be or not to be' ought to be their inquiry when fever enters their dwellings, and calls for the interference of the faculty.

In studying this disease the safest ground for the erection of medical doctrine is Pathology. The character of exciting causes may deceive, the nature of existing symptoms may deceive, the peculiarities of the affected constitution may deceive, but it is utterly impossible for the results of disease after death to prove deceptive; they do not change, they cannot be equivocal. During life there may be pain; acute and stinging pain, and this pain may be as far from the seat of action, as it often is from being an honest representative of the nature of this action; but, after death, both the seat and nature of this action inspection will generally disclose. This pain may be moderate or severe, constant or intermittent, alleviated by one remedy, and aggravated by another; yet the same action, and even the same amount of action may be present in all these instances. We may have pain without inflammation, and inflammation without pain; acute inflammation while the pain is trifling, and trifling inflammation while the pain is acute. Symptoms may be present indicating one stage of action, while the disease, which they indicate, exists in another, and there may be destructive, deadly disease without a symptom or a sign.

If a knowledge of external symptom were sufficient to impart a knowledge of internal action—if like parallel lines the

symptom and the action ran, *pari passu*, in company, so that the extent of the one were the measure of the other, then it would be as easy to pronounce upon the presence and progress of the most insidious malady as to point out the north pole by examining the needle, or to ascertain the direction of the wind by looking at the weather-cock. But it must be admitted that any such comparison is loose, if not inapplicable to every form of disease, and that, as regards fever, it is perfectly fallacious. If the bowels may be inflamed and ulcerated, yet pressure over the affected organs, occasion neither pain nor uneasiness—if the touch of a finger, or the weight of the bed clothes can scarcely be endured over the region of the stomach, in which nothwithstanding there is neither ulcer nor inflammation—if the brain may be floating in water, without any corresponding warrant of disease—if deep and spreading abscess may be lurking within the very organ of sensation, without a warning voice, or yet a whisper, to discover its retreat, who can say that fever may be taught and treated through its symptoms, or that the language of fever is unequivocal, or even articulately pronounced. If the symptoms which do appear cannot be entirely depended on, and if important and leading symptoms ought to appear, which are wholly absent, then where is the far-famed light of symptomatologists, the infallible guide to certain treatment? If fever may be dealing destruction on the organs it assails, if it may be preying upon life, and yet if the path of its progress over the constitution can only be traced by the relics it leaves behind, is it not foolish and fruitless to take mere symptoms for our guide? The experiment has been made, and upon a scale of fearful magnitude; its progress has been patiently observed for many years, it has been variously modified according to the taste of the experimenter, and it has been brought to work upon every form of case, and every type of constitution; yet discomfiture has been the general result, and it is certain that nothing will, and that nothing can, ever be the result but discomfiture. Amid a sea of such doubts and difficulties the only ground for anchorage is pathology. Practical doctrine can take hold in no other bottom. If rested elsewhere it will yield—it will neither give support nor direction; but if grounded upon this foundation a clue will be found to rescue us out of every labyrinth, and a guide which, by conducting us to the source of evil, will lead us to a plan of cure. When we can have an honest guide, in the name of prudence, why should we choose a faithless one. When we can see into the very arcana of the real and inward action, why should we still regard only what is a mere

consequence of this inward action. A heated skin, an excited thirst, a general malaise restlessness during the day, and sleeplessness during the night, are not the constitutional elements of fever. These are not what we have to physic, and what we have to fear, any more than the vane at the mast-head is what the sailor dreads when the wind and the thunder-clouds foretell the storm. No man ever yet died of symptoms, no man ever can die of symptoms, and if fever be only a congregation of symptoms, then no man has ever yet died of fever.

If it be found upon inspection after death that vessels are gorged with blood, tissues are altered in structure, organs are inflamed, that pus and lymph, ulceration and effusion, and in a word, all the ordinary results of a disease which must during life have possessed some activity, and been characterised by some excitement, can there remain ground for doubt as to what fever is, or as to the general principles by which its treatment should be conducted? These fruits of action are accents of disease which it is neither difficult to hear, nor, when heard, to understand. Many external signs may not, but these internal monitors must, exist; not all in every case, nor always to the same extent; but some of them do invariably exist in the present fever of this country, and each of them is decisive of the same truth which all, if present, could do nothing more than confirm. Feeling earnestly, because knowing that fever has not been generally studied under this view, and that the neglect, if not contempt of pathology has been the chief cause of the errors with which its history is observed, we are anxious to obtain from those who support opposite opinions, the results of their pathological information. If it be, that fever is weakness, that weakness stands in need of wine, and that wine cures by infusing strength; then let them adduce the proof in the fruits of fever as they are exhibited after death. Let us see the operations of this monster debility upon the organs he invades. Let us see fluids dissolved and watery, solids relaxed and putrid, a vascular system paralyzed and powerless, and that general atomy which indicates privation of strength. Let it be shown that no product of activity is met with; that we never find gorged veins, nor loaded arteries, coagulated lymph, nor extravasated serum, structures thickened by new deposits, membranes freshly formed, nor ulcers in all stages of progress. Let all this be shown, and then these symptoms, which may be adduced in favour of debility, will prove something. No indications of weakness, which symptoms alone may exhibit, entitle us to characterise fever as a disease

of weakness. Nothing can be more fallacious than such symptoms, whether they regard the duration or degree of the disease. It is in the first instance but a weak debility which they indicate: towards the close of the fever, indeed, this spurious weakness becomes real, but the present argument interferes not with the sequelæ of fever. The object is to establish a general principle, to ascertain the primitive essence of the disease. In the last stage, nothing can be less equivocal than the prostration of every mental and bodily power, nothing more awfully indicative of a wasted and worn-out fabric. But it will shortly be demonstrated that this is not a primitive state, but a subsequent consequence, often induced by mismanagement or neglect.

While thus contending for the necessity of teaching and treating fever pathologically we wish not to reject the light of symptoms during life; both sources of knowledge may and ought reciprocally to illustrate each other. The veracity of the inward consequence may rectify the deceptiveness of the outward sign, and the character of the outward sign may indicate the inward state. When we are convinced that the inward consequence generally indicates excitement, to know that the outward symptom so often indicates debility cannot authorize the inference that the cause of both is weakness. The existence of an inflammatory product after death is incompatible with the existence of continued debility during life, and it matters not how far the living symptoms savoured of weakness, the dead result is a sufficient proof that the symptoms were fallacious and that the weakness was imaginary. It is true that patients labouring under fever do not die at every stage of the disease, and that the same opportunities are not given to trace the workings of internal action, with that precision with which every change of symptom can be noted. We cannot positively pronounce upon the moment when moderate vascularity becomes excessive, when excessive vascularity passes into inflammation, when inflammation terminates in ulceration or effusion. But it is nevertheless true that a thorough knowledge of diseased appearances after death, in every variety of case and constitution, of type and temperament, will form a key to the proper understanding of symptoms during life, without which their indications must have a greater tendency to mislead than to guide; and he who has watched with cautious observation the various symptoms which various forms of fever have assumed during various stages of their course; he who has journalled these symptoms with sufficient accuracy to render them available for future reference, and who at last has inspected

the bodies of his dead, comparing and elucidating what he discovers upon inspection with the daily history of his symptoms, will in a short time be sufficiently qualified to pronounce upon what is going on within, by watching what is going on without, and to contend with internal disease as scientifically and as successfully as though his patient were translucent, and he could witness with his own eyes the covert operations of the malady.

'Out of the hundred cases which have now been recorded, and the history of which has been made known from its commencement to its termination, take any one, or fix upon any number, in which the symptoms from being slight became moderate, and from moderate severe, or, in which the symptoms were severe from the beginning, what is found after death? Inflammation, in general, rising in degree, and increasing in extent, or both, in proportion to the intensity of the febrile affection. If this, which may be justly considered as the law of the disease, be not absolutely constant and uniform, it may be safely affirmed, at least, that there are as few apparent exceptions to it, as to any general law that can be named.—Smith, p. 397.

Since, therefore, the internal consequences of fever are inflammatory, since the external signs of fever often indicate weakness more than inflammation, since the inward consequences of fever never can deceive, and since its outward effects often do, symptoms must be esteemed as no more than the expressions of an interior agent, and safe only as far as they faithfully communicate to the spectator the operations which this agent internally carries on.

As the first question of importance in the investigation of this disease is 'in what does it consist?' the second question is 'how should it be treated'—what remedies are best adapted for its cure? The first question is preparative to the second, and when a proper solution has been furnished to the one the other can neither be difficult to comprehend, nor answer. He, who fears debility as the foe of life, will not be violently inclined to pursue such measures as are calculated to weaken the constitution, while he, who has the fear of inflammation rather than of debility constantly before his eyes, must look upon all kinds and degrees of excitement as doubtful, if not dangerous.

The treatment proposed by each will depend upon the views of each as to the character of the existing evil, and as to the nature of its future consequences. If fever be debility, and if the danger which attends it depend upon the degree of this debility, it is obvious that, as a general principle, such treatment as might tend to increase this debility would be highly injudicious; whereas, if fever be essentially a disease of excite-

ment, and if the danger it occasions depend upon the extent of this excitement, it must be admitted that, as a general principle, such remedies as are opposed to excitement must hold out the surest prospects of relief. The following extracts will accordingly show that we are no better agreed upon the treatment than upon the nature of this affection.—

'The first principles of my practice thus appearing to be as generally received as they had before been rejected, it only remains for me to detail the remedies which I have employed; and with respect to these, too, I might be even more brief, from having little to add to the list of remedies in typhoid Fevers, which may be found at the 18th page of my "Treatise on Fever," published in London, A. D. 1814, as well as in my "Medical Reports from the Cork-street Hospital;" but, that as these publications may not be in the hands of the reader, some recapitulation of those remedies themselves; and my reasons for recommending them, supported as I have been by all my subsequent experience, may be permitted. They may be arranged according to their relative importance in the treatment of fever, in the following order, viz.

IN MIXED FEVER.	IN TYPHOID FEVER.
Cleanliness.	Yeast or Barm.
Ventilation.	Wine.
Cool Regimen.	Aperients.
Plentiful Dilution.	Emetics.
Purgatives.	Blisters.
Topical Bleeding.	Tepid, or Cold Affusion.
Antimonial, or James's Powder.	Peruvian Bark.

Many other remedies may, no doubt, be occasionally employed with advantage for the relief of the symptoms which accompany peculiar forms of epidemics, or such as are produced by extraordinary idiosyncrasies. But these, according to my experience are more frequently applicable than any others, in the treatment of our common indigenous fever.

The beneficial effects of the four first articles of this list of remedies in the treatment of fever, it is no longer necessary to insist on, for they are no longer denied. For the same reasons, too, I need not, as on former occasions, enter more fully into explanation, why blood-letting has not a place in this list. When, however, I come to speak of topical bleeding, I shall have to state, that under the pestilential form which our epidemic fevers have assumed since the year 1823, I have found it advisable to employ even this partial evacuation more sparingly and cautiously than in my first publications on fever I felt justified in recommending.

With respect to Peruvian bark too, which I have here added to the list of remedies for typhoid fevers; although, on former occasions, I stated, that "I had not found the cure of the continued

fevers in Dublin," I have now to observe, that, under the growing malignity of these distempers, I have employed some preparations, especially the sulphate of quina, with obvious advantage, even in cases which did not partake of tendencies to remittent or intermittent forms; in such tendencies, however, the usefulness of that remedy was most manifest.'—Stoker, p. 111—113.

The general reception of his practical principles, which Dr. Stoker alludes to in the preceding extract, is thus described—

'The views taken both of the nature and treatment of fever, by Dr. Burne, entirely accord with those which may be found stated in my medical reports from the Fever Hospital, as well as in my separate essays on that subject. And as (when speaking of his denomination of Fever) I have already remarked, this leaves, I think, no reasonable doubt of the epidemic Fevers of London having lately become more typhoid or adynamic, than they had formerly been. It is further satisfactory to me to find, that the treatment which I had long since adopted and recommended in our typhoid Fevers, has been found suitable to the prevention and cure of those in London; and that, too, in proportion as they have acquired more of that form, with which I was best acquainted.'—p. 110—111.

Now, to put the reader in possession of Dr. Burne's plan of treatment we shall quote the following passage—"Although the judgment here wants the assistance of experience, the very great and unaccountable debility and listlessness, with the other signs, indicate very evidently the threatening of an attack of fever. It is of much importance for the physician to see his way clearly; for if he should attribute this obstinate attack to any other than its just cause, and be induced to abstract blood he will inflict an injury it is not always easy to repair. The abstraction of blood does no good, and it will now and then be succeeded by a gradual alarming sinking of the powers of life, from which the patient may never recover. Should the pain in the head be so severe (it rarely is) as to tempt the practitioner to draw blood, let the quantity be small and its effects be observed some hours after it has been abstracted; because patients will appear to bear bleeding at the moment, while in a few hours its injurious effects will be manifest." See a practical Treatise on the Typhus or Adynamic Fever, by John Burne M. D. London. 1828. p. 200—1.

If, then, the sentiments of Doctors Stoker and Burne so entirely correspond, and if Doctor Stoker considers these sentiments generally adopted throughout London, merely because Doctor Burne has re-echoed them, we beg to disabuse Dr. Stoker's fancy with the few passages from the work of Doctor Smith, physician to the only exclusive hospital for Fever within London;

and although we feel it a harsh and invidious undertaking to lower an author in his own esteem, by narrowing the limits of his influence, we do feel it, at the same time, to be a duty to the public and to the profession, to the advancement of truth and the promotion of sound medical knowledge, to place landmarks around the Doctor's territory that he may hereafter know it to be forbidden ground, should the boundary again be ever overstepped.

One would think that the following paragraph was penned as an antidote to the very passage above given:—

'Bleeding in fever cannot be performed too early. The very first moment of excitement, could that be discovered, is precisely the moment when the employment of this powerful remedy would produce the greatest effect. The earlier the bleeding, the greater will be the impression made upon the disease, and the less upon the patient; or, the more effectually will the inflammatory action be stopped by the loss of the smallest quantity of blood.'—p. 382.

Both authors are describing what ought to be done at the very opening of the disease, yet the one talks of bleeding as at the very best a most precarious resource, while the other labours for utterance to express its importance!—

'The object to be aimed at in practice, then, is clear: it is to prevent, or to remove inflammation. Accomplish this, the fever will not be cured at once; it will still go on for some time; but it will come sooner to a close, and it will proceed mildly and safely to its termination. Fail to accomplish this, and the fever, however mild at first, will increase more and more in severity until it become truly formidable, and death take place at last, in consequence of the destruction of the organs by the process of inflammation.

'If excitement be set up in an organ which has as invariable a tendency to terminate in inflammation, as a stone to fall to the ground, what is the proper remedy to prevent the transition of excitement into inflammation? Bleeding. Before we can say that inflammation is established we may foresee that it will come: if the preceding excitement be not stopped, we know that it will as surely come as that blood will flow from a wounded blood-vessel. Because we cannot tell the precise moment when increased vascular action passes into actual inflammation, are we quietly to look on and do nothing until we have made that discovery? We know that inflammation is at hand; we know what will prevent it, or, at any rate, what has a powerful tendency to prevent it: shall we not bring into immediate and vigorous use our means of prevention, or shall we wait until the inflammatory action shall have given unequivocal and alarming indications of its presence and operation before we interfere? To trifle in such a manner, to lose these precious moments when we have such a fearful, such an active, and, if once it be allowed to become active, such a masterless

enemy to contend with as fever, is as great a folly as it would be when a building is on fire to stand idle by as long as the fire is smouldering, and to take no measure to extinguish it until it has burst into flame, nay, not until the flame has spread from the floor to the ceiling, and from the ceiling to the roof. We may not be able to see a single spark, but if we see the smoke and feel the heat, we know that there is fire somewhere, and that however concealed at present it will soon make itself visible enough, and that it will consume not only the structure in which it originates, but others with which it may come in contact if it be not put out. With equal certainty we know that fever, though apparently mild in the commencement, will excite inflammation in vital organs, and that that inflammation, if it be allowed to establish itself, will place the fabric of the body in the most imminent danger. The physician, in the first stage of fever, armed with his lancet, is to his patient what the fireman with his engine, before the flames have had time to kindle, is to a building that has taken fire. At this early stage, the former can check inflammation with almost as much ease and certainty as the latter can prevent the flames from bursting out. On the contrary, the physician who is called to treat inflammation in the later stage of fever is in the position of the man who arrives with the apparatus for saving the house when its stories have been already consumed and its roof has fallen in.'—pp. 379—382.

This must sound somewhat like thunder in the ears of Doctors Stoker and Burne, and the gentle reader will be strongly tempted to refer to our table of errata for some solution of such discrepancies. But, verily, no solution will be met with there —the statement now given is in the *ipsissima verba* of the three originals we quote, without addition or subtraction; and did space permit, or argument require it, it would be easy, with the assistance of two parallel columns, to favor the reader with one of the most extraordinary comparisons that ever three works presented to the public. The assurance alone must, however, be sufficient with the specimens now given, and, without stopping to congratulate Doctor Stoker on the general adoption of his practical principles, we shall proceed with our train of observation, and, while it shall be our aim to expose the fallacy of these principles, it shall also be our endeavour to trace their origin.

In no one instance of fever that we recollect, have stimulants appeared necessary or useful at its commencement. When the severity of the first attack has been subdued by other measures, and when the energy of the constitution has been impaired, stimulants have often accelerated recovery; or when the period for active treatment had escaped unimproved, and the patient had arrived at that state of atomy which ever follows unmitigated excitement, cordials have seemed somewhat to lengthen out a hopeless existence. But in the former of these cases they

were merely employed to expedite a recovery, which had been previously secured, and, in the latter, their only use was, to protract a life which they were unable to preserve. In both instances, the debility against which they were directed was a mere consequence of previous excitement, a sequela of fever. It was not a primitive debility, a part and parcel of the first attack, and, therefore, they were not administered at the commencement. At the commencement of nine cases out of ten, in the present fever of this metropolis, it is not debility that we have to fear, it is inflammation. It is not want of strength that we have to provide against, it is excess of action. This bugbear-debility, is the *ignis fatuus* which has been so implicitly followed, to the neglect of every warning voice that has issued out of the groans of those who have fallen victims to its delusion. Cordials are given, because the pulse feels weak, because the strength seems depressed, because the patient complains of languor. And if the pulse were raised, or the strength improved, or the languor permanently diminished, then the effects would justify the treatment, and the treatment would verify the symptoms. But if, in despite of our stimulants, life goes on evaporating, and if, in place of alleviated symptoms, the pulse continue to sink, the strength to decrease, and the languor to be unrelieved, or if, as is frequently the case, the pulse is raised, and the strength is increased, and the languor is diminished, but all this only for a time, and if, after the subsidence of this transient excitement, the patient lapse into a state of collapse ten times more alarming than the first, out of which no amount of stimulation will resuscitate him, then, if there be not a *locus*, there should probably be a *tempus pœnitentiæ*, and it might with some shew of reason be inquired whether are we doing good or harm? The sad and invincible error of this sect, is, that they will look no deeper than symptoms, that they will see nothing in these symptoms but debility, that they will let the wind blow on and cable their bark to the weathercock. Of all plans of cure which the most profound ignorance could suggest, none could be invented so diametrically opposed to what a perfect knowledge of pathology would recommend, as that which these physicians have adopted. Wine and bark, or bark and wine, are the last remedies which any one would think of trying in a disease of excitement. To stimulate in the first stage of fever is destruction. The debility, which is looked upon with so much horror, has no existence in nine cases out of ten at the outset of fever. It may come on, and it often does come on, as the disease proceeds; and when it does come on, we have ample need both for wine and bark. But it will not come on, it cannot come on, in nine cases out of

ten, if we discharge our duty in the first instance, and crush that action which precedes it. When first called in to a case of fever, we have only to remain idle for a few hours, or days to ensure the appearance of abundance of debility. We wish to be doing something, we have only to lay down our lancet, and uncork our bottle, and administer our cordial, to be speedily greeted with abundance of debility. But it may here be worth a question to inquire, is there any advantage gained by waiting till this far-famed debility appear? Is the disease more manageable at that period; is there a better prospect of recovery; can our remedies be applied with more effect? If we can gain power by losing time, then there is a *quid pro quo* to sanctify the loss, and we may practise just as many dalliances with the disease as we find convenient. If the enemy can be decoyed out of his vantage ground by manœuvering, then most certainly let us have manœuvering. Prudence calls for it, the strictest principles of tactics sanction it, and we see no reason why Esculapius may not be favoured with the privilege of a *ruse de guerre* as well as Mars or any other God, more especially when the motive of having recourse to it is to save blood which would otherwise be shed. When the only remedies which physicians of this school will use are excitants, it indicates a prudent feeling of consistency to wait until the period of excitement shall have passed away. To exhibit wine and bark before this period is certainly hazardous, and the rationale of any useful action they can be supposed to have, it might be rather perplexing to explain. But there can neither be hazard nor obscurity in the plan which waits with resignation till debility appear, and then pours in its bark and wine. The only suggestion calculated to improve a system distinguished for two such virtues as prudence and patience, is, that there is no necessity for, no advantage gained by, such delay, inasmuch as there are remedies as applicable to the first stage of fever, as wine and bark are to the last. In the first stage there is excitement; in the last stage there is collapse. Wine and bark may come safely in at the last stage, but they cannot at the first; and as substitutes for wine and bark it seems sufficiently reasonable to employ leeches and the lancet. The lancet and leeches are as well adapted to the stage of excitement, as wine and bark are for that of depression. The lancet and leeches diminish excitement by lowering the strength; the wine and bark diminish depression by increasing it. The dangers to be feared during the first stage of fever are the consequences of excitement, but bleeding and starvation are the surest preservatives against such consequences; and the dangers to be feared during the last stage

of fever are the effects of exhaustion; but stimulants are the most certain means of obviating such effects. The *médicine expectante* cannot therefore be advised in any stage of treatment. Furnished with remedies for every period of the evil, idleness is objectionable in any. As long as the inflammation may be dreaded, starve and purge, bleed and blister, and whenever debility is the foe, stimulate, strengthen, and support. Wait for nothing but a cure. Amid many advantages by which this plan stands recommended two more especially deserve attention. The first is that the stage of excitement is much more manageable than that of depression, and the second is, that, if the treatment which is recommended during the first stage be judiciously prosecuted, in nine cases out of ten the stage of depression will never have to be encountered. The opposite plan can only remove debility, it can never relieve excitement; while this by removing excitement, prevents debility. That is favourable to excitement, which when left unsubdued, passes into such debility as it cannot cure; this obviates debility, by attacking the cause of which debility is the effect. In combating with fever it is a much more hopeful task to assail it at its commencement than at the middle or towards the close of its career. The chances of recovery are at this period numerous; but they decrease in an inverse ratio to the progress of the malady. When the excitement of the first stage has passed into the collapse of the last, when the inflammatory action has exhausted the resources of the constitution, when muscular tremor and mental confusion, functions nerveless and inefficient, organs insensible to stimuli and disobedient to control, are to be contended with, all human aid although employing in the wisest manner the most approved remedies is commonly powerless. Wine may be exhibited by the dozen, bark may be swallowed by the pound, stimulants the most concentrated may be administered, and cordials the most agreeable may be poured in; but it is of no avail. The contest is over, the constitution has ceased to struggle, and nature, worried and worn out, at length yields to the foe. In nine cases out of ten the only formidable debility which appears in this disease proceeds from excitement, which ought in nine cases out of ten to be overcome by depletion. If the debility of fever were pure debility, were mere deficiency of strength, a mere negative quality, tonics and cordials would be judicious remedies; but it is not the absence of strength so much as the presence of disease which composes it. It is deranged function, complicated with disorganized structure, which enters into its very essence; and this deranged function and structure must be repaired before that debility, which results from them, can possibly

Turgid vessels must be emptied, adhesions must be dissolved, depositions must be abstracted, ulcerations must be healed, effusions must be absorbed, and all the sequelæ of excited action must be got quit of, before such strength and tone and vigour can be communicated to the patient as shall secure his safety. Now we ask can wine and bark do this? If wine and bark can, then the advocates of the stimulating system are right. Can wine and bark cool the skin, lower the pulse, and remove head-ache? Can they arrest inflammation of the bowels, can they prevent inflammation of the lungs, can they deplete the turgid arteries of the brain? If they can, then wine and bark are superior to bleeding and starvation, and it were bad taste as well as bad practice which preferred them. But, if they cannot do any of all these things; if, on the contrary, they can do every thing else; if they can increase heat, quicken the circulation and aggravate pain; if they can excite and fasten inflammation; if they can promote and propagate ulceration; if they can encourage and increase every form of effusion from red blood to limpid serum, it is plain that bark and wine are neither suitable nor safe in the treatment of this disease. It were just as hopeful an undertaking to remove the lameness of a broken leg by pouring in wine and bark, and neglecting, as useless, splints and tapes, rollers and compresses. The fracture of the bone is the cause of the lameness, when the fracture heals the lameness will gradually disappear, but as long as the leg continues broken it must likewise continue lame. The grand secret in treating fever is to know how to prevent this debility, not to cure it. To prevent the activity of the first stage from going into the debility of the last, to subdue that excitement which, if unsubdued, will terminate, must terminate in torpor, to preserve structure and function from that state of disease which can only end in weakness—these are, or ought to be, our indications for treatment.

But, continues Dr. Smith,

'Suppose, however, the proper treatment not to have been applied; suppose the case to have been neglected or mismanaged; either not to have been seen at all, or to have been too much contemned; suppose the pain in the head to have been not severe; that no complaint was made of it; or that giddiness only was felt; that the skin was not burning hot, but moderately warm; that the pulse was neither strong, nor bounding, nor hard; but of moderate strength and soft; that the mind was tolerably distinct, and the restlessness not great: why should blood be drawn? what indication is there for the employment of so violent a remedy in so mild a case? No symptom is prominent; no symptom is urgent; the case will do well.

'Such is the view that would be taken by the great majority of practitioners of this kind of case, and their treatment, without doubt, would be correspondingly inert. And this is the true origin, in many cases, of typhus symptoms; of adynamic fever. The disease is allowed to take its own course; and the product of every fever, at a certain stage of its process, is adynamia: the physician does not perform his office; the disease advances; the restlessness increases; there is no sleep; delirium comes on; muscular tremor begins to be perceptible; the pulse rises; the sensibility diminishes; and stupor, if it be not already present, is close at hand. And now the disease, it is sufficiently obvious, is severe; now, it is admitted, it calls for a powerful remedy; and, now for the first time, the lancet is thought of. But the bleeding relieves no symptom; it increases some; the progress of the inflammation is not checked; the adynamic symptoms are more fully developed; the patient is more prostrate, and the fever, in all respects, of a worse character: the inference is, that bleeding is a most inefficient and dangerous remedy in fever; and this inference is deduced from experience; those who draw the conclusion, judge from what they see; they disclaim reason; they pretend only to understand and to respect the lessons of experience.

'I appeal to the attentive observer, whether this be not a faithful history of the progress and termination of hundreds of fever cases; whether such a history may not be recorded as of daily occurrence; whether what has been stated be not commonly the view, the practice, the result, and the lesson.

'I will not appeal to the different history that belongs to cases that are differently treated. But I do earnestly appeal to the pathology that has been stated; that, at least, is experience, and it teaches a lesson, which it is worse than foolish to despise or to forget. Every symptom just enumerated, has been detailed over and over again in the cases that have been laid before the reader: inspection after death must have made the conditions of the organs, as indicated by those symptoms, familiar to his mind. Of what avail can bleeding be, when the patient is brought into the condition which first excites alarm, in the case here supposed? The blood is no longer in its vessels; it is beneath the membranes, or in the ventricles, or at the base of the brain; the inflamed capillaries have done their work upon the cerebral substance and upon its membranes; and have left proof enough of their activity, in the thickening of the one, and the softening or the induration of the other. What can blood-letting do in this state of the organs? What can shaving the head, and applying cold do? What can blisters do? What can purgatives do? And above all, what can wine do? Nothing can be done; at least, nothing effectually or certainly.'—pp. 388, 390.

And, surely, it is a sad and unenviable spectacle which the physician, who has trifled away the period for activity, is doomed to witness when his patient arrives at the last stage of fever, with danger undiminished, and symptoms unrelieved.

Prostrate and powerless, with every nerve unstrung, with every member paralyzed, with every function woefully deranged; without strength to resist death, and too weak to encourage treatment, the unfortunate sufferer lies insensible to his fate, and the practitioner, infatuated by the plausibilities of a system which he can neither defend nor understand, ascribes all to inveterate debility, and heaps upon this scapegoat the consequences of his own doctrines.

If, then, in nine cases of out ten, in the present fever of this country, the first stage is unmarked by any such debility as should sanction the use of stimulants, if the debility, which is dreaded in the last stages, may in nine cases out of ten be prevented by early and proper treatment, and if the debility, which will infallibly occur in the last stages, if such early and proper treatment be not adapted, is in nine cases out of ten beyond the efficacy of stimulants, does it not follow that little can, little ought to be expected from a system of treatment, which has stimulation for its favourite if not exclusive objects from first to last? But further still; if in nine cases out of ten the present fever of this country betray such symptoms of excitation at the commencement as denote activity, if this activity be what we have to fear in nine cases out of ten, and if the debility, the only formidable debility, which exists in nine cases out of ten, be a relic or result of this activity when neglected or unsubdued, does it not follow that stimulants must be greatly and generally injurious, if employed at the commencement, and that they must naturally promote that state of apathy and nervelessness which it is so desirable to prevent, because so difficult to remove?

In thus speaking of unmixed stimulation Dr. Stoker's custom of applying a few leeches to the temples "when the head is particularly engaged" is not forgotten; nor that of the application of leeches to the arms with the same view he "reports most favourably." If this can mitigate the offence of stimulation it were cruel to deprive him of the use of it. But, when we find these directions shielded within the following *cavete*, that, "although topical bleeding is a remedy of paramount importance in those tendencies to unequal distribution of blood in the system, which sometimes occur when typhoid and inflammatory fevers are combined, as well as indeed also for those local inflammations which so frequently succeed the partial turgidity of blood-vessels which then takes place; yet I feel it my duty on an occasion like the present, to state, that for several years past, but particularly since our epidemics have assumed so pestilential a character, local abstraction of blood has not appeared to me so

frequently applicable for the relief of the symptoms as it had previously been," and when we find the doctor forcing upon us his views and treatment as suitable to London, it cannot be thought strange should we entertain a very indifferent notion of this leeching plan. In many instances topical depletion is very highly beneficial and ought not to be dispensed with; but in many more instances its employment will only interfere with the adoption of an equally safe and far more effectual remedy.

But, while endeavouring to expose the practice of stimulation in fever, it must not be concluded that stimuli are never necessary, and that depletion is always useful. To each of these views we are equally opposed. Cases will occasionally occur in which bleeding to any amount or by any mode, would be certainly destructive; and cases do frequently occur, the mildness of which renders it unnecessary. Where the symptoms are moderate, the excitement trifling, and no pain is particularly complained of—where spare diet, gentle aperients and cooling diluents are all the remedies which are necessary—where, in short, to do nothing is the best treatment—then it were only to make a wanton waste of vital fluid either to leech, or bleed. The duration of the attack can be seldom shortened by it, and the convalescence of the patient it will merely protract. Again, where the constitution has been worn down by age, or wasted by disease—where the mind has been unnerved by sorrow, or exhausted by fatigue—where the exciting cause has been peculiarly active, and the powers of life have been suddenly overwhelmed, depression and debility may reign from the first moment of complaint to the last hour of existence; and, in all such cases, even active purging, not to mention bleeding, would be ruinous. Indefinite and indiscriminate depletion is most destructive treatment. Stimulants and tonics must occasionally be tried, and the quantity employed must be measured by no other criterion than their effects.

'But instead of bleeding, the proper remedy may possibly be the very reverse: it may be requisite to afford a stimulus. The change of structure produced by the inflammatory process may not have proceeded to such an extent as to be absolutely incompatible with life; but the powers of life may be so exhausted by the inflammatory excitement that, unless aid be brought to them, they will be overpowered, and sink: afford them appropriate aid, and they will rally, and, although slowly, ultimately repair the lesion which the organs have sustained.

This is precisely the condition, and perhaps it is the only condition, under which stimuli are really beneficial in Fever. Whenever such remedies are indicated, the vascular action is weak, and there appears to be a want of due supply of arterial blood to the brain.

Of all stimuli, wine or brandy is the best. If it be doubtful whether a stimulus can be borne, or will prove beneficial, a few ounces of wine may be administered. It will soon be manifest whether it be the appropriate remedy. If the restlessness, the heat, the delirium increase under its use, it will be obvious that it cannot be borne; if, after some hours, no perceptible impression be made upon any symptom, it is seldom of the least service, given to any extent, or persevered in for any length of time. If it be capable of doing any good, some improvement in the symptoms is commonly perceptible in a few hours after it is first administered. Sometimes that improvement is sudden and most striking; more commonly it is slight, slow, but still easy to be seen. If the pulse become firmer, and especially slower, the tremor slighter, the delirium milder, the sleep sounder, the skin cooler, and, above all, if the sensibility increase, and the strength improve, it is then the anchor of hope. It will save the patient if it be not pushed too far, and if it be withdrawn as soon as excitement is reproduced, should that happen, which it often does.

No certain indication for the administration of wine can be drawn from one or two symptoms alone: neither from the state of the pulse, nor of the skin, nor of the tongue; neither from the tremor, nor from the delirium. There is an aspect about the patient, an expression not in his countenance only, but in his attitude, in the manner in which he lies and moves, being, in fact, the general result, as well as the outward expression of the collective internal diseased states, that tell to the experienced eye when it is probable that a stimulus will be useful. Depression, loss of energy in the vascular system, as well as in the nervous and the sensorial, indicated by a feeble, quick, and easily compressed pulse, no less than by general prostration, afford the most certain indications that the exhibition of wine will be advantageous: and if the skin be at the same time cool and perspiring, the tongue tremulous, moist, or not very dry, and the delirium consist of low muttering incoherence, these symptoms will afford so many additional reasons to hope that it will prove useful. On the contrary, if the skin be hot, the eye fierce or wild, the delirium loud, noisy, requiring restraint, and the general motions violent, it is as absurd to give wine, as to pour oil upon a half-extinguished fire, with the view of putting out the yet burning embers.

When wine is indicated, but does not produce a decided effect, brandy may be substituted. I have seen no benefit arise from giving either in large quantity. When the condition is really present in which alone it can be useful, a moderate quantity will accomplish the only purpose it can serve. In every other condition, wine may be administered to any extent, (and I have given half a pint every hour) until the stomach return it, by vomiting, without the slightest impression being made upon the disease, or any, or scarcely any, upon the system. The malady is in possession of the seat of sensibility; it has destroyed the organ; it has abolished the function: what advantage can result from the application of stimuli?—The spirit that could feel

their impression, and answer to it, is gone: organs destroyed by over-stimulation, cannot be regenerated by the application of additional stimuli: the apparatus is broken; the wheels are clogged: the obstruction lies in that part of the mechanism in which the main power that works the machinery is generated; that obstruction cannot be removed; the movements of the machine must cease. Even when the case is not thus utterly hopeless, wretched is the physician whose only dependence for the safety of his patient is in wine.'—pp. 389, 391.

All this is intelligible, all this is rational. But when we are told by one that bark can cure continued Fever, the continued Fever of London, nearly, if not quite, as certainly as it can cure ague, and by another that venesection is not called for in nine cases out of ten of Typhus Fever, and by a third that transfusion of blood into the systems of those labouring under Fever is a promising resource, what are we to think or say when we look at Doctor Smith's 100 dissections, and see nothing strewed over the bodies of the dead but vestiges of inflammation and proofs of activity!

'I may state from my experience, that small quantities of wine, diluted with water, according to circumstances may be often given advantageously, even at the commencement of malignant Fevers of a decidedly typhoid character. In most cases, therefore, of that kind, especially such as I can ascertain to have been produced by contagion, I have prescribed from the commencement, from two to four ounces of wine, diluted with water; this to be given in divided portions, in the course of twenty-four hours; commencing from the time the patient was placed under my care; but the quantity and the time to be regulated by its effects; *e. g.* if found to excite distress, the interval between each dose to be increased, and the succeeding dose to be diminished; and *mutatis mutandis*, to administer it more frequently, and in larger doses, according to the urgency of circumstances. Wine thus administered, need not interfere with such evacuations, as are deemed necessary in typhoid Fevers. The due evacuation of the bowels should be attended to at the same time; and in mixed cases of Fever, where the urgency of symptoms of inflammation, local or general, demands local or general blood-letting, I often find the cordial support of wine to promote the beneficial effects of such evacuation, and to counteract the consequences that would otherwise succeed.

It is of the first importance, however, in determining on the early employment of wine in Fevers, to ascertain whether they are or not decidedly of a typhoid character; and this is so difficult, during the first three or four days from the attack, that I have rarely ventured even on the small quantity just mentioned, excepting in cases attended with positive signs of debility, or such as I know to be the consequence of exposure to contagion. In such cases, indeed, I have found it highly beneficial, in relieving headache, tendency to delirium,

restlessness, and even other symptoms, which, under other circumstances, I would have deemed counter-indications of wine.'—pp. 128-9.

What it has been our anxious effort to prove is, that all such cases constitute the exceptions and not the rule, and that while the exceptions should be studied with as much attention as the rule, such importance only as exceptions ought to have, should be ascribed to them. The rule is, that the general and abstract character of the Fever of this metropolis is excitement, that such measures are necessary for its treatment as are opposed to excitement, and it matters not in what climate or constitution, in what stage or under what circumstances, this excitement appears, when it does appear it should be assailed with an energy proportioned in its degree, that those doleful consequences —helpless debility and hopeless disorder—which ever follow it when unsubdued may be effectually avoided. The various remedies which may be employed for this purpose, it is not our intention to detail. To state how often the lancet must be unsheathed, how many leeches must be applied, or how many purgatives must be administered would be entering into minutiæ of no interest here. Our business throughout has been with prominent principles. If they can be settled it will not be difficult to adjust the detail, and those who wish to extend their knowledge into minute statements, will find in the work of Doctor Smith every necessary particular, and to its careful perusal would we earnestly recommend them. Again, let the disciples of Brown produce their facts, their arguments, their cases. General statements, vehement assertions, abstract deductions will not do: individual descriptions, minute particulars: symptoms of every case from first to last; the daily results of daily treatment in different constitutions at different stages of disease, the circumstances which show the marked evil of early and judicious depletion, contrasted with those which establish the marked good of early and general stimulation, and, finally, a description of the relative appearances of those who die after such modes of treatment, this is what we ask. Such information has been given on the other side, and it is now again given in the fullest manner in the works of Doctor Smith. Again, those who say to the disciples of the school of Brown, explain it to us, why our bleedings are almost invariably followed by relief, when we are intrusted with the management of the first symptoms? inform us why the pulse does not sink, why the functions are not weakened, why the powers are not impaired? Tell us why the blood which we draw, is in nine cases out of ten, inflamed, why the pain which we draw it to relieve is in nine cases out of ten relieved, and why, in very

many instances, the symptoms are so moderated after depletion, performed at the proper time and prosecuted to the necessary extent, that little is afterwards left for the physician to do, beyond preserving by prudence the vantage ground which his activity has procured? Explain to us all this, and when your commentary is complete then take it to our dissections, and make it harmonize with all that is there revealed. Make it account for our coagulated lymph, our recent adhesions, our new membranes, our spreading ulcers, and our loaded vessels. And after you have satisfied yourselves that your harmony is made out, then require of us why we bleed; and if we cannot show cause, we leave you at full liberty to tax our practice as unscientific, and our language as intemperate.

If we are to follow the directions of Doctor Stoker, and never employ our lancet in any case, in any constitution, in any climate, under any circumstance, and by any chance—if we are to look upon leeches as upon lions, with fear and trembling—if we are to regard "disappointment generally, and irreparable injury sometimes, as the result" of free purgation, it is only fair to give us something in the form of argument, with the weight of truth. We maintain that this something of proof and argument has not yet been given. If in the treatment of the Dublin-fever we are to be hedged in by such precautionary death-warnings, be it so; but we would recommend it to the doctor to watch over the firstlings of his own flock, for in the persons of Mills and Cheyne and a few other unbelieving bleeders, we verily believe him to have wolves in the centre of his own fold. Let his admonitions be directed towards them, and, in as far as in him lies, let him protect the lives of his devoted countrymen from the consequences of their frightful sytem of depletion. As for this metropolis it must needs, we believe, select its creed from another liturgy, and until the evidence of sense shall cease to outweigh that of testimony, we must not only persevere in heterodoxy, but be perverse enough to enhance our guilt by endeavouring to convince others we are right. We must believe that the London-fever requires both leeches and the lancet—that moderate purgation is always necessary and free purging often beneficial—that a total removal of all stimuli from all cases is incomparably safer, as a general rule, than that the lancet is inadmissible in any—that every mean, which Doctor Stoker would employ against an ordinary attack of inflammation, may be employed to a certain extent in the present fever of this metropolis—and the only reason we can advance for the faith that is in us is, that a very similar action is going on in both, and very similar consequences are to be feared from both. The action and consequences of both differ

we believe, principally in degree, and the means necessary to cure both must differ nearly in the same respect. All this we believe in nine cases out of ten, and he, who requires more argument than the limits have suffered us to advance in support of this opinion, has only to consult Doctor Smith's work to procure it. We solicit the attention of the public as well as of the profession to this work. If it advocate error, the error is of such magnitude that it ought to be exposed, and the earnestness and plausibility with which it is advocated arms its intrinsic evil with tenfold mischief. But, if the doctrines it contends for be founded in nature, and be derived from the study of nature, the author merits the reward of a double service—by arriving at important truth amid much popular error, and by laying this truth before the world in a diction, and with a demonstration which most powerfully recommend it to the judgment. It brings forward the opinions of conflicting sects with equal candour and perspicuity—it subjects to the ordeal of reason what experience cannot reach, and it tests with experience what reason has approved—it neither devotes itself to empty speculation on the one hand, nor to abstract dogmatism on the other. Its business is with practical truth. Where novel opinions are hazarded, the arguments which convinced the writer are laid before his reader—where old opinions are impugned, the reasons for objection are fully stated, and whether its theme be the exposure of error or the support of truth, no doctrine, however roughly handled, is condemned by merely brandishing the wand of magisterial authority, and no assertion, however feasible, is suffered to go forth unsustained by evidence. And when the mass of information which the work contains, is considered with relation to the source from which it has been obtained, it can scarcely be said that the inferences to which it arrives are rashly drawn or feebly advocated. The London Fever Hospital has been the principal field of observation. Into this valuable establishment no disease is admissible but fever, and no other hospital exists in the metropolis, which gives indiscriminate admission to this disease. It is obvious, therefore, that if the amplest opportunities for observation can give weight to the results of experience, it is from such an institution that the most authentic knowledge should be looked for. If anything can be certainly known of this pestilence—if seeing it in every form of constitution, in every stage of progress, in every change of atmosphere, and under every variety of cure—if watching it daily and carefully from its commencement to its close, where every medicine can be seasonably prescribed, and every prescription judiciously administered—if attending the sick under the salutary discipline of a rigid police, where every in-

jurious influence can be effectually removed, every promising remedy advantageously applied, and every direction implicitly obeyed—a well-conducted hospital for the cure of fever, like the Fever Hospital of London, is the fountain from which the purest information should be found to emanate. Upon such neutral ground nothing may be omitted which it is desirable to do, nor any thing done which it were better to omit. There every symptom can be carefully traced, every change of symptom instantly noticed, medicines can be exhibited with a precision and surveillance which the ignorance of attendants cannot frustrate, nor the prejudices of the patient counteract. The diseased are thus rescued out of the baneful influences of vulgar prejudices, the disease is rooted up out of its disadvantageous localities, and the constitution is placed upon a vantage ground, which infinitely multiplies the chances of recovery by adding to the efficacy of the remedies employed. Such establishments, when ably conducted and amply endowed, are productive of advantages which can be adequately appreciated only by the poor; but were their usefulness even limited to the important benefit which we have already specified, their value, as schools for the initiation of the profession into the mysteries of fever, were more than a sufficient recompence to the public for the expenses they incur. It appears strange that London, so overgrown, so overpeopled and so obnoxious to fever, should consider a hospital, containing no more than between sixty and seventy beds, sufficiently spacious to answer all the purposes of such a charity; and it must appear stranger still, that this little solitary hospital, which admits upwards of six hundred patients annually, and annually expends a sum no greater than two thousand pounds, should be annually obliged to appear as a petitioner before the public, for the means of support. It is a duty which the affluent owe to themselves as well as to the destitute, to place this benevolent institution above the influence of poverty, that the sphere of its usefulness may not be unnecessarily contracted by any pecuniary disabilities; for let them be assured that the most effectual mode of preserving their own families from the scourge of fever is to facilitate, by every means in their power, the speedy removal of the destitute poor from their crowded and filthy habitations into the wards of a comfortable and well-conducted hospital.

There still remains one other point connected with the works of Doctor Smith, which it was our intention to have included within the present paper—namely, the subject of contagion as connected with fever;—but the very great importance of the points in which we have been engaged has tempted us into a minuteness, which was not originally contemplated. We hope,

however, at no distant period to take up this question, when we shall attempt to establish two positions—the first of which is, that it is as much unsettled as it ever was; and, in the second place, that it may be for ever set at rest by some such plan as shall be then detailed.

ART. XVII.—*Le Représentant des Peuples. Hebdomadaire de la Politique et de la Littérature étrangères. No. I.* pp. 36. Ridgway, Piccadilly.

IT is not easy to translate the title of this weekly publication into English with conciseness and effect. It is not 'The Representative of the people;' for that would be understood as applying to the people of some particular country, or else to the people in all countries, considered in the light in which they may be assumed to form a single aggregate. And to say 'The Representative of the *peoples*,' would not be understood at all. Such, however, is the idiom of the original; and the unlearned Englishman will have no difficulty in comprehending on being told, that it means the Representative of each of the several 'peoples' of the civilized world, considered as forming distinct and several aggregates, as they really do in point of fact.

Unlearned Englishmen are at this moment enduring so much suffering, for the folly of their predecessors in allowing themselves to be made a cat's paw for imposing arbitrary government on foreigners, that they ought to receive with great gratitude any foreigner, who will endeavour to extend the knowledge of the interests which are in common to the people of all countries, and which can never be injured in one without bringing a corresponding harvest of mischief on the others. Let the unlearned Englishman, for example, attend to the struggle which is at this moment carrying on between the people and arbitrary power in France. Let him view a monarch, imposed upon the nation in the same manner as would have happened if the Pretender had been brought to London by a victorious French army;—let him see him unceasingly persisting in all plans for restoring the power of the supporters of ancient abuses, and insisting, as a preliminary, on the appointment of a ministry composed of men who have been educated in inveterate hostility to the French people, and of deserters from their army,—and above all, let him view the tone and spirit in which the contest is looked on by the friends of arbitrary power at home—their longing hope for the success of the despotism, their insulting language to all that stand up for the people's

right, their confident trust that a 'monarch' will not be stopped by a majority of a 'chamber of deputies,' which being translated means a House of Commons;—and then let him consider whether he will be duped like his predecessors, into a belief that this is no business of his own, and that it is all one to him whether arbitrary power on the other side of eight leagues of water, is successful or defeated. The case of France is here taken, as being the nearest and of most magnitude. But to every other struggle for political freedom, the same inference is applicable. The English artizan, the labourer, the husbandman, is wretched because his father was gulled into the enormous insanity, of huzzaing for the slavery of countries on the other side the sea; and the best way in which the spread of knowledge can have exerted itself, will be if it has taught him, that the interest of freedom any where, is the interest of free men every where,—that political liberty is like water, a thing not to be gathered up in heaps, but only to be raised in a particular place by raising it through all the level of the rest. If through the tricks of the English absolutists, a free constitution is broken up, for instance, in Portugal,—they laugh, because they know it has a final bearing on some possible infliction on present or future Englishmen. The opportunity may not be actually cut and dried; it may be among things yet unborn, and the men may be yet unborn who are to make use of it. But, first or last, it is an addition to the grand family estate of English absolutism. It is a feather in the cap of the brotherhood of absolutists throughout the world. Every man of them has a fillip from it, and conveys the adventitious vigour to his posterity. And by the same token, every blow given to the attempts of arbitrary power,—even though on so remote and insulated a point of the field of action as Terceira,—makes a Jacobite of the nineteenth century 'rise with a crick in his neck' for at least the next week, and pulls down something of the triumph with which the giant would otherwise proceed upon his course. The people of England have still a hankering after freedom every where. They have been bought up, but not all. Their country is the headquarters, the citadel, the hope and trust, of despotism throughout the world; but there are dissentients in the camp, men base enough to wish and sigh for the success of liberty abroad, for the sake of the small reversion that may ultimately follow to themselves. Foreigners are wrong if they despise individual Englishmen, on account of the numberless acts of sly and fraudulent hostility to freedom, which mark the proceedings of their nation. They are not free agents. Wherever the feelings of an individual, not acting under the impulse of power, can

be displayed, they are, three times out of four, in favour of the principles of universal justice. But this individual lives under a government that is fearfully and wonderfully made, for the purpose of securing the direction of all public acts by the will of a minority. There is a private John Bull, and a public John Bull; and it would be a burning shame to condemn the first for the offences of the other. If the 'Representative' ever makes communications to his constituents in return, let him tell them this. Let him assure them that an abstract Englishman ought not to be tossed in a blanket in Portugal, for having inveigled honest men into the dungeons of a tyrant, nor spit upon in Mexico for cutting the sinews of her defence under the guise of a neutrality. These are all acts with which the mass of English 'had nothing to do but to obey.' A Briton blusters, and calls himself free, when he is among foreigners with whom he thinks he may take liberties without fear of being found out; but it would be very hard to make him personally amenable to the consequences of his rhodomontade. It is not *his* interest that is concerned, in giving sneaking assistance to arbitrary sovereigns in all quarters of the globe; nor is it *his* fault, if the security of slavery in the colonies, made it necessary to give foul play to the Mexicans, by pinioning the arms of one combatant and letting loose the other. The existence of colonial slavery is to himself a bitter draught. He pays for it daily and hourly; it is in his path and about his bed; in his wife's tea-cup, and at the bottom of his children's apple pie; and it would be hard that after being made to pay for the primary evil, he should be individually responsible for the consequence.

The Prospectus (which by itself makes a pamphlet of eight pages) begins by stating the unanimity with which, for the last fifteen years, the inhabitants of all the civilized countries of the continent have moved in pursuit of improvement in their government, and the exertions by which what are called 'sound monarchical doctrines' have been pushed forward in opposition to their demands. On which ensues the following very descriptive passage.

'En vertu de ces doctrines, les rois seuls ont des droits; la loi, c'est le bon plaisir; le peuple n'a que des devoirs: obéir et payer, sans murmures et sans plainte, ou passer par les armes, voilà la destinée à laquelle ses dominateurs le condamnent; *et ces faux dieux disent "tout est bien!" et ils le font proclamer par leurs agents, dans l'intérieur, au milieu du silence général! et ils le font répéter par leurs ambassadeurs, aux gouvernements étrangers, et souvent leur or prodigué à la vénalité, crée au milieu des peuples étrangers des échos de l'imposture! et*

les opprimés sont abandonnés à leur malheur, comme indignes de la liberté, parce qu'on les représente comme patients, satisfaits même sous la tyrannie!

Ce tableau est d'une vérité incontestable. N'est-ce pas ce que nous entendons dire chaque jour du Portugal, de l'Espagne, de l'Italie et d'autres pays encore? les peuples de ces contrées n'ayant d'organes, ni chez eux, ni chez les étrangers, ne peuvent rectifier les erreurs involontaires et les jugements hasardés, ni démentir les calomnies intéressées de leurs ennemis, et sont condamnés, sur les écrits erronés d'observateurs superficiels, ou sur les mensonges diplomatiques de leurs oppresseurs.'*

Under such circumstances it is manifestly a high honour, that England should hold out those faculties of communication and reciprocal information, which her happier situation enables her to extend; and should perform that office to the civilized world, which Holland, Switzerland, and the early American settlements, have on different occasions discharged in her own case, in her periods of darkness and discomfiture.

In consequence of the near coincidence of the times of publication (the first appearance of the 'Représentant' being announced for the 27th of March) the specimen which has been obtained of the first number has been disjointed and imperfect, and such as to make it very possible that alterations in arrangement or in matter may take place, at a period, in French intelligence particularly, so fertile in events and expectations. But, with the reservation of such alterations, the contents are nearly as follows.

The first article is a Letter on the project for raising the Prince of Saxe Cobourg to the throne of Greece; which,

* 'In virtue of these doctrines, kings are the only persons who have any rights; the law is their good pleasure; the people, have nothing but duties; to obey and pay their money, without either murmurs or complaint, or else be put to the sword,—this makes the lot their rulers condemn them to. *And all the while, these sham gods say "All's Well"; and they get their agents to cry out so in the interior of their countries, amidst the silence of every body else; and they have it repeated by their ambassadors to foreign governments, and often contrive to get up an echo of the imposture in foreign countries, by the gold they throw to such as are ready to receive it; and the sufferers are left to their misfortune, as undeserving freedom, because they are represented as patient, and even satisfied under the tyranny.*

No man can say this picture is not true. Is not it what we hear said every day of Portugal, Spain, Italy, and more places besides? The people of these countries having no means of making themselves heard either at home or abroad, have no chance of either rectifying unintentional mistakes and hasty opinions, or of giving the lie to the interested calumnies of their enemies; and are condemned on the blundering accounts of superficial observers, or the diplomatic falsehoods of their oppressors.'

whether it is to be considered as authentic or a *jeu d'esprit* of the author, says what *ought* to be said upon that subject, with much point and effectiveness. A translation is subjoined of the whole;* and it seems needless to give the original of what can so easily be referred to. Could no form of government be found, better than a monarchy? Or was the object to provide a point

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Cephalonia, 20 Feb. 1830.

* 'It appears that the fate of our country is at last decided. Agreeably to the principles of modern politics, every body has been consulted on this decision, except those who are most interested in it, namely we poor Greeks. One remark naturally occurs to all minds, and disgusts them all. It is, that ever since the commencement of our struggle, in the days of our greatest dangers and bitterest sufferings, for the seven wretched years that we were fighting, with alternations which often threw doubt on the final issue of our insurrection, and when an enlightened and generous interference would have stopped the effusion of blood, and hastened, without the possibility of any thing preventing it, our re-appearance as a nation on the scene of politics,—all the governments either were in favour of our oppressors, or if they remained neuter, were not the less decided in expressing their disapprobation of our attempt. It was only when the continuation of the war had shown our determination to triumph or to perish, and when the chances of success were found to be in our favour, that the governments condescended at last to take some notice of us, and changed from indifference that had the effects of hostility, to neutrality, and from neutrality to interference. From that instant it was clear that they were looking for an excuse to call themselves our deliverers, in order to impose on us another kind of bondage; and I foresaw the winding-up with which we are threatened at this moment.

This winding-up, is the formation into a monarchy, of the countries which composed the ancient republics of Greece. Is the monarchical system suited to the different people of these countries? They are told, without further inquiry, that it *must* suit them whether they will or no.

What are to be the forms of this monarchy? What are to be the limits of the power of the king? What are to be the constitutional rules for his government? What part, in short, are the people to have in the settling of their own affairs? Nobody can tell a word. The masters of our fate appear to have seen no use in troubling themselves with these matters of theory, which they think, besides, are in opposition to the real principles of monarchical government. They appear to have believed the system was complete in these words, "The Greeks shall have a king!"

To be of a piece, the same sound sense and good discretion was to be displayed in the selection of the king. It is well known that when a crown is to be given away, there is no want of persons to consent to take it. There might have been some found in Greece itself, in spite of the republican feelings of its inhabitants. But to have taken a Greek, would have looked like acknowledging a right of the people. It would have had the appearance of declaring, that a king ought to belong to the country that he governs. In short it would have been possible, by bare chance, to have fallen on such a thing as a patriot king. To avoid these three risks, it has been decided that the king of the Greeks was not to be a Greek.

As Germany is the only place left, where true theories of the feudal system are taught in combination with sound doctrines on the monarchical principle, it is to Germany that the hunters for stuff to make kings of, have

of *appui* for the spirit of change, whenever the time comes for the breaking up of the great frost in which the continent has been bound so long?

The second article is on the present state of the Netherlands; and contains one remarkable intimation, supported by tokens

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turned their eyes; and to complete the business, it is the Prince of Saxe Cobourg who, according to report, has got the suffrages of the august electors on his side.

When this name comes to be proclaimed in Greece, it will be the first time it was ever heard of there. I am aware, that under average circumstances, there might be something lucky in the accession of a prince, of whom nobody had ever said a word; but under the particular circumstances of the present case, this does not seem to hold quite good. Perhaps it would have been as well, that the name announced should not have been entirely unknown to all the population. Not that there was any necessity for its being one distinguished for splendour of talents or military glory; all that, is not required to make a good king, and very often makes a very bad one. It would have been enough, if it had been one that had been heard sometimes in connexion with the names of the earliest, the most unwearied, and most generous friends of Greece. But I am falling into the mistake of assuming, that to be a king, there ought to be some affection for those who are to be the subjects. The monarchy-makers of our times consider this as an absurdity in theory, and give good proof of it in their practice.

However this may be, my countrymen and myself are unable to account for the preference that has been given to Prince Leopold. It surely is not meant as a compliment due to his birth. We do not deny that the Prince of Saxe Cobourg is a younger son of very good family; but we may be allowed to say, that we have still left among ourselves some eldest sons of houses as good as his, and that there would have been no great difficulty in finding an individual in Europe, who, upon this head, as upon many others, would have had more title to the respect of the leaders of the Greeks.

If to all this is added the difference of ideas, of language, and of religion, mankind might be tempted to suppose that the authors of this project had intended to proclaim to the world, that a king ought to have nothing in common with his people; if not to try how far it was possible to push the opposition between them, on all imaginable points.

One thing I am very sure of,—that the trial is a dangerous one, and the makers had best take care of the consequences. The natural sequence of things, under such a settlement, will be as follows;—Distrust, disunion, misunderstanding, impediments to the public service, public business badly carried on, discontent, severities, resistance, fighting, destruction of the machine of government, and so on. And instead of attributing these wretched consequences to their true causes, namely the ignorance, the hatred of liberal principles amounting to idiocy, of five or six bad ministers,—the cry will be loudly set up that the Greeks are a race without knowledge, without gratitude, enemies of all order, unworthy of freedom, and the yoke of the Turks is the only government that they are fit for.

I hope it may not yet be too late for wholesome consideration, on the part of at least one government. If this hope fails, I beg the prince who is to have the crown of Greece, to consult some persons acquainted with the country. Their advice will lead him, I am sure, to prefer the tranquillity and advantages of his present rank, to the perilous honour of

of considerable authority, on certain projects of a deceased statesman for whom freedom wears no mourning, having reference to those countries. What a droll thing it would be thought, if there was a chance for the whole constitution, interests and political connections of the United States of America, being found some morning changed, by virtue of the loves or hates of Miss or Master Maddison if such there be, and if the business of the leader of the administration was to play his cards, as hearts or clubs were trumps in such a game!

The third is upon Portugal; a fertile subject, since ministers have undertaken to boast of the unanimity with which despotism is accepted in that country—knowing all the time, that 100,000 men were marched on the Peninsula to put down the friends of constitutional freedom, and that these friends would be great fools if they exposed themselves to danger, till the 100,000 men are ready to march the other way. If England had been occupied by the brother kings of James the Second, it would have been about as reasonable to harangue on the *unanimity*, with which arbitrary power had been accepted in the Isle of Wight. Wait till there is some fair play; and then it will be seen who are inclined for liberty, and who are not.

The next article is on Mexico; which appears likely to undergo a second invasion from Cuba, because the interests of British slavery made it imperiously necessary for England to prevent the Mexicans from attacking Cuba when they might. If ever the chance returns, the Mexicans will probably be aware, that there is considerable difference between the ease and comfort of committing a breach of neutrality the first time, and the second. It is probable, that after what has been said in Parliament upon *the first*, the Mexicans would effect an insurance upon Change at a low rate, on the non-occurrence of the other.

The last article is on France, and contains reflexions and documents on the various events immediately connected with

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going to sit down on a throne which he will find fall to pieces under him in a few years, or else he will be forced to abandon, in spite of all his protectors can do to hinder it.

There was one very natural and simple way of providing the Greeks with the machinery for being a nation, and promoting the establishment of a government suitable to the habits, wants, and interests of the country. It required only a little less hatred for political freedom, a little more affection for mankind, and a moderate dose of common sense. I shall describe this method in my next letter, unless the execution of the project which we all set ourselves against to the utmost, condemns me to silence and waiting patiently for better days.'

the present crisis. To those who love a jest in the midst of perils, may be recommended the *mezzo termine* proposed to the majesty of France, as an escape from the dilemma between mounting *à cheval* and *en charrette*, which appears to have pressed unpleasantly upon the royal imagination.

The most serious objection that can be urged against the article on France, is to the assumption that France is attached to monarchy. Opinions on this side the water lean to the conclusion, that in all the civilized portion of the European continent, the thing called monarchy is tolerated only upon a calculation of the probable cost of alteration. The experiment of what has been termed constitutional government, has been tried and failed. The legitimates refused this, while they might have had it; and the probability is, that they will have something they like less. Why the opinion and choice of one individual in a country, and that probably the worst educated within its bounds, should be set against the opinion and choice of millions;—why Europe should be filled with blood and discord, and the best men of half the continent be wandering in sheep-skins and in goat-skins as too good for their day and generation;—are questions so utterly insoluble on any ground of common reason or general expediency—that it is impossible rational creatures should not bethink themselves of asking what all this is for, and of casting their eyes in search of models, upon the great fabric of public happiness which the descendants of Englishmen have raised on the other side of the Atlantic. Let it be settled, that there will be no more revolutions for constitutional monarchy upon the continent. The fight will be of another kind; and Englishmen have had too much experience of the past, to doubt to which side they ought to wish the victory.

POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE ON THE INSTRUMENT OF EXCHANGE IN No. I.

THIS Article having been republished with a view to attracting attention to the subject at the present period, it may be useful to notice such alterations and additions as have presented themselves in the interval since the original publication.

The only material substitution, is in the part relating to the reasons for leaving bills of exchange out of the calculations altogether, as having no final effect on the results. The paragraph at the head of p. 191, beginning 'Because the portion

&c.,' has been replaced by the following; which, it is apprehended, presents the true reasons for the omission alluded to.

'No alteration needs be made in these calculations on account of the existence of bills of exchange. When a bill of exchange is first issued, it is received at a discount; and the holder either keeps it till due, or parts with it at a diminution of discount proportioned to the time he has kept it. The holder, therefore, virtually receives interest for every hour he keeps it in possession. Private bankers find it a good trade to become the holders of bills of exchange, for the sake of this very interest; and what is a good trade to one set of men, cannot be a bad one to another. But under these circumstances, there is no stimulus upon carrying the bill into the market as the means of purchase; the holder may let it lie in his desk till due, and receive interest on it all the time. The existence of depreciation, moreover, has no tendency to alter the substantial amount of the bills of exchange actually drawn in the whole country. A man draws a bill of exchange, in payment, for instance, of a certain quantity of goods; what he does, being in reality neither more nor less than begging the seller to lend him the price for a certain number of days, on condition of receiving interest. If in consequence of the depreciation of money the goods are worth forty of what are called pounds sterling instead of thirty, the bill will bear the words £. 40 instead of £. 30; and this is all. Nobody will either draw any greater number of bills in consequence, or be affected in his bill-drawing practice in any other way. A certain part of the traffic of the country will be always carried on by means of bills of exchange, as a certain part will be carried on by barter, or by what is called *setting-off*. But as all these practices are devoid of any stimulus for increasing the quantity of purchases in the market, and moreover are under no tendency to be either increased or diminished in substantial amount by the progress of a depreciation—they may be left out of the calculations altogether. It is true that if these practices, or any of them, had been non-existent, there would have been an altered demand for the instrument of exchange which consists of coins and bank-notes; and consequently the depreciation, and all the other results which depend upon it, would have been different. But it is also true, that if in any given case the quantity of coins and bank-notes in circulation, and the depreciation, can be actually ascertained, no alteration in the calculations built upon them needs be made on account of any of the practices designated.'

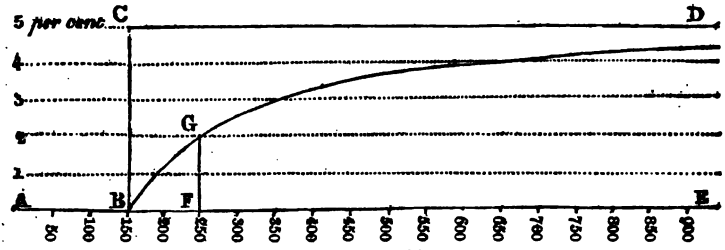
At the end of the paragraph which concludes in p. 197 with the words 'through the interference of the principle of population,' the following note has been added upon *seignorage*.

'The phenomenon of *seignorage* (which means recovering the expense of coining, by issuing the coins for a higher value than that of the metal contained in them), though it has been spoken of in somewhat mysterious terms by Adam Smith and others, appears to amount only to the fact, that an instrument of exchange may be composed of materials of intrinsic value equal to the exchangeable,—or to any fraction of it,—or of no intrinsic value at all,—through the simple establishment of the requisite check upon the issues. Adam Smith says of seignorage, that 'though every body advances the tax, nobody finally pays it; 'because every body gets it back in the advanced value of the coin.' The substantial explanation of which appears to be, that not only the portion which has been called seignorage, but the whole value of the materials used in coining, may be saved by the government or the community, and nobody be the worse for it. If a sovereign was made thinner and thinner till it was only a piece of gold-leaf glued on a piece of stamped paper,—or if the paper was used, without the gold-leaf,—it is proved by experiment that it will pass for the same value as ever, under

a proper regulation on the issues. A Bank of England one-pound note, therefore, may be considered as a sovereign that is *all* seignorage. The wonder is not, that the government is able to save the seignorage; but that it does not find out, that it might as well save all the remainder too. There seems to be no more inherent reason why in a civilised country the instrument of exchange should be made of materials that convey the intrinsic value of what is to be transferred,—than why a bond or other security should be drawn on a plate of gold of intrinsic value equal to the amount to be secured. It would certainly be one way of conveying the security desired; but in a settled state of society, it would appear to be a very unnecessary and expensive way. It might be useful in a society so wretchedly constituted, that this should be the only way of a man's being safe from having two or three bonds brought against him where there ought only to be one; but it could be useful in no other.'

The note* in p. 204 on the curve submitted as representing an approximation to a just scale of taxation, has been elucidated by a figure, and otherwise altered as follows.

*'The equation to the curve is $y = M \times \frac{x-a}{x}$; where x is the abscissa measured from a point A outside the curve, a the distance from this point to the vertex, y the ordinate, and M a given straight line BC drawn from the vertex at right angles to the axis. If x represents the whole or actual income, a the income after which taxation is to commence, and M the per centage uniformly levied on the excess of x above a, y will represent the per centage on the whole income represented by x. If through C a straight line is drawn parallel to the axis, it will be an asymptote to the curve; for when x is indefinitely increased, y approaches to being equal to BC.



If AE is divided into equal parts of which AB contains 150, and if BC is divided into five equal parts each of which represents one per cent, and straight lines parallel to AE are drawn through the points of division, the perpendicular FG drawn from any point F in the line BE will show the per centage levied on the whole income represented by AE. Thus on an income of 250*l.* the per centage is 2 per cent, as represented in the figure; on one of 500*l.* it would be 3½ per cent; and in like manner in other cases. As the income becomes large, the per centage on it approaches to 5 per cent.

A similar mode of representation may be applied to any other proposed scale or system of variation; the narrowing or falling away of the space included between the curved line and BE, representing the relief given to the smaller incomes.'

A number of other corrections and additions have been made; but not of sufficient magnitude to demand insertion in the present place.

Finally, The following Observations, with a list of Objections and the Answers, have appeared to be appropriate to the period of the present publication. The sources from which the Objections have been copied, will readily present themselves to those who are familiar with the current of the daily press.

OBSERVATIONS.

1. That to return to a depreciated currency, would be to license all who at this moment are debtors, to pay their debts with three-fourths (or whatever else the fraction may be) of the amount they owe. And though it is true that the recovery from a depreciated currency operated in like manner in favour of the creditors, it is further true, that there must have been a depreciation still earlier than the recovery; which must have been against them. The creditors may not in all cases have been the same individuals; but they were the same classes in the main,—which is coming as near to justice as the case will admit. *Give* and *Take* makes fair play; but because the creditors have lost once and gained once, there is neither fairness nor common sense in saying that therefore they must lose again now.

2. That it would bring upon all the labouring classes, in addition to their present sufferings, the intolerable mischief of being engaged in a continual struggle to raise their nominal wages in proportion to the depreciation. The result of which would be, that they would be screwed into a state still worse than they are in at present; by the double process of increasing their labour and diminishing their reward. The labouring classes are not weak enough to believe, that they will be any better for being paid with ten shillings than with five, if the ten shillings will only buy as much as the five. Still less, if the result of the whole should be (as it *would* be), that instead of ten shillings they only got nine.

3. That another object of the plan, is to rob the fund-holders, by paying them in a depreciated currency; or in other words, to get at those portions of the savings of industry which have been deposited in the stocks*.

4. That the argument for robbing the fund-holders is founded on reckoning up what the fund-holders have gained on one part of their account since the progress of the Pitt fraud was put an end to, (which happened in 1814), and taking no notice of all they were cheated of on other parts from 1797 to 1821, (or from the time the fraud was begun by the Bank of England refusing to pay its paper, till it was put an end to by the restoration of the currency to its original value). The real fact being, that if sums equal to the losses of the fund-holders in the cases where they were cheated, had from time to time been put into a bag, and the interest made principal half-yearly as an honest man would do with the property of a ward, —and if the value of their gains on the other part of their account from 1814 for ever, were put into another bag and treated in the same manner, *the first would be the greatest.* [See Mushet's Tables for every Year. Baldwin and Co.]. From which it follows that the pretence for robbing the fund-holders is a trick of the same nature as it would be to charge a man with all the Debtor side of his account, and refuse to take any notice of what there might be upon the other.

5. That the proposal for reducing the pressure of taxation, and then taking

* A writer in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine *(for Feb.* 1830, *p.* 385*)*, protests against 'the robbery of the State creditor,' but still calls for the 'Small Notes' as 'the means of paying taxes,' or in other words for increased issues and a depreciated currency. Does the writer not know, that a depreciated currency is the most practical and artist-like way of robbing the State creditor; or does he think it makes much difference to the State creditor, whether 30 per cent is struck off from his claims at once,—or he is paid in a currency of 30 per cent less value, with the comfort of knowing that all other creditors and the labouring classes are injured at the same time?

off 30 per cent from the fund-holders on pretence that they would only be brought to the same situation they were in before,—is a fraud of the same nature as if in a ship's crew on short allowance, three-fourths of the crew should propose to divide among themselves any accidental relief they might fall in with, and say to the other fourth, 'And *you*, you know, will be no worse off than you were before.' The fraud is in pretending not to know, that this fourth of the crew have as much right to their share of the relief, as any of the rest. The fund-holders pay their share of taxes, like other people. If there is to be a property-tax, they make no objection to paying on their funded property at the same rate as others. What they object to, is being taxed and plundered too.

6. That the evil of a national debt can no more be relieved by refusing to pay the interest, than a man can get rich by taking out of one pocket to put into the other. It is one thing to say a national debt is no evil, and another thing to say it is an evil that cannot be diminished by refusing to pay the interest; though these two things are often taken for each other. The mischief inflicted when a million is borrowed and spent, is the same that would have been produced if a necessity had been created for throwing the amount of the interest annually into the sea. For if the debt had never been contracted, the sums now paid for interest would have remained in the hands of the tax-payers; which would have been the same thing to them, as saving it from the sea. And the people to whom the interest is now paid, would have had the principal in their pockets instead. But it is necessary to make a broad distinction between '*the effect of the debt*,'(meaning the difference between the actual state of things and what would have been if the debt had never been contracted), and '*the effect of continuing to pay the interest of the debt*,' (meaning the difference between what takes place when the interest continues to be paid, and what would take place if it ceased to be paid). If every man in the country was a fund-holder in the same proportion that he is a tax-payer, it would be plain that any attempt to mend himself by refusing to pay the interest, would only be taking out of one pocket to put into the other. And the case is the same, when things are as they are; except that the fund-holders are the smallest number, and therefore might possibly be robbed.

7. That the question of whether there shall be a paper currency, is quite distinct from whether there shall be a *depreciated* paper currency. That the government, if it chuses to go the way to do it, may substitute paper for gold without any depreciation, and put the value of the gold into the pockets of the nation at large by taking off taxes to the same amount;—through the simple process of never issuing more paper than is found to make the pound note purchase not less than a certain prescribed quantity of gold. But that if it does not like to do this itself, it has no more right to let *other people* do it, than to let them carry off the pitch and tar from the dock-yards and apply it to their private use. And that, in reality, every private bank-note in existence is only so much of the public property allowed to be carried off by private individuals, in the same manner as the pitch and tar.

8. That the statements of the benefits to be derived from the increase of private bank-notes *to the borrowers*, are only statements of the convenience a man may find, in getting possession of a sum of money by taking it from all the holders of the circulating medium throughout the country; for this is what is actually done. And that in reality all representations of the advantages of conducting the business of the country by means of a larger number of coins or notes instead of a smaller, are only the representations of men desirous to make some unwarrantable gain, either by the issues or by the change of value of money consequent upon them. So far as these representations proceed from the private bankers, they originate in a desire, as truly stated by the minister,

to *coin*. They originate in a desire to make money at the expense of the holders of the circulating medium, and then be paid interest for lending it. There has been a prejudice against coining when practised upon metal; but it does not seem to have been generally discovered, that there are the same or greater objections to coining upon paper. The only substantial objection to the individual who makes a coin that passes for a sovereign, is that what he gains is made by taking the value of a sovereign from the holders of the circulating medium in general; for beyond this, if his coin continues to pass, he does no harm at all. Where a bank-note is issued by an individual, instead of being issued by the government which accounts, or ought to account, to the community for the amount,—the same kind of process takes place, with greater profit to the actor, and consequently greater temptation to the repetition.—If the minister does not take care, he will let light upon the nature of private bank-notes.

9. That if the government issues its coins at such a rate as will pay for the coining—(and it is not a reasonable government if it does not)—a transit trade in gold is just as harmless and beneficial, as a transit trade in Turkey coffee or any other foreign commodity. It is true that every ounce of gold that goes out of the country, alters the value of what is left at home; and so does every ounce of coffee. But no government ever thought of nursing Turkey coffee, as the means of increasing the quantity used at home. For it is plain that it cannot go out of the country, unless it comes in;—that if it is not allowed to go out, it will not come in, or not in the same quantity;—and that under a freedom of exit, the quantity kept and used within the country will always be the precise quantity which it is most profitable so to use. The whole of which is equally true of gold.—To object to the gold's being carried away coined,—if it is a profitable trade to coin it,—would be as absurd as for Mr. Hunt to object to the French carrying away cakes of blacking with his image and superscription. If from convenience of form or other reasons, the French prefer the cakes to lamp-black in barrels, upon what ground of common sense is Mr. Hunt called upon to hinder it?

10. That if taxation is too high, the part of sensible men is to demand the reduction of the taxes; but not to demand a depreciation of the currency as the means of reducing the taxes. Such a demand would only be comparable to the conduct of a man who set his house on fire to warm himself. That if there is not a power in the country to effect the direct reduction of taxes, there would not be a power to prevent the taxes from being raised as fast as the depreciation was felt. The consequence therefore would only be, that we should have all the evils of the depreciation, without the expected good. Which would be like a man who should set his house on fire to warm himself, and not be allowed to warm himself after all.

11. That the root of all the evil is in the prohibition of commerce by Act of Parliament, which has been effected by the land-owners. They first produce universal distress; and then somebody is to be robbed by way of helping it. One day it is to be the fund-holders; another, the holders of the circulating medium and the labouring classes; and another, the church. Some or all of these will to a certainty be plundered, unless they have the sense to combine to put down the great original robbery, out of which arises the distress which is the plea for all the others. 'One step into the right' on the part of the minister who removed the Catholic disabilities, would rally all ranks and orders about him, except the plunderers; and honest men thenceforth might sleep in peace.

Such of these propositions as are not derived from the Article on the Instrument of Exchange, will be found enlarged upon and supported by the following references.

Westminster Review No. XX, Art. 5.—On Banking.
——————— No. XXI, Art. 1.—On the Corn Laws.
——————— No. XXII, Art. 13.—On the Change of Ministry in France.
——————— No. XXIII, Art. 7.—On Free Trade.
——————— Art. 12.—On Radical Reform.

Catechism on the Corn Laws, 14th Edition.

Objections and the Answers.

That the currency, in the year 1819, was just one-tenth of the whole productive industry of the country. Now, if the government altered that test which formed the currency, they altered the whole of the income of the country to the same extent. In like manner, if they diminished the currency five millions, they altered the whole income of all the farmers, land-owners, and manufacturers of the country, to the extent of fifty millions. This was the consequence of the alteration of even five millions. For, since all prices depend on the currency—and it surely could not be denied that all farmers, landlords, manufacturers, and merchants, made their incomes by prices—it followed that any contraction of the currency on which these prices depended, contracted to the same extent all the income derived from them.

A. The error which runs through all this, is that of substituting nominal income for substantial;—the mistake of supposing that a man is the worse for being paid with four pounds instead of five, if the four pounds will buy as much as the five.

If the case is accurately examined, a diminution of the currency, with the consequent increase of the value of money and diminution of money prices, is in favour of the dealers of all kinds and not against them. For the currency is increasing in value during the time it lies in their hands. The effect may appear insignificant in a single instance; but the sum of all the effects is, that if a particular trader is in the habit of turning over £100, and the value of money increases in the next twelvemonth by 5 per cent, he will afterwards only turn over £95, but the £95 will do him just as much good as the £100 did, *and he will have put the value of £5 into his pocket by insensible gradations during the twelvemonth, over and above his ordinary gains.* In fact it is a portion of the phenomenon stated in another place, *viz.* that the amount of additions to the circulating medium is taken *from* the holders of the circulating medium in general, and the amount of diminutions given *to* them.

In all this, abstraction must be made of the effects of the change of value of currency upon old debts or obligations; which is a distinct consideration.

That the currency is at this moment insufficient; as may be gathered from circumstances connected with the foreign exchanges.

A. There is, in the practical sense, no such thing as a currency being insufficient. For its value will rise or fall, to the exact height required to make it perform its office. All solicitude, therefore, about the currency being sufficient for the performance of its office, is like being solicitous lest the survivors of a tontine should be inadequate to the division of the capital. Exactly as the number of shares is diminished, will the value of each be increased; and the contrary.

An appearance connected with foreign exchanges may be a proof that the intrinsic value of the gold currency is greater than the nominal, or the contrary. But it can be no proof that the circulating medium is not sufficient for domestic purposes; which is the question in hand.

That the law says that a one-pound bank-note is productive of evil at Carlisle, and the reverse of evil at Gretna-Green. The people of Scotland cannot carry on their business without small notes, and the good people of Northumberland and Cumberland cannot prosper with them. In one place they are useful, in the other injurious—in one country they are a safe and valuable medium, in the next they are an accursed thing—the root of all evil.

A. They are accursed in both alike, if the super-subtle Scotch had the wit to find it out. But if our neighbours chuse to be the dupes of the money-makers, it is no reason why people on this side the Tweed should do the same.

The Scotch are quite welcome "to "stand by their banks with the dirk in "one hand and the claymore in the "other" as long as they please, provided nobody troubles Englishmen to submit themselves to the like absurdity.

That the bankers in Scotland can as well afford to transact their business in a gold currency as those of England. They are believed to have more money invested in the funds than all the bankers of England. The sum so invested amounts to upwards of twenty millions sterling, every farthing of which would be sold out and withdrawn if Mr. Peel would but give notice of a motion for the extension of his bill prohibiting one-pound notes. It cannot, therefore, be said that the bankers of Scotland are too poor to pay their notes in gold. There is not one of them who could not do so upon a week's notice.

A. It is, no doubt, very agreeable to the Scotch bankers to have twenty millions receiving interest in the funds, and as a consequence of this, to be receiving interest in Scotland for paper to the same or greater nominal amount, the substantial value of which is abstracted either from the holders of the circulating medium or from the government. It is a job by which twenty millions or more, of the property of the community, comes into the hands of the Scotch bankers, in the same manner as if they were allowed to take an equal amount of tar from the dock-yards; and it is quite worth standing over with dirk and claymore, as long as this will be the means of keeping it.

Would any man be bold enough to say that, situated as they were at present, the prosperity of the labouring classes would not be deteriorated by the abstraction of a portion of the circulating medium?

It is a bold man that would say the contrary. *Addition* to the circulating medium is what injures the labouring classes; and abstraction from it is in their favour. When there is an addition, they have to fight against the consequent depreciation, till they can raise their wages in proportion; and the probability is, that they never do absolutely raise them to that point. When there is an abstraction, they gain by the consequent rise in the value of money, till the masters can reduce their wages in proportion; which, though the masters are more favourably situated for a contest than the workmen, will still take some time in doing. Setting these effects on one side, it is indifferent to the labouring classes whether the amount of the circulating medium is 100 millions or £100,000. If it was the last, it would be necessary to have coins or notes for fractions of a farthing. And if they were not made, the evil felt would not be owing to a deficiency in the amount of circulating medium, but to a defect of subdivision, or in other words a want of small change.

That the true principle of any change [*in the laws relating to the issues of private paper*] ought to be that of placing the Banking system on a broad basis.

'Placing the Banking system on a broad basis,' means the same kind of thing as extending the right to carry away the pitch and tar out of the dock-yards. But why is it to be carried away at all? and what are the carriers in the long run expected to give the ministers in return?

POSTSCRIPT

TO THE ARTICLE ON THE NEWSPAPER PRESS IN No. XXIII.

So great is the accumulation of matter with which the zeal and kindness of friends have furnished us on the subject of the Provincial Press, that we purpose again reverting to the subject in detail. A few errors have been discovered growing solely out of remoteness from persons and places, or from changes which had arisen between the time of writing and the printing the articles. Of one of the most valuable instruments which the cause of reform has ever found, the *Scotsman*, we learn that it has not changed its *management* since it was started by the present Proprietors and Editors—that they have been from the first, the writers of by far the greatest number of leading articles; and that its circulation is nearly One Thousand Six Hundred copies—ranking among the very highest of the Scottish Press.

NOTICE.

The Westminster Review, No. 25, will be published on the 30th June next, and will contain Articles on the Distress of the Country—on Canada and the Colonial system—on the Ballot—on Planting and Vegetable Physiology—on the Life and Character of Thomas Jefferson—the Newspaper Press, &c. &c.

WORKS LATELY PUBLISHED.

AGRICULTURE.

Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India. Vol. I. 8vo. 10*s.*

ANTIQUITIES AND ARCHITECTURE.

Shaw's History of the Chapel at Luton Park. Imperial Folio. 84*s.* India proofs, 126*s.*

ASTRONOMY.

Linnington's Astronomy. 12mo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

BIOGRAPHY.

Jefferson's Memoirs. Vols. 3-4. 8vo. 28*s.*
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